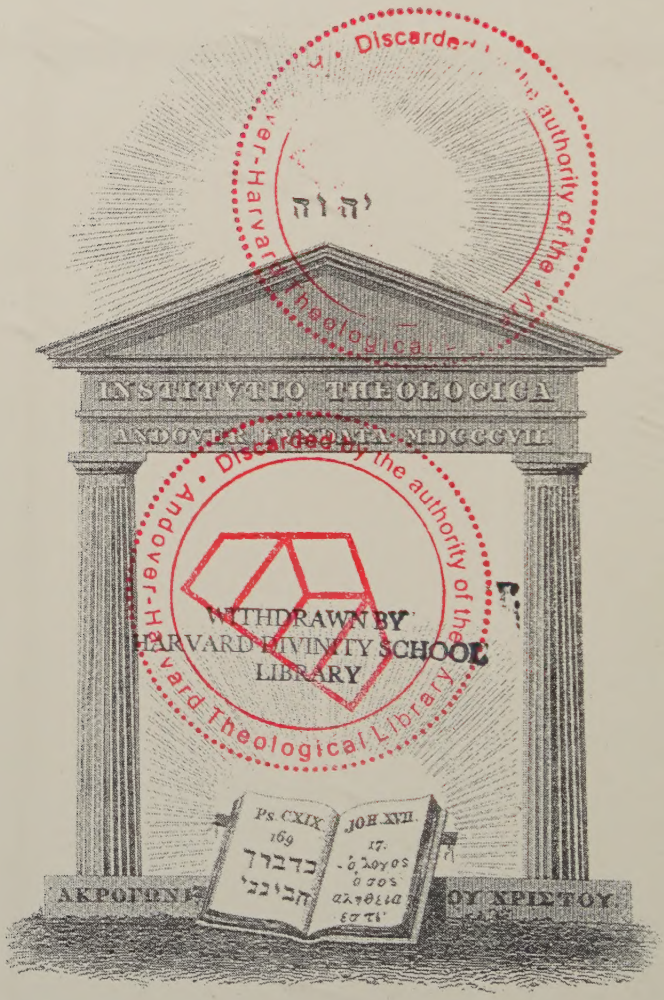

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OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY

OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY

BY

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LAMPETER

WITH THREE MAPS

SECOND EDITION

METHUEN & CO.
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.
LONDON
1903

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1903
cop. 2

54,126

PREFACE

THE following book is an attempt to compile from the Old Testament Scriptures, in accordance with the principles of historical criticism, a connected account of the Hebrew people. As it is avowedly an *Old Testament* history, the arrangement of the Bible has been adhered to so far as chronological considerations have permitted, and its contents are discussed consecutively, so that the reader is placed in possession not only of the conclusions of criticism but of the reasons for them. Much attention has been devoted to tracing the development of religious belief and practice in ancient Israel, the stages reached at successive epochs being reviewed in separate chapters. Information upon geographical and other matters is supplied in footnotes; and the usefulness of the volume (it is hoped) has been increased by several appendices and a tolerably complete index.

The subjoined list of books read or consulted witnesses to the extent of my obligations to the labours of others; and as specific acknowledgments have been only sparingly introduced into the body of the work, it is the more necessary for me to express in this place my indebtedness to all the writers who are there enumerated. But I naturally owe more to some than to others; and amongst those to whom my debt is greatest are Dillmann, Robertson Smith, Professors Driver, Moore, H. P. Smith, G. A. Smith, Sayce, Wellhausen, and Kirkpatrick, and various contributors to

Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. Nevertheless, though I have drawn freely upon the learning of previous writers, I have throughout endeavoured to verify their assertions and to check their inferences, so that the opinions expressed have not been formed without independent inquiry and a sense of responsible judgment.

Of the many defects of my work, due to limitations partly of space and partly of capacity, I am fully conscious, but its deficiencies will perhaps appear less serious if account be taken of the class of readers whose wants it is meant to supply. It is not intended for scholars, who will find in it little that is unfamiliar except the mistakes, but for less advanced students, who require in a text-book not so much extensive erudition as simplicity of method and perspicuity of statement. If it satisfies in any degree the needs of such, it will have achieved its purpose.

In conclusion I have to thank my friend and colleague, the Rev. Professor E. Tyrrell Green, for his kindness in reading the proof-sheets and in furnishing me with a number of corrections and suggestions.

G. W. W.

July, 1901

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE suddenness of the demand for a second edition of my book has allowed me no opportunity to do more than correct a few errors, for the detection of some of which I am indebted to certain of my reviewers and a kind correspondent.

G. W. W.

Nov. 1902

ALUMNIS
COLLEGII SANCTI DAVIDIS
APUD LAMPETER
HOC OPUSCULUM QUALECUNQUE EST
DEDICAT AUCTOR

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LIST OF BOOKS READ OR CONSULTED

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Baxter, *Sanctuary and Sacrifice.*
Bennett, *Joshua* (Polychrome Bible).
Bennett and Adeney, *Biblical Introduction.*
Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Könige.*
Bevan, *The Book of Daniel.*
Boscawen, *The Bible and the Monuments.*
Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy.*
Bruce, *The Moral Order of the World.*
Budde, *The Religion of Israel to the Exile.*
Burney, *Outlines of Old Testament Theology.*
Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *The Hexateuch.*
Charles, *Eschatology.*
Cheyne, *Isaiah* (Polychrome Bible).
,, *Jeremiah, his Life and Times.*
,, *Hosea.*
,, *Micah.*
,, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile.*
Cornill, *History of the People of Israel* (Tr.).
,, *The Prophets of Israel* (Tr.).
Davidson, *Ezekiel.*
,, *Job.*
Dillmann, *Genesis.*
,, *Exodus und Leviticus.*
,, *Numeri, Deuteronomium, und Josua.*
Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*
,, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel.*
,, *Deuteronomy.*
,, *Joel and Amos.*
,, *Isaiah, his Life and Times.*
,, *Daniel.*
,, Essay in *Authority and Archæology.*
Ewald, *History of Israel* (Tr.).

Farrar, *The Book of Daniel.*
,, *Solomon, his Life and Times.*
,, *The Minor Prophets.*
Frazer, *The Golden Bough.*
Giesebrecht, *Die Berufsbegabung der Propheten.*
Goldziher, *Mythology among the Hebrews* (Tr.).
Gray, *The Divine Discipline of Israel.*
Green, *The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch.*
Harper, *The Bible and Modern Discoveries.*
Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible* (vols. i.–iii.).[1]
Henderson, *Palestine.*
Hommel, *Ancient Hebrew Tradition.*
Hunter, *After the Exile.*
Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion.*
Kautzsch, *Outline of the History of the Literature of the Old Testament* (Tr.).
Kennedy, *The Book of Daniel from the Christian Standpoint.*
Kent, *History of the Hebrew People.*
,, *History of the Jewish People.*
King, *Babylonian Religion.*
Kirkpatrick, *The Doctrine of the Prophets.*
,, *Samuel.*
,, *The Psalms*, bks. i.–iii.
Kittel, *History of the Hebrews* (Tr.).
Lang, *The Making of Religion.*
Martineau, *A Study of Religion.*
Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations* (Tr.).
,, *The Passing of the Empires* (Tr.)
McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments* (vols. i., ii.).
Montefiore, *The Religion of Israel* (Hibbert Lectures).
Moore, *Judges.*
Mozley, *Ruling Ideas in Early Ages.*
Ottley, *Aspects of the Old Testament.*
,, *The Hebrew Prophets.*
Petrie, *Syria and Egypt.*
Piepenbring, *Histoire du Peuple d'Israel.*
,, *Théologie de l'ancien Testament.*
Rawlinson, *Egypt.*
,, *Moses, his Life and Times.*
,, *The Kings of Israel and Judah.*

[1] The first two volumes of this work appeared early enough for me to derive much help from it, but the third was not published until my own book was practically completed, so that I have not been able to make all the use of it that I could desire.

Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy* (Tr.).
Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel.*
,, *The Poetry and Religion of the Psalms.*
Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah.*
Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments.*
,, *The Egypt of the Hebrews.*
,, *Patriarchal Palestine.*
,, *The Early History of Israel.*
,, *Races of the Old Testament.*
Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* (Tr.).
Schultz, *Old Testament Theology* (Tr.).
Sinker, *Hezekiah and his Age.*
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Smith (G. A.), *The Historical Geography of Palestine.*
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Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (Tr.).
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N.B.—All references, except where otherwise indicated, are made to the Revised Version.

INTRODUCTION

A NECESSARY preliminary to every history is a survey of the material from which it is to be drawn. It is therefore desirable to begin a connected account of the history contained in the Old Testament by briefly passing under review the several books of which the O.T. consists, and considering their origin, character, and value as authorities. The traditional belief respecting their authorship, over and above what has been inferred from the names which are attached to some of them, seems to rest upon a passage in the Talmud[1] which makes, together with some statements difficult to understand, the assertion that Moses wrote the books known as his, except the concluding eight verses of the last; that Joshua added these, and wrote his own book; that Samuel wrote not only *1* and *2 Samuel*, but likewise *Judges* and *Ruth;* that Jeremiah wrote *Kings* and *Lamentations*, in addition to the book that bears his name; and that Ezra wrote a portion of the books of *Chronicles*, which were completed by Nehemiah. A little reflection, however, shows that both the titles of the books and the Jewish traditions concerning them are in many instances valueless as evidence of authorship. The book of *Joshua*, for example, cannot, as it stands, be written by Joshua, for it includes an account of his death; and though it is possible to explain this (like the final verses of *Deut.*) as an addition by another hand, the explanation fails when applied to the books of *Samuel;* for these include most of the reign of David, whereas Samuel pre-deceased Saul (*1 Sam.* xxviii. 3). Similarly the books of *Kings*, of which the Talmud asserts Jeremiah to be the writer, cannot well proceed from him, since

[1] Quoted in Driver, *Introd. to the Lit. of the O.T.*, p. xxxii, Bennett and Adeney, *Biblical Introd.*, p. 7.

mention is made, in the Second Book (xxv. 27), of the accession of the Babylonian King Evil Merodach (561 B.C.), whereas Jeremiah, after the capture of Jerusalem in 586, was conveyed not to Babylon but to Egypt (*Jer.* xliii. 6, 7), and is scarcely likely to have survived until 561 if his prophetic ministry began as early as 624 or 626 (see *Jer.* i. 2). The First Book of *Chronicles* (in iii. 19–24) carries the genealogy of Zerubbabel (*cir.* 520 B.C.) down to the 6th generation after him (*i.e. cir.* 340 B.C.),[1] and therefore must have been composed later than this last date, whilst Nehemiah, to whom the Talmud attributes its completion, lived a century earlier. As the external testimony is thus unsatisfactory, it is necessary to have recourse to the internal evidence; and an explanation of the origin of the O.T. writings must be sought from the writings themselves.

The help which the O.T. Scriptures furnish for the settlement of the question of their origin and date is derived not only from their allusions, but from an analysis of their structure. Hebrew writers, in place of first assimilating, and then repeating in their own language, the information obtained from earlier authorities, were frequently accustomed to incorporate in their own compositions longer or shorter extracts from such authorities, reproduced *verbatim.* For instance, the identity of *Is.* ii. 2–4 with *Mic.* iv. 1–3 points to the appropriation, by one of these prophets of the production of the other, or by both of the work of a third; and the close resemblance of *Jer.* xlix. 14–16 to *Obad.* 1–4 leads to a similar conclusion. The writer of *Chronicles* has followed the same practice on a much larger scale. A comparison of numerous passages in these books with the parallels in *Sam.* and *Kgs.* noted in the margin of the R.V. will show that the author has extracted large portions of these latter books and inserted them in the body of his own work, from which they are sufficiently distinguished by their style and spirit. It will be obvious that certain sections of such books as have been compiled in this manner are practically distinct compositions, even though they may not exist in a separate form (as is the case with the passages derived by *Chronicles* from *Sam.* and *Kgs.*), and

[1] The text is obscure, but it names six generations at least. The LXX gives eleven.

may possess much greater authority than the complete work of which they form part.

For the purpose of the present investigation, the O.T. writings may be conveniently classified into (I.) those which are professedly of the nature of histories: (II.) those which are of a different character. In the case of the latter it is only necessary to determine the age which produced them in order to use them at once as evidence for its conditions and circumstances. But behind the former lie their sources, which equally with themselves call for consideration, so that the inquiry in consequence is more extensive and involved. This class, in which must be included the Pentateuch, will comprehend all the books (as arranged in the English Bible) from *Genesis* to *Esther;* whilst the other class will comprise the remainder.

I. The Pentateuch and Joshua. The books of Moses profess to cover a period of history extending from the Creation to the death of Moses; so that even if Moses were the writer of them, a long interval would separate the record from many of the events recorded. But the inference, suggested not only by the mention of Moses' death but by the knowledge shown of the entrance into Canaan (*Ex.* xvi. 35, cf. *Josh.* v. 12), the extermination of the Canaanites (*Gen.* xii. 6, xiii. 7, *Deut.* ii. 12), and the institution of the kingdom (*Gen.* xxxvi. 31), that they are later than Moses is confirmed by an examination of their structure. A scrutiny of the first four books of the Pentateuch reveals here and there a double strand of narrative, presenting duplicate accounts of the same subject, each composed in a style and with a vocabulary of its own, which sometimes repeat and sometimes contradict each other. Some of the more considerable inconsistencies will come under notice in the course of the history;[1] whilst the difference in phraseology where the resemblance in substance is closer may be illustrated on a small scale by the following parallel passages:[2]

[1] See pp. 55, 57, 78, 107, etc.

[2] In addition to the differences in vocabulary observable in the sections quoted at length, the following are noteworthy. In the account of the Creation, *Gen.* ii. makes no mention of *creeping things*, which *Gen.* i. names repeatedly (ver. 24, 25, 26); in the account of the Flood certain sections use *blot out* (vi. 7, vii. 4, 23 marg.) whilst others uniformly employ

Gen. ii. 5, 7–9, 19, 22.

And no *plant of the field* was yet in the earth, and no *herb of the field* had yet sprung up: for *Jehovah God* had not caused it to rain upon the earth and there was not a man to till the ground. . . . And *Jehovah God formed* man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul. And *Jehovah God* planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had *formed*. And out of the ground made *Jehovah God* to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food. . . . And out of the ground *Jehovah God formed* every *beast of the field*, and every fowl of the air. . . . And of (a) rib which *Jehovah God* had taken from the man made he a woman.

Gen. i. 1, 11–12, 25–27.

In the beginning *God create* the heaven and the earth . . And *God* said, Let the eart put forth grass, herb yieldin seed and fruit tree bearing fru *after its kind*, wherein is th seed thereof, upon the earth and it was so. And the eart brought forth grass, herb yiel ing seed *after its kind*, an tree bearing fruit, wherein the seed thereof, *after its kind* and *God* saw that it was goo . . . And *God* made the *bea of the earth after its kind;* an the cattle *after their kind*, an everything that creepeth upo the ground *after its kind*, an *God* saw that it was good. An *God* said, Let us make ma in our image, after our lik ness . . . And *God creat* man in his own image, in th image of *God created* he him male and female *created* h them.

Ex. vii. 14–18 (part).

And Jehovah said unto Moses . . . Get thee unto Pharaoh, and thou shalt say unto him . . . Thus saith Jehovah, In this

Ex. vii. 19.

And Jehovah said unto Mose *Say unto Aaron*, Take thy ro and stretch out thine hand ov the waters of Egypt, *over the*

destroy (vi. 13, 17, ix. 11, 15); and in the narrative of the Plagues of Egy one series of passages, to describe Pharaoh's obstinacy, says that *his hea was heavy* or *he made his heart heavy* (*Ex.* vii. 14, viii. 15, 32, ix. 7, marg.), whereas another series says that *his heart was strong* or *Jehovah ma his heart strong* (vii. 13, 22, viii. 19, ix. 12, 35, x. 20, 27, xi. 10 marg.).

thou shalt know that I am Jehovah: behold I will smite with the rod that is in mine hand upon the waters which are in *the river*, and they shall be turned to blood. And the fish that is in *the river* shall die, and *the river* shall stink; and the Egyptians shall loathe to drink water from *the river*.

Ex. viii. 1–4 (part).

And Jehovah spake unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh and say unto him . . . I will smite all thy borders with frogs, and *the river* shall swarm with frogs which shall go up and come into thine house and into thy bedchamber and upon thy bed, and into the house of thy servants, and upon thy people.

rivers, over their streams, and over their pools, and over all their ponds of water, that they may become blood, and there shall be blood throughout all the land of Egypt.

Ex. viii. 5.

And Jehovah said unto Moses, *Say unto Aaron*, Stretch forth thine hand with thy rod *over the rivers, over the streams, and over the pools*, and cause frogs to come up upon the land of Egypt.

Through a large extent of the four books there runs, indeed, only a single thread of narrative; but the variation in style in different parts of this is sufficient to connect the several sections with one or other of the two threads which are interwoven elsewhere. When the separate portions of each of these constituent factors are brought together, they are found to form two more or less continuous compositions, originally independent of each other, which have been amalgamated (though not in their entirety) by a compiler. One of these, from containing the greater part of the ceremonial law, has been entitled the *Priestly narrative*;[1] whilst the other, which itself shows signs (by repeti-

[1] The style of the Priestly code is exceedingly precise and formal (see *Gen.* i., *Num.* vii., xxvi.) and its phraseology is very distinctive: amongst the expressions which constantly recur are *create, after its* (*their*) *kind, male and female, all flesh, establish a covenant, be fruitful and multiply, in the selfsame day, substance, cut off from his people, gathered to his people, land of thy* (*his,*

tions and discrepancies) of being composite in texture,[1] known as the *Prophetic* narrative (more by way of antithesis the former than from much resemblance to the writings of th prophets). The two may be conveniently denoted by the symbo P and JE (the latter letters standing for the two Divine nam *Jehovah* and *Elohim* (God) which in *Genesis* are the chief *criter* for distinguishing the component elements into which it is b lieved that the Prophetic narrative can be partially analysed The book of *Deuteronomy* (symbolised by D), which is variance with JE and P in its account of certain matters relate by them in common,[2] is distinguished from both by its phras ology which is of a strongly marked character.[3] The Pentateuc as a whole, thus appears to be composed of at least thr sources, if not of four. Sections of all these likewise occur the book of *Joshua*, so that the title *Hexateuch* (embracing th first six books of the O.T.) is now widely used to denote th Pentateuch together with the book that follows it.

The fact that *Joshua* is thus united to the so-called Boo of Moses by its literary structure disposes of the belief th Moses can be the author of the latter. It would be untenab even if the phraseology characteristic of P, JE, and D r spectively were confined to these five books, for it is ve unlikely that Moses should have written different parts of h own memoirs in a variety of styles which has little relation the variety of the subject-matter. But when the succeedi book (which records the death of Joshua) is found to share th feature with them, it is clear that the compiler of the whole mu have lived later than Joshua and *a fortiori* later than Moses.

The dates of JE, P, and D can only be determined vague JE was composed subsequently to the establishment of Isra in Canaan, for *Gen.* xii. 6, xiii. 7 (already referred to) belo

their) *sojournings*, *for a possession*. Phrases which are frequent in t legislative portions are *the congregation* (of Israel), *throughout your* (*the generations*, *bear his* (*their*) *iniquity*, *wickedness* (or *lewdness*).

[1] See p. 78, 104, 107. [2] See pp. 134 foll.

[3] Frequently recurring expressions are *observe to do*, *take heed to thys* (*yourselves*) *lest*, *that your days may be long*, *by a strong hand and a stretch out arm*, *cause to inherit*, *cause My name to dwell*, *with all your heart a with all your soul*, *to do that which is right* (*evil*) *in the sight of Jehovah* ; Driver, *Introd.*, pp. 91 foll.

to this source, and some of the laws of *Exodus* which are included in it imply a settled and agricultural, not a nomadic and pastoral, community (xxi. 6, xxii. 6). The literary skill it evinces indicates that it was not written until the Israelites had become well acquainted with the art of composition; and its origin may plausibly be placed within the period of the Monarchy. The presence in it of the Blessing of Jacob (*Gen.* xlix.) is consistent with a date within the reigns of David or Solomon (see p. 82); but its inclusion of the Blessing of Esau (*Gen.* xxvii. 39–40) probably requires it to be brought down to the ninth century B.C. It was, however, earlier than *Deuteronomy* which, for part of its contents, is dependent upon it. That this latter book was written towards the close of the Monarchy in Judah is suggested by the fact that it was not until a late period in the history of that kingdom that the warning (iv. 19, xvii. 2–5) against planet-worship became needed, or the injunction (xii. 5) to confine the public service of Jehovah to a single sanctuary was carried out (though several of the early sovereigns of Judah were God-fearing rulers). The worship of the host of heaven is mentioned in connection with the kingdom of Israel as early as the eighth century (*Am.* v. 25, cf. *2 Kg.* xvii. 16); and in Judah certain reforms effected by Hezekiah accorded with the precepts of *Deut.* But Manasseh in the seventh century was the first Judæan king who worshipped the host of heaven; and *Deuteronomy* may have been produced as a protest against his idolatry. It was certainly in existence in the time of Josiah, when a copy of it was found in the Temple (*2 Kg.* xxii. 8, see pp. 376–7), and some of the features of its peculiar style re-appear in *Jeremiah*, who lived in the reigns of Josiah and his successors.[1] The origin of P may with some probability be assigned to the time of the Exile, when the suspension of all sacrificial worship would render it desirable, in view of the expected Return, to draw up in writing a body of regulations which previously custom alone had been competent to evolve and transmit. This conclusion is supported by the facts (i.) that the ceremonial legislation peculiar to it was largely unobserved

[1] With the phrases quoted in the previous note cf. *Jer.* xxi. 5 (xxvii. 5, xxxii. 21), xii. 14, vii. 12, xxxiv. 15.

throughout the period of the Kings (as described in the books of *Kings*) under circumstances which seem to indicate that such neglect was due not to wilful disobedience but to ignorance: (ii.) that its characteristic vocabulary first occurs on any considerable scale in *Ezekiel*,[1] a prophet of the Captivity: (iii.) that to certain of its arrangements near, though not exact, parallels are found in Ezekiel's regulations for the Israelite community when restored to its own land—regulations which are less likely to be modifications of long-established and authoritative institutions than the tentative beginnings out of which the enactments of the Priestly code resulted. P, for example, contains provisions, among others, which (*a*) restrict the priesthood to the descendants of Aaron (instead of allowing it to be shared by all Levites, as represented by *Deut.*), (*b*) assign for the habitation of the priests certain cities, (*c*) station the sanctuary in the midst of the camp (instead of outside it, as represented by JE),[2] (*d*) ordain an annual ceremony of atonement for the sanctuary and its furniture, (*e*) appoint a daily flesh sacrifice, both morning and evening; and to these a significant resemblance is borne by the directions of *Ezekiel*[3] which (*a*) confine the priesthood to the descendants of Aaron's son Zadok, (*b*) allot to the priests a certain portion of holy ground round the sanctuary, (*c*) place the latter in the midst of the tribes, (*d*) enjoin atonement to be made twice a year for the sanctuary and altar, (*e*) establish a daily flesh sacrifice every morning, the prophet's precepts appearing to be in some respects less developed than those of the Priestly code. The distinction between the Priests and Levites prevailed at the time of the Return in 536 (*Ez.* ii.); and the arrangements which Nehemiah is represented as carrying out at Jerusalem in 444 B.C. agree generally with certain of the other peculiar requirements of P (see pp. 492–3). The Priestly code was therefore practically completed, and probably fused with the other sources of the Hexateuch[4] into a single whole, before the last-mentioned date.

[1] See, for instance, xiv. 8, 10, xvi. 43, 58, 60, 62, xxi. 30, xxiv. 2, xxviii. 13, 15, xxxvi. 11, xl. 1, xlv. 5, xlvii. 10; and comp. p. 5, note.

[2] See p. 140.

[3] See *Ezek.* xliv. 10–16, xlviii. (cf. Davidson *ad loc*), xlv. 18–25.

[4] Certain portions of *Deuteronomy* as it exists at present are derived from the Priestly Source, *e.g.* xxxii. 48–52, xxxiv. 7–9.

Judges, Ruth, 1, 2 Samuel, 1, 2 Kings. The historical books from *Judges* to *Kings* appear, like the Hexateuch, to be of composite texture. The accounts of the Judges, for example, which form the central portion of the book of *Judges*, are, for the most part, introduced and concluded by short observations (serving as a framework for them) which are all cast in a uniform mould (see for introduction iii. 7, 12, iv. 1, vi. 1, x. 6, xiii. 1, and for conclusion iii. 11, 30, v. 31, viii. 28); whereas the accounts themselves display great freshness and variety. *Ruth* exhibits in its last five verses something of the style and vocabulary of P;[1] but these may have been added by an exilic or post-exilic writer to a composition of pre-exilic times. It is obviously of later origin than the reign of David to whom it refers (iv. 17), and one of the customs described in the narrative is expressly stated to have obtained *in former times* (iv. 7); but more positive and precise indications of its date are absent. In the Hebrew Bible it is not attached to *Judges* but is comprised within the group of writings which was the last to be included in the Canon. In *1 Sam.* a number of narratives fall (as will appear later)[2] into two series which are sometimes difficult to harmonise with one another, and seem to be variant representations of the same facts composed by different authors at different dates; whilst in *2 Sam.* the existence of more than one account of the reign of David, dealing with different sides of it, is suggested by the two summaries of his officers in viii. 15 foll. and xx. 23 foll. In the books of *Kings* a collection of graphic stories (many of them relating particularly to the prophets Elijah and Elisha) is inserted in the middle of a compendious chronicle of the kings of Israel and Judah, which is marked by recurrent phrases similar to those just noticed in *Judges*. But the process followed in the formation of *Jud.–Kgs.* differs from that pursued in the *Hexateuch*. In this the earlier documents employed appear to have been welded together into a fairly harmonious whole with a minimum of additions from the hand of the compiler or compilers. In the succeeding books, the contributions of the compiler are more extensive, for to him are probably due the moralising and

[1] Cf. *Gen.* xi. 10 foll., where the same form (Heb.) of the verb *to beget* is used.

[2] See pp. 216, 221, 224, etc.

annalistic sections, marked by stereotyped phrases, which are so large an element of them. The compilation seems to have been made after the production of *Deuteronomy* (for the passages assigned to the compiler generally resemble that book in spirit and diction),[1] but prior to the Exile (since passages like *1 Kg.* xii. 19, *2 Kg.* xvii. 18, 23 must have been written in Palestine while Judah was still a kingdom).[2] But as the last chapter of *2 Kg.* records the fall of Jerusalem and the deportation of the Jews to Babylon (see also xvii. 19–20) this book must have been supplemented during the Exile, at which time some small additions were made to the other books likewise.[3] In the books of *Samuel* the compiler's own hand is less discernible than in the books immediately preceding and following.

1, 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah. The books of *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah* all form one connected work. Not only are the two last verses of *2 Chron.* identical with the opening verses of *Ezra*, but they end in the middle of a sentence, the conclusion of which only occurs in *Ez.* i. 3; whilst by Josephus[4] and in the Talmud *Ez.* and *Neh.* must have been counted as one book. As has been stated, a passage in *Chronicles* implies that it is not earlier than 340 B.C.[5] With this agrees the reference in *Nehemiah* xii. 11, 22, to Jaddua, who was high-priest in the time of Darius Codomannus 335–330 and Alexander (336–323). In

[1] e.g. *he (they) did that which was right (evil) in the sight of Jehovah;* cf. p. 6.

[2] The incidental observations respecting the Judæan ownership of Beersheba and Bethshemesh in *1 Kg.* xix, 3, *2 Kg.* xiv. 11, which convey the same implication, occur in sections which do not proceed from the compiler but have been incorporated by him from earlier sources.

[3] Features characteristic of the Priestly Code occur in *Jud.* xx., xxi. (see p. 192), *1 Kg.* viii. 1–5 (p. 304); cf. also *1 Kg.* iv. 24 marg.

[4] In *Cont. Ap.* i. 8 he states that the Jews possessed only 22 books, of which 5 contained the laws of Moses and the tradition of the origin of mankind up to the time of Moses' death, 13 contained the history of the nation from Moses till the reign of the Persian King Artaxerxes, and the remaining 4 consisted of hymns to God and directions for the conduct of human life. The 22 books are generally reckoned to be (1–5) the five books of Moses, (6) Joshua, (7) Judges and Ruth, (8) Samuel, (9) Kings, (10) Chronicles, (11) Ezra and Nehemiah, (12) Esther, (13) Job, (14) the xii. Minor Prophets, (15) Isaiah, (16) Jeremiah and Lamentations, (17) Ezekiel, (18) Daniel, (19) the Psalms, (20) Proverbs, (21) Ecclesiastes, (22) the Song of Songs.

[5] That it was written in the Persian or Greek periods appears further from the mention of *darics* or *drachmæ* in *1 Ch.* xxix. 7.

Chronicles, as has been said, there are incorporated sections of the books of *Samuel* and *Kings;* whilst in the books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* portions of the memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah (marked by the use of the 1st person sing.) are embodied (e.g. *Ez.* vii. 27–ix. 15, *Neh.* i.–vii).

Esther. This book, which professes to relate an incident in the reign of the Persian Xerxes (485–465 B.C.), must necessarily have been written as late as that date; but as the opening words suggest that the days of Xerxes were long past, the book is generally assigned to the Greek period and held to be subsequent to 330 B.C. A more precise conclusion is unattainable.

The analysis, however, of so many of the O.T. histories into their component parts does not exhaust the inquiry: it remains to determine upon what sources of information the latter were dependent. Contemporary written sources were forthcoming in abundance for some of the later periods described; and explicit references to such are not infrequent in the books relating to the Monarchy and the Return. For the earlier periods, when direct allusions fail, we have, in estimating the character of the materials from which the history has been derived, to be guided by general considerations. In this connection it is important to observe that the evidence for the practice of writing at a certain date by one people does not prove, or necessarily render probable, the use of the same by another people living under different circumstances. The prevalence of literary habits and the creation of documentary records imply settled life and some measure of culture. Where these conditions have been absent, it is not likely that the art of writing, if known, could be largely practised, or written memorials, available for the future historian, produced.

For the ages previous to the Call of Abraham historic *data* must have been altogether lacking. The account given of these in the opening chapters of *Genesis* obviously partakes of the nature of the stories by which early races everywhere have endeavoured to explain the origin of the universe. As will be seen, they have many points of likeness to those which are known to

have been current in Assyria and Babylonia. The times when the Hebrews came into contact with the Empires of the East were not confined to the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. or the period of the Exile. Babylonian influence had penetrated into Palestine in the 15th century B.C. (as appears from certain tablets found at Tell-el-Amarna, in Egypt),[1] and there seems no reason for questioning the trustworthiness of the belief that the ancestors of the Hebrew race themselves came at a still remoter date from Babylonia. The difference in substance and spirit discernible in certain of the parallel narratives in the beginning of *Genesis* suggests that the materials of them were adapted and shaped by the Hebrews at distinct periods, some perhaps being either appropriated or worked up in the time of the Exile, whilst others may date back as far as one of the two earlier occasions just indicated. In regard to patriarchal times, certain poems and lays were current, which have been incorporated by the writers of the histories: such are those relating to Lamech (*Gen.* iv. 23, 24), Noah (ix. 25–27), Rebekah (xxv. 23), and Isaac (xxvii. 27–29, 39–40), and the so-called Blessing of Jacob (xlix. 2–27). It is not probable, however, that all of these really proceed from this period; and the bulk of the patriarchal narratives can scarcely rest upon any other basis than tradition. A body of shepherds, such as the ancestors of the Hebrews avowedly were, are not likely to have drawn up and preserved written records of themselves; and certain features of the narratives (the derivation of the Hebrew people and their kin from a single ancestor, and the precise genealogical tables of their descent) suggest that they are in some degree the product of an imaginative treatment of traditional material. Of the life of Abraham, however, one incident is brought into connection with a Babylonian king (*Gen.* xiv. 1), to whose reign certain inscriptions recently discovered relate; and some features in the account of it may be drawn from Babylonian sources, though whether obtained in Babylon or Palestine is uncertain. And, in addition, some of the facts in the career of Joseph (e.g. *Gen.* xlvii. 13–27) may repose on more secure ground than the rest; for not only are they in point of time the most recent in the patriarchal history,

[1] 170 miles S. of Cairo.

but the scene of them is Egypt, where the memory of the past was systematically preserved.[1]

In the times of Moses and Joshua, as in the preceding age, the situation of the Hebrews, recently escaped from bondage, does not favour the belief that they produced many memorials of themselves. They had, however, in their leader Moses one who had been reared in the house of an Egyptian princess and probably trained in Egyptian learning (*Ex.* ii. 10); and if he was acquainted with the art of writing (as he may well have been) it is sufficiently likely that he used it. And actual mention is made of records drawn up by him in connection with the feud with Amalek (*Ex.* xvii. 14), the Sinaitic legislation (*Ex.* xxiv. 4, 7), a list of stations passed in the Wanderings (*Num.* xxxiii. 2, P), and the repetition of the Law before his death (*Deut.* xxxi. 9, 24). But the laws formulated in the several parts of the Pentateuch, together with their respective contents, exhibit, as has been shown, signs of belonging to a later date than the Mosaic age; so that if they embody Mosaic writings, it is impossible to distinguish them. Moreover, the Mosaic legal system appears to have originated in judgments given by word of mouth to disputants (*Ex.* xviii. 13), such oral decisions being converted into written statutes at a subsequent period. The experiences of the Exodus and the Wanderings (which occupy the narrative parts of the Pentateuch) and those attending the conquest of Canaan (related in *Joshua*) were sufficiently impressive to be retained (in outline) in the memory, apart from documentary records; but the many discrepancies manifested in the different sources of the *Hexateuch* indicate that much uncertainty prevailed as to details, which were in consequence handled with some freedom. Particular incidents became the subject of songs and poems, such as that attributed to Miriam at the Passage of the Red Sea (*Ex.* xv. 1–21). This, together with those quoted in *Num.* xxi. 14–15, 17–18, 27–30, and others, were probably

[1] No confirmation, however, of the history of Joseph has been furnished by the Egyptian monuments, though many both of the customs and of the names which occur in it find illustration from them. And even in regard to the latter, it has been observed that parallels to them are in general derived from monuments relating to a much more recent time than the supposed age of Joseph (see Driver in *Authority and Archæology*, p. 52).

at first preserved orally, and committed to writing at a later date, certain of them receiving additions in the course of transmission. Some of these compositions appear to have been eventually collected in a book entitled *The Wars of Jehovah* (*Num.* xxi. 14). Another collection of similar poems was the *Book of Jashar* (*Josh.* x. 13). The name of this probably has reference to Israel "the righteous" (cf. *Jeshurun*, *Deut.* xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, *2 Is.* xliv. 2), its contents consisting of songs in praise of Israelite heroes. The date of the latter collection, from the fact that it comprised David's elegy on Saul and Jonathan (*2 Sam.* i. 18), could not be earlier than David's time.[1]

The narratives in the book of *Judges* were presumably derived in the main from poems and stories[2] respecting local heroes which circulated among the several tribes. Such poems and stories were not always constant in the matter of details; and this want of fixity explains some unimportant discrepancies in the existing accounts. But that these accounts are in the main trustworthy may be inferred from a comparison of one of them (c. iv.) with the evidence supplied by the Song of Deborah (c. v.) which appears to be contemporary with the events it relates.[3] With the establishment of the Monarchy Israel entered upon a more settled period of history; and from the rise of national sentiment and the development of national resources the rise of a national literature may plausibly be dated. As the people advanced in culture and civilisation, both the materials for history and the ability to use them would increase. Alike at the courts of the kings (amongst whose officials a Recorder is mentioned, *2 Sam.* viii. 16, *1 Kg.* iv. 3, *2 Kg.* xviii. 18), at the Temple at Jerusalem (where registers and genealogies were kept), and in prophetic circles, numerous sources of information must have accumulated. And that these were utilised by annalists is clear from the titles of the works adduced as authorities in the books

[1] It may even be later than the reign of Solomon; see the LXX. of *1 Kg.* viii. 12 (53) where the words *ἐν βιβλίῳ τῆς ᾠδῆς* have been conjectured to be an error for *in the book of Jashar* (the Hebrew for the two phrases differing but slightly).

[2] Yet it is implied in *Jud.* viii. 14 (marg.) that a knowledge of writing was possessed by even ordinary individuals during this period.

[3] But see p. 199.

of *Kings* and *Chronicles*. The former mentions three works (or perhaps three sections of one work), "the Acts of Solomon" (*1 Kg.* xi. 41), "the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (*1 Kg.* xiv. 19, etc.), and "the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" (*1 Kg.* xiv. 29), which would seem to have been based on the public archives.[1] The latter refers to a similar work bearing the title of "the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah" (or its equivalent —see *2 Ch.* xxvii. 7, xvi. 11, xxxiii. 18);[2] and also cites either as independent authorities, or as embodied in the book just named,[3] the writings of certain prophets, Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Ahijah, Shemaiah, Iddo, Jehu, and Isaiah.[4] And many of the lists of names which appear in *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah* must be due to compilations of the priests, begun before the Exile and continued subsequently.

The completion and final revision of the historical books of the O.T. occurred (as has been said) at a comparatively late date, at a time when the consciousness of a Divine purpose manifesting itself in Hebrew history had become mature. To this fact are owing two characteristics of this class of writings. In the first place, the interest of their writers was with the religious rather than with the secular side of their nation's annals; and this affected not only their choice of subject-matter,[5] but their treatment of it, so that they were less concerned to trace the causes, than to draw the moral, of the events described. In the second place, in their view of the earlier stages of the history they were influenced by their knowledge of the later, but having an imperfect apprehension of the gradualness with which implicit principles receive explicit expression in the course of historical evolution, they were not content to leave the accounts of the rudimentary phases of their countrymen's religious development

[1] That they were not themselves official documents appears from the character of the reference in *1 Kg.* xvi. 20, *2 Kg.* xv. 15.

[2] In *2 Ch.* xxxiii. 18 mention is made of "the prayer of Manasseh" as being recorded in "the acts of the kings of Israel," and as it finds no place in the history of Manasseh in *2 Kg.* xxi. 1–18, the latter work cannot be referred to.

[3] See *2 Ch.* xx. 34.

[4] See *1 Ch.* xxix. 29, *2 Ch.* ix. 29, xii. 15, xx. 34, xxxii. 32.

[5] For information which they are not interested in supplying they frequently send their readers to the historical works mentioned above as their authorities (see especially *1 Kg.* xiv. 19, xxii. 39).

to be read in the light of the sequel, but were inclined to rewrite them and adapt them to the condition of things that afterwards prevailed. This inclination to introduce the practices and ideas of contemporary times or of the immediate past into the description of a remote period is indisputable in the books of *Chronicles;* for by the side of these the earlier books of *Kings* have been preserved, and the difference between their representations is too pronounced to escape notice. But though this is the only case in the O.T. where two separate works upon the same subject are available for comparison, it is probable that the same tendency has been at work in other instances; and the existing accounts of the Patriarchal and Mosaic ages in particular contain features which (as has been indicated) find on such an hypothesis their best explanation.

II. Those of the O.T. books which are not professedly histories but poems, prophecies, or philosophical compositions are of importance to the study of O.T. history from the light which they throw upon the social, moral, and religious conditions of the age which produced them. What this was, however, cannot always be ascertained with certainty, since in the absence of trustworthy traditions it has to be inferred from the general standpoint of the writer or from his specific allusions to persons or events of known date. In some instances the only clue is the character of the subject-matter, linking them to compositions whose age is otherwise fixed; but it is obvious that writings which are assigned to a particular time solely on the ground of the beliefs and sentiments which they express cannot, without a *petitio principii*, be used to illustrate the characteristic ideas of that time.

The non-historical books may be divided into (i.) Poetical, (ii.) Didactic, (iii.) Prophetical. To the first belong the *Psalms*, *Job*, and the *Song of Songs;* to the second, *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes;* and to the third the Major and Minor Prophets.

The Psalms. Of the *Psalms*, which number 150, a large proportion are connected, in the titles prefixed to them, with the names of various individuals, viz. Moses (1), David (73), Solomon (2), the sons of Korah (11, including one to which the name of Heman is also attached), Asaph (12), and Ethan (1);

whilst of the Psalms bearing the name of David, some are associated with particular incidents in his lifetime. But the contents of many of these last are inconsistent with the statements in the titles. In v. 7, xxvii. 4, and lxv. 4, the allusion to a *temple* does not suit David's reign (though the term is used of the sanctuary at Shiloh).[1] In li., which in the title is brought into relation with David's intrigue with Bathsheba, the writer is conscious (ver. 4) of sin against God only (not man), and the closing verses are a prayer for the building of the walls of Jerusalem. Psalm xxxiv., which is assigned to the time when David feigned madness at the court of Gath (*1 Sam.* xxi. 13), is avowedly intended to give instruction *in the fear of Jehovah* (ver. 11 foll.). In lix., which the title connects with Saul's attempt to kill David at his own house (*1 Sam.* xix. 11), the prayer to God to arise and visit the nations (ver. 5, 8) is inappropriate to the supposed situation. In these cases the value of the titles is discredited, and doubt, in consequence, is cast upon others which are not so obviously in error. The internal evidence, however, though sufficing to disprove many of the conclusions expressed in the titles, is for the most part too vague to supply others as precise but more correct. Nevertheless there is great probability that some psalms proceed from David, though much uncertainty as to which they are,[2] xviii. and xxiv. perhaps having as good a claim as any to be considered his. Others, by their allusions to the king, may have been composed at any time within the period of the monarchy (ii., xx., xxi., xlv., lxi., lxiii., lxxii.); and to these should be added xlvi.–xlviii., lxxv., lxxvi., the language of which, though more or less suitable to any occasion when the nation had experienced a great deliverance, is peculiarly appropriate to the time of Sennacherib's overthrow in the reign of Hezekiah. Many are fixed, by their allusions to the captive and distressed condition of the people and the desolation of the Temple, to the Exile or to some later calamity like the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes (168 B.C.), which roused the resistance of the Maccabees (lxxiv., lxxix., lxxx., lxxxix.).[3] *Ps.* cxxvi. expresses the outburst of joy excited by the

[1] See *1 Sam.* i. 9 and p. 280. [2] Cf. p. 276.
[3] It has been questioned whether the Canon of the O.T. was not closed

Return from captivity; whilst lxxxv. seems to reflect the despondency which afterwards supervened. A certain number of psalms are liturgical in character (cxv., cxxxv.), and these must proceed from times when the Temple services were carefully organised. It is not, however, improbable that many which exhibit traces of late origin contain an earlier nucleus, old material having been adapted to subsequent needs. The alterations and combinations to which writings of this kind were liable is clearly evidenced by a comparison of cviii. with lvii. and lx., and of lxx. with xl.

From what has been said it follows that the present collection of the *Psalms* was the work of post-exilic times. But that earlier collections once existed, which were afterwards incorporated in the later, is suggested by certain internal features. The arrangement into five books might, if it stood by itself, be reasonably held to be the work of the editor; but the fact that the sections correspond only approximately, not exactly, with the natural divisions into which the contents fall, points to the conclusion that they existed as independent aggregates before the time of the final editor, and that they were, in some respects, modified by him.[1]

Job. The book of *Job*, which is a philosophical drama or dialogue, is ascribed in the Talmud to Moses; but it is highly improbable that in the Mosaic age there could have been produced a work marked by the artistic form and profound thought of *Job*. Precise allusions, however, for determining its date are wanting, though the references to the worship of the sun and moon (xxxi. 26–28), with which the Hebrews seem to have become familiar for the first time in the closing years of the Northern Kingdom (*2 Kg.* xvii. 16), suggest that it was composed not earlier than the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 7th century B.C. But if account be taken of the stage of philosophical reflection reached in it, a later date than this is

too soon for psalms of the Maccabean period to be inserted in it, the writer of *Ecclus.* implying that in his time (*c.* 133 B.C.) there existed a translation of "the law, the prophecies, and the rest of the books," which suggests an earlier date than 168 for the originals from which the translation was made. But the statement leaves uncertain (1) what "the rest of the books" comprised, (2) whether, if the Psalter was included, it was the existing collection or an earlier one (see the next paragraph).

[1] Bks. i. and ii. consist mainly of alleged Davidic psalms, and bk. ii. concludes with the statement "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended," whereas in reality these two books do not include all the reputed Davidic psalms, whilst they comprise several psalms expressly attributed to other writers (Asaph, Solomon, and the sons of Korah).

rendered probable, its questionings of Divine justice bringing it into association with *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel* (6th century B.C.). And there are some features which point to a later date even than the Exile, since the only parallels for the character of Satan are furnished by *Zech.* iii. 1 and *1 Ch.* xxi. 1 (both post-exilic writings), whilst the expression *holy ones* (v. 1, xv. 15) to denote angelic beings appears to be found elsewhere only in "*Zech.*" xiv. 5, *Ps.* lxxxix. 7, and *Dan.* viii. 13 (but cf. *Deut.* xxxiii. 2).

The patriarch who is the subject of the book was, no doubt, an actual personage, who was represented either in history or tradition as distinguished both for his piety (cf. *Ezek.* xiv. 14, 20) and his prosperity; but, as the symmetry which obtains between his losses and his recompense (i. 2, 3, xlii. 12, 13) suggests, the historical or traditional matter has been freely handled by the poet. Uz, the native land of Job, is associated with Edom in *Lam.* iv. 21.

Song of Songs. The *Song of Songs*, a love poem, is either a drama or a collection of lyrics sung at bridal festivals. It bears the name of Solomon (i. 1); but certain peculiarities of diction have led to its being assigned either to the time of the Monarchy after the division of the Kingdom, or to the period after the Exile.

Proverbs. *Proverbs* consists of several collections of proverbial sayings and maxims, which are respectively attributed to (1) Solomon (i. 1–xxii. 16 (or x. 1–xxii. 16[1]) and xxv.–xxix., the latter being stated to have been "copied out" by "the men of Hezekiah"): (2) "the wise" (xxii. 17–xxiv. 22 and xxiv. 23–end): (3) Agur the son of Jakeh, of Massa[2] (c. xxx.): (4) Lemuel king of Massa, "which his mother taught him" (c. xxxi.). The final combination of these collections into one book was probably effected at a late date (after the Exile), as one of the collections is said by scholars to contain traces of Aramaic. But the bulk of the book is doubtless old; and apart from the evidence supplied by the title in xxv. 1, the numerous allusions to the king (xvi. 10 foll., xix. 12, xx. 8, 26, 28) show that parts must proceed from the time of the Monarchy. Probably many of the proverbs come from Solomon himself (cf. *1 Kg.* iv. 32); but it is not likely that all that are ascribed to him are really his,

[1] C. i.–ix. are generally regarded as an introduction to the Solomonic collection x. 1–xxii. 16.

[2] See *Gen.* xxv. 14.

since some are of a tenor rather inconsistent with his policy and habits (*e.g.* xxi. 31, xxii. 14).

Ecclesiastes. *Ecclesiastes*[1] professes (seemingly) to be the work of Solomon (i. 1); but its ascription to him is probably only a literary device, for neither the description of the prevalence of oppression (iii. 16, iv. 1, v. 8, cf. also x. 5), which reflects severely upon the character of the ruler, nor the counsel relating to the conduct of a subject towards the king (viii. 2 foll., x. 20) is consistent with the book being the composition of one who was himself a sovereign. Still less compatible with its alleged authorship is its diction, which points to its being one of the latest books of the O.T. and therefore post-exilic. But whether it belongs to the Persian or to the still later Greek period is a question which is not easily determined, and turns partly upon the social conditions it contemplates, and partly upon the parallels it offers to certain Greek philosophical systems.

Unlike the personal names borne by some of the Historical books, those attached to the Prophetical books are, with two or three exceptions, the names of their authors; and in the case of the majority the age to which they belong is known from information supplied by the histories, or from statements prefixed to the prophecies themselves and confirmed by the evidence of their contents. But in a certain number of instances the date is ascertainable from the internal evidence only, and this is of a conflicting character. And even of those books whose authorship is known, there are longer or shorter passages which differ so widely both in substance and form from their context that it is difficult to believe that they can proceed from the same hand, and the origin of such sections has likewise to be determined from their writers' standpoint and allusions. But some uncertainty is inseparable from inferences drawn from these *data*. In the first place when one country was absorbed by another as the result of conquest, the conqueror could be described as king of the subject territory equally with the previous native ruler

[1] *Ecclesiastes* is the LXX. rendering of the Hebrew *Koheleth*, meaning "one who summons, or addresses, an assembly." In form the Hebrew word is feminine.

(see *2 Kg.* xxiii. 29, *Ez.* v. 13, vi. 22), so that under the same expressions a great change in the historical situation might be concealed. Secondly, the prophets embraced within their mental view not only the past but the future, and blended together the real and the ideal, so that it is frequently a question of no little perplexity to decide whether the circumstances they depict represent an actually existing state of affairs or only a forecast of one still to come. When a particular standpoint is steadily maintained for a long space, it may reasonably be regarded as portraying the conditions under which the prophet was living at the time he wrote: but where short passages are concerned, much doubt is inevitable.

Isaiah. Isaiah was a native of Judah, and seems to have been born in the reign of Uzziah, in the year of whose death he received the first call to his prophetic work (vi. 1). He lived through the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz, and at least part of that of Hezekiah, his latest prophecies relating to the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib in 701 B.C. Whether he survived Hezekiah is not known for certain; but tradition affirms that he lived till the reign of Manasseh by whom he was put to death.

Certain sections of the book of *Isaiah* are so unlike the rest of it that they may plausibly be assigned to another writer or writers, the reason which has led to their being attached to the authentic productions of Isaiah being perhaps convenience in copying or arranging manuscripts. These sections are xiii. 1–xiv. 23; xxiv.–xxvii.; xxxiv.–xxxv.; and xl.–lxvi.

The most important of these is xl.–lxvi. Between this section and the acknowledged writings of Isaiah there is great dissimilarity both in standpoint and style. Here the writer assumes that the nation is in *exile* (lxiv. 10), and contemplates its restoration from it in consequence of the destruction of Babylon, which is regarded as near at hand, and was actually effected by Cyrus the Persian in 538 B.C. (see xlv. 1). The Persian king is already in motion (xlv. 1–2, 5); and the prophet in consequence appeals to the fulfilment of earlier predictions (presumably some relating to Cyrus and the successes he has already achieved) as accrediting

the new announcements which he proceeds to make (xlii. 9, xlviii. 3–8). Cyrus who was King of Anshan (a district within the borders of Elam), became in 549 lord of the Medes and Persians by the overthrow of Astyages; and the reference in xli. 25 to one coming from the North and East is possibly an allusion to the union, under him, of these two nations, and consequently confines the date of the section within the interval between 549 and 538. The differences in style between this section and c. i.–xxxix. cannot be dealt with at length here: it is sufficient to name one or two. For instance, the words *create* and *all flesh* are common in c. xl.–lxvi.;[1] they are characteristic of the Priestly narrative of the Hexateuch[2] which has been assigned to the Exile; and they are almost entirely absent from c. i.–xxxix. (the only exception being iv. 5). The duplication of an emphatic word is also of frequent occurrence in xl.–lxvi. (see xl. 1, xlviii. 11, li. 9, 12, 17, lii. 1, 11, lvii. 6, 14, 19, etc.); but in the earlier chapters the only instances are viii. 9, xxi. 9, xxix. 1. The section is generally known as *2 Isaiah*.

Within the last eleven chapters of this section (lvi.–lxvi.) there occur certain passages which seem to imply other conditions than those which prevailed during the Exile. The principal of these are (*a*) lvi. 9–lvii. 13, (*b*) lix., (*c*) lxv., (*d*) lxvi. In (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*) the circumstances described, taken together, suit best a *pre-exilic* date, for the scenery is that of Palestine, not Babylonia (lvii. 5–6, lxv. 7), idolatry is prevalent (lvii. 5 foll., lxv. 3 foll.), responsibility for civil injustice and oppression is implied (lix. 4, 7, 9, 14 etc.), negotiations are conducted with foreign powers (lvii. 9), a judgment is impending (lvi. 9), and only a remnant of the people will survive (lxv. 8–9). The situation depicted in (*d*) seems to be that of the *post-exilic* community in the times of Haggai and Zechariah, for the temple is about to be rebuilt (lxvi. 1) if not already standing (ver. 6), but the nation is corrupt and divided (ver. 3–5, cf. *Zech.* vii.). On the other hand, some scholars regard lvi.–lxvi., *as a whole*, to be post-exilic, and designate it as *3 Is.* On this view, the persons attacked for their idolatry in lvii. 5 foll., lxv. 3 foll. are the Samaritans and their sympathisers in the time of Nehemiah.[4]

xiii. 1–xiv. 23, which announces the impending fall of Babylon and the restoration from captivity of Jewish prisoners, is expressly attributed in the superscription to Isaiah, and contains a certain number of parallels to Isaianic phraseology. But the representa

[1] For *create* or *creator* see xl. 26, 28, xli. 20, xlii. 5, xliii. 1, 7, 15, xlv. 7, 8, 12, 18, xlviii. 7, liv. 16, lvii. 19, lxv. 17, 18; for *all flesh* see xl. 5, 6, xlix. 26, lxvi. 16, 23, 24.

[2] See p. 5, note.

[3] If this view is correct, the passages have been borrowed from a preceding writer.

[4] See Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, p. 25.

tion of Babylon's destruction as *near* (xiii. 22) and to be effected by *the Medes* (xiii. 7) suits the close of the Exile best.

In xxxiv.–xxxv. the absence of precise references makes the occasion of its composition doubtful; but the hostility displayed towards Edom (xxxiv. 5–6), and the close parallel with lxiii. 1–6 (cf. also *Ezek.* xxv. 12–14), again renders an exilic date probable.

Of xxiv.–xxvii. the origin is highly uncertain. The catastrophe described relates to a *city* (not a country like Assyria, the foe of Israel in Isaiah's time), which may be Babylon, in which case the section will be exilic in origin. With this agrees the reference to Moab (xxv. 10) which finds a parallel in *Ezek.* xxv. 8–11; and there are some features of likeness to *Is.* xxxiv.–xxxv. (just considered). But the mention of *this mountain* (xxv. 6, 10) points to the writer being in Palestine; and a post-exilic is more probable than a pre-exilic date, though a confident assertion is impossible. If post-exilic and belonging to the Persian age, it is variously referred to the reigns of Darius Hystaspis (521–485) and Artaxerxes Ochus (358–337) (see pp. 469, note, 487).[1]

Jeremiah. Jeremiah began to prophesy in the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign (see i. 2); and his prophetic activity extended beyond the Fall of Jerusalem (586 B.C.). The first copy of his prophecies was written in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (xxxvi. 1, 2), and this being burnt, a second was made in the following year; so that the chapters of the book which relate to the earlier years of his activity were not composed contemporaneously with the events to which they refer.

Two sections of the book, if not more, probably proceed from another than Jeremiah, viz. x. 1–16, and l. 1–li. 58. The second contemplates an attack upon Babylon by the Medes (see li. 11–28); and both exhibit parallels in thought and expression to *2 Is.* They may consequently be assigned to the Exile. A part of the second section (li. 15–19) reproduces x. 12–16.

Lamentations. *Lamentations* in the Hebrew has no name attached to it; but in the LXX. it is expressly assigned to Jeremiah.

[1] Some scholars regard xi. 10–16, xii., and xxi. 1–10 as likewise non-Isaianic (pp. 428, 368, notes). C. xv. 1–xvi. 12 is almost certainly quoted by Isaiah from an earlier unknown prophet: part of it is also reproduced by Jeremiah (xlviii. 29 foll.).

The subject (the Fall of Jerusalem) and the tone of the poem are generally appropriate to the situation and character of Jeremiah; and there are one or two close parallels between the writer's account of himself and the experiences of the prophet (cf. iii. 14, 53 with *Jer.* xx. 7, xxxviii. 6). But the language used of the king (Zedekiah) in iv. 20 seems too sympathetic to proceed from Jeremiah (contrast *Jer.* xxiv. 8), and the writer identifies himself with the political intrigues of the time more closely than Jeremiah is likely to have done (v. 6). Moreover, the fact that of the five chapters, or poems, of which the book consists, four are arranged as acrostics, makes it difficult to think that it could have been composed by a prophet of Jeremiah's temperament; and his authorship of it is discountenanced by the circumstance that in the Heb. Bible it does not appear among the prophetical writings.

Ezekiel. Ezekiel was one of the captives who, in 597, were taken to Babylon with King Jehoiachin, and who found a home at Tel Abib (iii. 15). His prophetic call took place in 592 (i. 2), soon after his own exile began, but before the deportation of his countrymen at large; and consequently some of his writings reflect the conditions and ideas of the time preceding the Fall of Jerusalem. Others, however, were produced subsequently to that event, and more strictly belong to the period of the Exile. The latest of them dates from 570 B.C. (xxix. 17–21).

Daniel. The book of *Daniel*, which in the English Bible is placed with the prophetical books, is not counted among them in the Hebrew Scriptures. The narrative element is much more extensive in it than in the prophetical writings generally, occupying about half the book: in this Daniel is referred to in the 3rd person; but elsewhere he is represented as writing in the 1st. The book professes to relate certain events occurring to Daniel[1] and some other captive Jews in Babylon (illustrative of Hebrew faithfulness under trial, and God's goodness towards His loyal servants (c. i., iii., vi.)), and also certain revelations made to

[1] The Daniel who is the subject of the book can scarcely be identical with the Daniel named in *Ezek.* xiv. 14, xxviii. 3, who, from the character of the references to him, must have lived long before the Exile.

Daniel individually respecting the future (c. viii.–xii.). There are, however, numerous difficulties in the way of accepting the book as the work of a prophet of the Exile. The narrative section contains so many inaccuracies and improbabilities that a long period must have separated the writer from the time which he describes. Moreover, the predictions which occupy the second half of the book differ in two respects from those of other prophets, since, on the one hand, they have little relation to the circumstances of the writer's assumed age, and on the other hand, they are very precise and circumstantial in regard to what is represented as a distant future. It has therefore come to be very generally held that the book is of much later origin than the Exile, and really dates from the second century B.C., being contemporaneous with the outrages upon the Jewish nation and religion perpetrated by Antiochus Epiphanes (175–163 B.C.). If this view is correct, it will be clear that (1) the narrative part cannot command implicit confidence; (2) the bulk of the prophecies were *written* after the events predicted had taken place. But it does not follow that the incidents and predictions are alike pure inventions. the writer, for his account of both, may have had materials to work upon, though, if so, it is probable that he has handled them with freedom. Nor even if all the prophecies, except that of the destruction of Antiochus in viii. 25 and xi. 45, and the establishment of the Divine kingdom in ii. 44, vii. 14, 27, are actually *vaticinia post eventus*, is the writer necessarily guilty of intentional deceit. The predictive form into which he has cast what is *ex hypothesi* an account of the past may be only his method of expressing and making intelligible the truth that everything that had previously happened had taken place in accordance with the foreknowledge and purpose of God, and was preliminary to a glorious future which he believed and affirmed to be in store for his suffering countrymen.

Among the certain or probable errors which have been observed in the book may be mentioned:—

1. The forms *Nebuchadnezzar* for *Nebuchadrezzar*[1] and (probably) *Abednego* for *Abednebo*.

2. The statement that Nebuchadrezzar besieged Jerusalem in Jehoiakim's

[1] This mistake is also made in *2 Kg.* xxiv. 10, *2 Ch.* xxxvi. 6, and *Ez.* i. 7.

third year (i. 1) and carried away the king and much treasure ;[1] whereas the predictions in *Jer.* xxv. 9 (delivered in Jehoiakim's fourth year, ver. 1) and xxxvi. 29 (delivered in his fifth year, ver. 9) imply that the Babylonian attack at those dates was still in the future, and Jehoiakim actually reigned eleven years (according to *2 Kg.* xxiii. 36). It may be added that if Daniel was a youth of (say) 12 at the time at which he is represented as taken to Babylon (viz. Jehoiakim's third year, B.C. 604) he would have been eighty at the fall of Babylon in 536.

3. The application of the name *Chaldeans* to describe professional soothsayers and wise men (ii. 2)—a use of the national appellation which is quite late, Herodotus being the first to employ the term in a limited sense to denote the priests of Bel (i. 181).[2]

4. The statement (v. 2, 18) that Belshazzar was son of Nebuchadrezzar and king of Babylon ;[3] whereas, on the evidence of an inscription found at Mugheir (Ur),[4] he was the son of Nabunahid the last king of Babylon, and did not himself come to the throne. If the statement in *Daniel* is to be reconciled even approximately with history, the description of Nebuchadrezzar as *father* of Belshazzar must be taken to mean one of his *predecessors*, and it has to be assumed that Belshazzar was joint-ruler with his real father Nabunahid.

5. The statement that the conqueror of Babylon was Darius the Mede[5] (v. 31), instead of Cyrus the Persian, who is represented as one of his successors (vi. 28). In ix. 1 Darius is called the son of Ahasuerus, and if this name stands for Xerxes (cf. *Esth.* i. 1), there is another error, for Xerxes was not the father, but the son, of Darius Hystaspis.[6]

The language of the book is partly Hebrew and partly Aramaic ;[7] and the latter is said to be of the Western (Palestinian) and not the Eastern dialect. The Hebrew is regarded by scholars as similar to that of the Chronicler, and it contains certain words of Persian, and others of Greek, origin[8] which are not likely to have been known to a Hebrew writer in the time of the Exile.

[1] The capture of Jehoiakim and his deportation to Babylon is also affirmed in *2 Ch.* xxxvi. 6–7 but not in *Kings*. [2] See Driver, *Daniel*, p. 12.

[3] The successors of Nebuchadrezzar were really as follows: Evil-Merodach (561), Nergal Sharezer (559), Labashi-Merodach (556), Nabunahid (554). The last was a usurper, and was overthrown by Cyrus, his capital (Babylon) opening its gates to the conqueror.

[4] Quoted by Driver in *Authority and Archæology*, p. 123.

[5] "Darius the Mede" has by some authorities been identified with Gobryas the general of Cyrus, by whom (it is assumed) he was made governor of Babylon. But the name of *Darius* has perhaps been associated with the capture of the city in consequence of the later assault upon it in 520 by Darius the son of Hystaspes ; though the writer of *Daniel* certainly seems to have thought that a *Median* empire succeeded the Babylonian and preceded the Persian: see c. vii. and Driver's note, pp. 99, 100. That the Medes would be the destroyers of Babylon had been asserted in "*Is.*" xiii. 17, "*Jer.*" li. 11. [6] See p. 472.

[7] As there is nothing in the nature of the contents to explain why Hebrew should be used in one part and Aramaic in another, the fact has been accounted for by the supposition that a portion of the Hebrew original had been lost or destroyed, and that the gap was filled by a section taken from an Aramaic version of the book, see Bevan, *Daniel*, p. 27.

[8] Such as *satrap* (iii. 2, 3, vi. 1, 2), *psaltery*, *harp* (Gk. κίθαρις), *dulcimer* (Gk. συμφωνία) (iii. 5, 15).

The deliverance of Hananiah and his companions from the fire and of Daniel from the lions is quoted in *1 Mac.* ii. 59, 60, so that the book must have been written very shortly after the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes. According to Josephus the prophecies of Daniel existed in the time of Alexander, and were shown to him at Jerusalem; but the story is generally discredited (cf. p. 487).

Hosea. Hosea, who appears to have been a native of the Northern Kingdom,[1] prophesied in the reign of Jeroboam II.; and his activity was probably prolonged into the reigns of that king's three successors, for vii. 7, v. 13 seem to allude to the deaths of Zechariah and Shallum (*2 Kg.* xv. 8–10, 13–15), and to the policy of Menahem (*2 Kg.* xv. 19). But whether he died before the reign of Pekah and the devastation of Gilead by Assyria (vi. 8, xii. 11), or lived to witness the intrigues with Egypt pursued by Hoshea (vii. 11, xii. 1), who was the contemporary of Hezekiah (i. 1), is uncertain.[2]

Joel. The date of *Joel* is much disputed, as many of the allusions are consistent with more than one period. The omission of all mention of Assyria and Babylon points to its having been produced *either* (*a*) before the rise of the former (*i.e.* early in the 8th century), *or* (*b*) after the downfall of the latter (*i.e.* in the 5th century); and each of these alternatives will account for certain features in the book. The denunciation of Tyre, Philistia, and Edom (iii. 4, 19) can be paralleled both from *Am.* i. 6–12 in the earlier period and from *Jer.* xlvii. 4, "*Is.*" xxxiv. 5 foll., and lxiii. 1–6 later; the reference to the *priests* (i. 9, ii. 17), (to the exclusion of the king) and the absence of any allusion to idolatry are reconcilable with its origin either in the early years of the rule of Joash of Judah, over whom Jehoiada acted as guardian (*2 Kg.* xii. 1, 2), or after the Exile, under the Persian domination; the daily *meal* offering (i. 9, 13) and the practice of fasting were not distinctive of any age; whilst in regard to the resemblance between *Jo.* iii. 16 and

[1] This is indicated by his familiarity with various localities in N. Israel; *e.g.* Mizpah, Tabor (v. 1), Gibeah, Ramah, Beth-aven (=Bethel) (v. 8), Shechem (vi. 9), Gilgal (ix. 15).

[2] Certain portions of *Hosea* are considered by a few critics to be later interpolations; but the abruptness and obscurity of the book make proof of such interpolations difficult. The short section i. 10–ii. 1 is probably misplaced; its contents connect it with ii. 23.

Am. i. 2, and between *Jo.* iii. 18 and *Am.* ix. 13, there is nothing to determine which prophet borrowed from the other. But whilst the omission amongst Judah's enemies of the Ammonites (who were especially troublesome in the 5th century, see *Neh.* iv. 7) is in favour of the earlier date (though Amos in the 8th century denounced them, i. 13–14), yet the absence of any mention of Syria, the allusions to Egypt and Greece (iii. 19, 6), and, finally, the description of Israel as *scattered among the nations* (iii. 2), give a preponderant probability to the post-exilic date. The description of the overthrow of the nations (iii. 9 foll.) and of the fountain issuing forth from the house of Jehovah (iii. 18) finds a parallel in *Ezek.* xxxviii.–xxxix. and xlvii. 1.

Amos. Amos, who was a native of Tekoa, a place some twelve miles south of Jerusalem, visited the Northern Kingdom in the course of the reign of Jeroboam II. He was probably slightly earlier in date than Hosea.[1]

Obadiah. The date of Obadiah can only be doubtfully inferred from the contents of the prophecy, which is directed against Edom for rejoicing over the calamities of Judah and cutting off her fugitives (ver. 14). The most probable occasion of their acting thus is the capture of Jerusalem in 586 (see *Ezek.* xxv. 12–14, xxxv., *Jer.* xlix. 7–22, "*Is.*" xxxiv. 5, lxiii. 1 foll., *Ps.* cxxxvii. 7). It is in accordance with this date that the prophet, in foretelling the eventual restoration of his countrymen (though mentioning the house of Joseph, ver. 18), has in mind only Judah and Benjamin (ver. 19). *Obad.* 1–5 recurs substantially in *Jer.* xlix. 14–16, 9; and on the supposition that the two writers were nearly contemporaneous, it seems probable that both have borrowed from an earlier prophet who wrote perhaps in the time of Jehoram or Ahaz, kings of Judah (*2 Kg.* viii. 20, xvi. 6 marg.).[2] Another view makes *Obadiah* pre-exilic and the original source of the passage common to it and *Jeremiah.* The occasion of Edom's malicious delight is then supposed to be the attack on Jerusalem made by the Philistines

[1] The authenticity of a few passages in *Amos* is disputed, see pp. 425, 428.

[2] The quotation from the earlier writer is variously understood to be verses 1–7 or 1–9.

and Arabians in the reign of Jehoram (*2 Ch.* xxi. 16–17). Edom had revolted from Jehoram (*2 Ch.* xxi. 8–10), and *may* have taken part in the assault upon the capital, though the historian does not mention the fact.

Jonah. The title of *Jonah*, like that of *Daniel*, appears to indicate the subject and not the author of the book. The prophet Jonah lived in the reign of the Israelite king Jeroboam II. (*2 Kg.* xiv. 25): but the book that bears his name was probably written at a time when Nineveh was no longer in existence, and when the Hebrew language was losing its early purity. It is generally assigned to the post-exilic period, but its precise date is uncertain. It is a narrative, not a prophecy; but though in form a history, is doubtless in the main, if not entirely, a work of the imagination, its purpose being not to record facts but, as in the case of a parable, to convey a moral truth.

Micah. Micah, a native of Moresheth Gath, a town on the Judæan borders of Philistia, prophesied in the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah,[1] and was thus a contemporary of Isaiah.

Nahum. The book of *Nahum* is exclusively occupied with the approaching doom of Nineveh. Nineveh fell in 607; and as Nahum alludes in iii. 8 to the destruction of No-Amon (Thebes) by Nineveh in 665, his date must lie between these two years. A more precise determination of it does not seem to be possible.

Habakkuk. Habakkuk probably prophesied in the reign of Jehoiakim when the Babylonians, after the defeat of the Egyptians at Carchemish (p. 383) became the threatening power (i. 6, cf. *2 Kg.* xxiv. 1). His book closes with a psalm (c. iii.) which, if his, has been adapted to liturgical use, having attached to it musical directions (ver. 1, 3, 13, 19).[2]

[1] The prediction contained in iii. 12 is definitely attributed to the reign of Hezekiah in *Jer.* xxvi. 17–19.

[2] Doubt has been thrown upon various portions of *Habakkuk*, and more especially upon the authorship of the psalm in c. iii., which (1) seems to have chiefly in view calamities brought about by natural agencies (pestilence and tempest (ver. 5, cf. ver. 8)), rather than devastation wrought by human foes (as might be expected from c. i., ii.); (2) appears to identify *Jehovah's anointed* (ver. 13) not with the king, but with the collective nation (cf. *Ps.* cv. 15), a mode of speech more natural after, than before, the Captivity.

Zephaniah. Zephaniah, from his acquaintance with the various parts of Jerusalem, was presumably an inhabitant of that capital. His prophecy is assigned in i. 1 to the time of Josiah, in whose reign it was probably delivered early (since it refers to the prevalence of gross idolatry, i. 4, 5), and helped forward the reformation afterwards initiated.[1]

Haggai. Haggai prophesied in the second year of Darius Hystaspis, B.C. 520, his recorded utterances being all comprised within a space of four months (i. 1, ii. 1, 10).

Zechariah. The book of Zechariah, from the separate headings at the beginning of c. ix. and xii., naturally falls into three divisions: (1) i.–viii., (2) ix.–xi., (3) xii.–xiv., of which only the *first* can be assigned with certainty to the prophet who gives his name to the whole.

(1) Zechariah, to whom belong c. i.–viii., began, like Haggai, his prophetic ministry in the second year of Darius, B.C. 520 (i. 1), but it continued much longer, lasting until the fourth year of the same king, B.C. 518 (vii. 1).

(2) The second division ix.–xi. (to which xiii. 7–9, from the similarity of its subject-matter, should probably be attached) appears to be composite and to consist of sections derived from various dates. No trustworthy conclusion can be based on the mention of Damascus, Tyre, Zidon, and the cities of Philistia (ix. 1–8), for all or most of these were denounced alike by Amos (c. i.) in the eighth century, by Jeremiah (xlvii., xlix.) at the end of the seventh and opening of the sixth centuries, and by Ezekiel (xxv., xxvi.) in the sixth century. But (*a*) the *Exile* seems implied in ix. 9–12 by certain resemblances to *2 Is.*,[2] if not in x. 6, by the reference to Judah as having been "cast off." (*b*) A *pre-exilic* date is most appropriate for x. 10–12, where Assyria (not Babylon) is named as one of the lands from which captives are to be gathered, and where Gilead and Lebanon

[1] The final section of *Zeph.* (iii. 14–20), from its resemblance to passages in *2 Is.*, has been regarded by some authorities as exilic; but see p. 447, note.

[2] The phrase *just* (literally *righteous*) *and having salvation* (ix. 9) resembles the combination, so common in *2 Is.*, of *righteousness and salvation* (xlv. 8, xlvi. 13, li. 5, 6, lvi. 1): whilst *I will render double unto thee* (ver. 12) recalls *2 Is.* lxi. 7.

are mentioned as the districts to which they are to be restored, these being the regions ravaged by Tiglath Pileser (*2 Kg.* xv. 29); whilst it also offers the best explanation of xi. 8 and 14, which may refer to the successive murders, within a brief period, of Zechariah, Shallum and (perhaps) Pekahiah, and to the war between Israel and Judah under Pekah and Ahaz. (*c*) A *post-exilic* date seems demanded for ix. 13 by its reference to Greece as a world-power, antagonistic to Zion. These features suggest that the division, as it stands, is post-exilic, but embodies earlier material.

(3) The third division, xii.–xiv., presents very few marks of time, and its probable date can scarcely be decided apart from considerations of its tone and spirit. Its general resemblance to *Ezek.* xxxviii. and xxxix. is in favour of its being at least as late as the Exile, whilst the prominence given to the priestly house of Levi beside the royal house of David (xii. 12–13) seems most in keeping with a post-exilic origin.

Some hold that c. ix.–xiv. all come from one author, writing in the third century B.C., and that the names *Assyria* and *Egypt* (x. 10) designate the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and Ptolemies.

Malachi. The word *Malachi* means "my messenger" (cf. iii. 1), and may not be a proper name at all; in which case the book is anonymous.[1] The internal evidence points to the writer having been contemporaneous with Ezra and Nehemiah (458–433); for the term "governor" (i. 8) is that which was applied to the representative of the Persian kings (see *Ez.* v. 6), and some of the sins which Malachi lays to the charge of the people are identical with those against which Ezra and Nehemiah protested (cf. *Mal.* ii. 11 with *Ez.* ix. 2 foll., *Neh.* xiii. 23 foll., and *Mal.* iii. 8–10 with *Neh.* xiii. 10). But the exact time of Malachi's activity is uncertain.[2]

In an O.T. history in which both the authorship and the contents of the O.T. Scriptures are submitted to criticism, two questions arise which may be conveniently considered here.

[1] In i. 1 the LXX. has λῆμμα λόγου Κυρίου ἐπὶ τὸν Ισραὴλ ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ.

[2] See p. 472, note.

The first relates to the discrepancy between certain critical conclusions and Our Lord's language regarding the subjects of them (see, for instance, *S. Matt.* viii. 4 (referring to *Lev.* xiv 2 foll.), xii. 17, 40, xxii. 43–44, xxiv. 15; cf. also *S. Joh.* x. 35). The authority attaching to Our Lord's Person invests every utterance of His, in the eyes of Christians, with supreme importance; and His slightest affirmation respecting the Hebrew Scriptures claims the most careful consideration. But in our lack of acquaintance with the whole of the conditions of the Incarnation or with the measure of the self-emptying which He underwent therein, it seems rash to assume that each and every recorded word of His must be, in the narrowest and most rigid sense, correct, and that consequently the adoption by Him of any position which has place in the O.T. puts it at once beyond reach of doubt. It is at any rate known that on some occasions He appeared to exhibit ignorance, and sought information (*S. Mark* ix. 21, *S. Luke* ii. 46, *S. Matt.* xv. 34); that on other occasions He did not avoid such a departure from simplicity of speech as is involved in the use of irony (*S. Mk.* vii. 9) and that He could employ a popular term of contempt where He Himself meant to convey none (*S. Matt.* xv. 26). It is therefore conceivable that in countenancing the O.T. presentation of facts (which was at that time generally unquestioned) He was only accommodating Himself to His audience, in order to become intelligible to it, and that His acquiescence in such a presentation is not to be held, in all cases, decisive of its accuracy. It does not appear to be inconsistent with the fullest acknowledgment of Our Lord's Divine claims to believe that this accommodation in part, at least, arose from a real restriction of knowledge to which, in becoming Incarnate, He had condescended. It is, at all events, exceedingly difficult to draw a hard and fast line between the various limitations of that human nature which the Son of God, for humanity's sake, deigned to take upon Him, or to assume that He submitted to physical, but not to intellectual, disabilities.

The second question concerns the credibility of the miraculous element in the O.T. narratives which will form the subject of the following pages. The Hebrew writers approached the annals

of their nation with a profound conviction that its destinies were providentially directed; and that a Personal God (Whom in the course of time they came to recognise as supreme over the Universe) was the active source of all that took place in the material world. They certainly could not have been ignorant of the means by which many of the events they witnessed were brought about. Experience would necessarily familiarise them with the proximate causes by which birth and death, plenty and scarcity, and the like, were produced, and with the constant recurrence of numerous natural phenomena. Nevertheless, acquaintance with the regularity of nature did not lessen their belief in the free agency of God in all that concerned them; and their knowledge of secondary causes, such as it was, did not impair their assurance of an ever-present Spiritual Power ordering and controlling physical forces at His sovereign pleasure. This faith that everything that happens is due, mediately or immediately, to Divine volition, and is directed towards the accomplishment of some Divine purpose, is one to which no Theistic theory of the universe can take exception. And the insistence of the Biblical writers upon the activity of the Personal Author of nature is a valuable corrective of a too exclusive attention to nature's processes, which tends to ignore the spiritual character of their Source. But the Hebrew habit of mind, whilst sound religiously, was defective scientifically. The Hebrew writers had an inadequate acquaintance with the Divine methods of which the laws of nature are the expression; and the fact that they were accustomed to trace a providential design in many occurrences of which they knew the efficient causes made them the more content to refer simply to the direct operation of God everything of which, from their limited experience, they could give no physical explanation. They were therefore not likely to distinguish sharply between the natural and the supernatural, and were generally inclined to see God's greatness evidenced most manifestly in what was exceptional and abnormal. They thus inevitably assumed an uncritical attitude towards reports of the marvellous; and instances are not lacking of their putting a literal construction even upon the figurative and metaphorical language of poetry (see *Ex.* xiv. 29 beside

xv. 8, and *Josh.* x. 13b beside 12–13a). The maintenance o such an attitude is impossible now, and it has come to be difficul to accept a number of O.T. stories of wonder as accurate state ments of fact. This is due not to an *a priori* conviction of th incredibility of the miraculous in general, but to the kind o evidence forthcoming in favour of certain particular miracles In the abstract, there is nothing incredible in the belief that th Divine will can act as freely in the course of the world's histor as it did at its beginning. To understand *how* it can enter int the existing system of physical causation and modify it is difficulty as great as, but not greater than, to understand *ho* it first produced it. Nor, in spite of the knowledge acquire of the Divine method of working by law, is there anythin inconsistent with the wisdom and prescience of the Almighty i the supposition that He has departed, on occasion, from Hi general scheme of action in order to cope with new condition resulting from the liberty delegated to man, and in order t impress and influence free human minds. The bestowal o freedom upon mankind inevitably introduced into the univers an element of contingency beyond the compass of a determinat order of things to deal with, and requiring to be met by ne calls upon the resources of the Divine infinitude. Nor agai can it be denied that in the history of Israel, if anywhere, i stances of such Divine intervention as is implied in miracles fin a fitting place. Israel was an exceptional channel of God revelation of Himself to the world; and its history stands i close relation to the history of Our Lord, in which it may reason ably be thought to have had both its climax and its interpre tation. In principle, a rigid line cannot be drawn between th miracles of the O.T. and those of the N.T.; and the view take of part or all of the latter series must contribute to the pre possessions with which we approach the former series. But i the concrete, the reality of many of the O.T. miracles is ope to question, partly because the evidence for some comes fro relatively late sources, and partly because the earliest account (so far as can be ascertained or inferred) are popular and u precise in character, and express religious feeling rather tha exact knowledge. It may be remarked that the bulk of th

O.T. miracles occur in two groups, clustering round Moses, and the prophets Elijah and Elisha. No doubt these, if any, were just such men as we might expect to be endued by God with exceptional powers for special purposes; and the fact that extraordinary powers were really claimed by certain of the prophets appears from the well-authenticated narrative of Isaiah and Ahaz (*Is.* vii. 11). But it must likewise be recognised that there was a tendency in the Hebrew writers to magnify the great events and personages of the past; and, as has been seen, it is possible to trace the way in which some of the tales of marvel respecting certain of them actually originated. Consequently, though with regard to the residue of the O.T. stories of the miraculous we may be unable plausibly to explain how they came to arise out of descriptions of more normal (if providential) experiences, or to deny the possibility that everything happened just as related, there is a considerable presumption that poetic fancy has been at work in them, and perhaps in particular cases altogether created them.

The question of prophecy will be considered elsewhere. The subjects of miracle and prophecy are closely akin to one another; and our attitude towards the latter as well as the former will necessarily vary with the belief entertained respecting the character of the Power that is behind both human faculties and physical nature. But, as has been already implied, a belief in the possibility of a certain class of phenomena does not involve a belief in all the alleged examples of it. The acceptance or rejection of the several instances must depend upon the quality of the testimony which can be produced for each. The O.T. narratives of the supernatural, therefore, cannot be received or dismissed *en bloc:* they require to be sifted, and their credibility estimated in detail.

OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE PRE-HISTORIC WORLD

Sources—*Gen.* i.–ix.

THE Old Testament begins with an account of the creation of the world and of the history of its first inhabitants. The opening chapters of *Genesis* describe the process by which the earth assumed its present form, the entrance upon it of the earliest human beings, the situation of their original dwelling-place, the introduction among them of sin and sorrow, the names of their immediate descendants, the invention by these of various arts, the observance among them of religious rites, the increasing prevalence of wickedness, and the eventual destruction of the whole human race by a great catastrophe, a single family alone being preserved, from which the earth was again re-peopled. Such a recital, going back to the origin of the universe and mankind, is obviously not an historical record of actual events, but a series of inferences relating to times which are pre-historic. It represents the explanations, arrived at in ways that it is now impossible to trace, which reflection furnished of the many questions spontaneously occurring to a primitive race respecting themselves and their surroundings. Similar narratives are found in the early literature of most peoples, notably those of Greece, India, and Babylonia. The nearest parallels to the Biblical records are afforded by Babylonia, the country from which, as will appear, the Hebrew people emigrated; and comparison shows that certain common beliefs concerning the beginnings of the earth

and of man must have prevailed in the circle of nations to which both Babylonians and Hebrews belonged. These beliefs, as wa not unnatural in an age when the products of the imaginatio were distinguished even more imperfectly than is the case no from the conclusions of the reason, were expressed in the form of positive assertions, conjectures assuming the guise of facts.

The value of the early chapters of *Genesis* as an accoun of real incidents in the history of the world and of the huma race appears in the light of modern inquiry to be no greater than from the origin and character of the record, it might be expecte to be. The Biblical narratives, on the whole, are distinguishe by a reasonableness and a dignity which offer a striking contras to the ridiculous, and sometimes offensive, elements that ar manifest in many parallel representations. In some parts (mor particularly in the description of the several stages of th Creation) a remarkable, though superficial, agreement with th conclusions of modern research may be detected. But in th fields alike of human history and physical science, the Biblica writers had not adequate materials for satisfactorily ascertainin the truth. Records preserving the one, and instruments fo prosecuting the other, were equally wanting; and consequentl the Bible statements, where they come into competition wit those of modern investigators, are obviously of inferior authority It is, however, important to discriminate between the scientifi aspect of the narratives in *Genesis* and the philosophical an theological ideas which pervade them. The account of th process by which the world came into existence, representing as it does, the science of the age that produced it, has becom obsolete with the progress of discovery; but the truth of th assertion that the universe was the creation of a Personal God i not equally out of date. The conceptions entertained of th nature of sin, of the consequences it entails, and of the trans mission of them to future generations are not necessarily in validated by the impossibility of accepting the history in whic they are embodied as a record of real occurrences. At the sam time, it would be to mistake the object of the Biblical write to regard it as being primarily the exposition of either theologica or scientific truths. Nothing, for instance, is urged in support o

a belief in God, or of a belief in one God rather than in many gods. The existence of God is assumed, and His creative power is represented as active "in the beginning": but the view taken of the origin of the chaos upon which the Divine activity was exerted is obscure, and the language used might almost be reconciled with a belief in its being coæval with the Deity Himself. Again, that the account of the early history of mankind, as it stands, is not intended to be a complete one, or to satisfy mere curiosity, is suggested by the gaps which it contains. It seems probable that out of a mass of floating legends concerning the earth and mankind current in the countries from which the Hebrews derived their origin, only those were preserved which could contribute to a particular purpose. This was the history of the people of Israel, their fortunes and their hopes; and it was in order to connect it with the history of the world in general that the early narratives of *Genesis* were collected and arranged. They form an introduction to the records that follow, and ostensibly enable the destiny of the Israelite race to be traced from the time of the Creation onward. As will be seen, the range of peoples and races with which the book of *Genesis* is concerned grows successively narrower. In the opening chapters, the origin and ancestry of all mankind is passed under review; but by degrees, notice is confined to one line of descent, to the neglect of the others, until ultimately it is to a single family and its posterity that attention is exclusively devoted. The people whose fortunes are related in the Old Testament was, in the view of those who compiled it, a Chosen People; and in the plan and course of the narrative the process of its election is reflected.

THE CREATION

Of the work of Creation and the history of the earliest generations of mankind two accounts (as has been already indicated in the *Introduction*[1]) are combined. Of these two accounts, the first (contained in *Gen.* i. 1–ii. 4a, from the source symbolised by P) begins by describing the world as a waste of

[1] See pp. 3–4.

waters, enveloped in darkness, upon which the spirit[1] of God brooded. The work of creating order out of chaos was accomplished in six days, God bringing into existence,

On the First day,[2] Light, and the distinction of Day and Night.

„ Second „ the Firmament[3] (called Heaven) dividing the upper from the lower waters.

„ Third „ the separation of the dry land (called Earth) from the lower waters (called Seas), and the production by the earth of vegetation.

„ Fourth „ the luminaries (the sun and moon) and the stars.

„ Fifth „ marine animals and birds.

„ Sixth „ terrestrial animals and man (both male and female), to whom herbs and fruits were assigned as food.

On the Seventh day God rested from His work, and, in consequence, blessed the day and sanctified it.

It will be seen that the most prominent features of the universe and the chief occupants of the globe are divided into groups, and their creation is represented as taking place on successive days. The production of both animal life and vegetation is ascribed to the earth and waters in virtue of the command of God (i. 11, 20, 24). At the end of the series of creative acts, as the climax to which the process of the world's making leads, man is introduced, created "in the image of God." It is mainly in its bearing upon the needs and duties of man that the rest of nature is regarded. The sun and moon, besides giving light, are intended to mark the seasons, under which religious festivals are probably included (i. 14, 15); the earth and its creatures are made subordinate to, and placed under,

[1] Cf. *Ps.* xxxiii. 6 (Heb.).

[2] In the description of the several days, *evening* and *morning* are named in the order of their succession after the creation of light.

[3] The firmament (LXX. στερέωμα) was conceived to be a solid expanse (cf. *Job* xxxvii. 18, *Prov.* viii. 28) supporting the upper waters (*Ps.* cxlviii. 4) from which the rain descended, and dividing them from the seas: cf. σιδήρεος οὐρανός, χάλκεος οὐρανός (Hom. *Od.* xv. 329, *Il.* xvii. 425).

man's control (i. 28); and the vegetable kingdom is assigned to him, together with the lower animals, for meat (i. 29, 30).

The order in which the various kinds of animals are described as having been created corresponds *roughly* to that in which, by the evidence of geology, they actually appeared on the earth; and consequently efforts have been made to prove that the correspondence is exact, the term *day* being taken to mean a considerable period of time answering to a geological epoch. But that the word was intended by the writer of *Genesis* i. in the ordinary sense is clear from the expression "it was evening and it was morning (one) day"; and it is noteworthy that in *Ex.* xx. 11 the restriction of human labour to six days of the week is actually based on the precedent set by the Deity in the work of creation. And in general the natural sense of the language of *Gen.* i. is opposed to the meaning which it has been attempted to extract from it; whilst, apart from the inherent improbability of an ancient writing anticipating accurately the conclusions of modern science, it may be shown that there exist discrepancies in detail:—

(1) In *Genesis*, though light is created on the *first* day, the sun is created on the *fourth*; whereas the earth is separated from the seas and produces vegetation on the *third*. But as a matter of fact, the earth and the sun form part of one system, the planets, of which the earth is one, having been detached from a mass of originally gaseous matter of which the sun constituted the centre, so that their existence as separate bodies must have been contemporaneous.

(2) In *Genesis*, aquatic animals and birds are represented as created on *the same* day (i. 20); whereas, according to the record of the rocks, fishes, small reptiles, insects, and marsupial animals all appeared before birds.

(3) According to *Genesis* vegetation (as has been said) was created on the third day (i. 11, 12), *preceding by two days* the appearance of animals on the earth, whilst the evidence of geology, so far as it is complete, shows that throughout they existed together.

(4) The view that all animals were at first vegetarian feeders is not borne out by facts, and is manifestly due to the idealisation of the earth's youth as a Golden Age.[1]

The second account of the Creation (ii. 4b–25, from JE) is a partial one. As comprised in *Genesis*, it pre-supposes the formation of the heavens and the earth, and describes the further activity of the Creator (here called *Jehovah God*[2]) in the newly-created but vacant world. The Divine operations are not divided into days, and the order observed is seemingly, though not perhaps certainly, different. No plant or herb (it is related) had yet grown, for there was no rain, and no man to till the ground; but there used to go up a mist to water the earth. And Jehovah formed man of the dust, and placed him in a garden which He planted eastward in Eden, and which was watered by

[1] Cf. Ov. *Met.* i. 104, *Contentique cibis, nullo cogente, creatis, Arbuteos fœtus montanaque fraga legebant.*

[2] For the significance of the name *Jehovah* see p. 104.

a river that, on leaving the garden, parted and became four heads, the Pishon, the Gihon, the Hiddekel, and the Euphrates. Of all the trees of the garden the man was permitted to eat, with the exception of one, called the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, from which he was directed to abstain on pain of death. Animals and birds were then formed, and brought to the man to be named; and finally from the man, whilst asleep, Jehovah took a rib and made a woman, whom He brought to the man to be his help-meet. And the two were naked and not ashamed.

This version is distinguished from the previous alike by the lowly origin assigned to man (who, instead of being described as made in the Divine likeness, is regarded as formed from the dust, and as afterwards bringing evil upon himself by striving to become as God (iii. 5)), and by the exceptionally anthropomorphic conception of the Deity. God, who here receives the proper name *Jehovah*, is depicted as breathing into man's nostrils the breath of life, as planting a garden, as bringing the animals to the man to name, as taking one of the man's ribs, closing up the flesh, and building (ii. 2, marg.) of the rib a woman. The garden in which the man and his wife are placed is localised in a position which the description of the four streams, into which the river watering the garden parts, is clearly intended to identify. As two of the rivers are the Euphrates and the Hiddekel, or Tigris,[1] the region within which Eden is regarded as situated is evidently Babylonia, lying eastward of Palestine; but the uncertainty attaching to the other two names—the Pishon and Gihon—now makes a more precise identification mere guesswork.

In historic times there was an Eden (the *bît Adini* of the inscriptions) on the Upper Euphrates, conquered by Assyrian kings (*2 Kg.* xix. 12=*Is.* xxxvii. 12); but by the writer of *Genesis* the name was probably associated with a word signifying "delight" (cf. the LXX. of iii. 23, ὁ παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς). In the Babylonian inscriptions there occurs a word, seemingly identical with it, meaning "field" or "plain," and used to describe the level ground between the Tigris and Euphrates. With regard to the two unknown rivers, the most probable view seems to be that the Pishon is intended to denote one of the channels into which the Euphrates divides in its course through Babylonia, the land of Havilah, which it is said to encompass, being at the eastern end of the desert stretching from Egypt to Assyria (*Gen.* xxv. 18). The land of Cush, which the Gihon encompassed,

[1] Cf. *Dan.* x. 4.

is probably the district of the Cassi, a tribe dwelling east of the Tigris; and the river meant will presumably be one of the eastern affluents of the Tigris, perhaps the Kerkhah.[1]

As has been already stated, parallels to several parts of these Creation narratives are found among various nations. In Classical mythology, for instance, Prometheus is related to have made men out of earth mixed with water (Ov. *Met.* i. 80–83). But the closest parallel is afforded by the Babylonian inscriptions, which have been deciphered from a number of clay tablets found on the site of the ancient Nineveh. According to the fragmentary story contained in these inscriptions,[2] the heaven and earth were produced by chaos, personified as two powers, *Apsu* and *Tiâmat*. From these the first generation of gods came forth, (Lakhmu and Lakhamu, Anshar, and Kishar); and these were followed by a second (Anu, Ea, Bel, and others). Eventually between the gods and *Tiâmat*, who is represented as a monstrous dragon,[3] a quarrel arose, in the course of which the dragon was slain by one of the gods (Merodach); and her body divided into two parts, one of which was made a covering for the sky, to prevent (like the Biblical "firmament") the upper waters from issuing forth from their place. Then Merodach made the stars, ordained the years and months, over which he set certain stars to rule, and appointed the moon to preside over the night, and the sun in like connection with the day. A succeeding tablet probably related the origin of vegetation, animals, and man, but it has unfortunately been lost, though another, in a different series, makes mention of the creation of living creatures, cattle, wild beasts, and creeping things. Enough, however, has been preserved to show that the resemblances to the Bible narrative extend even to details; and it may be added that a term answering to the Hebrew "Sabbath"

[1] The name *Cush* was also applied to Ethiopia (see x. 6, *Is.* xviii. 1); and Josephus (*Ant.* i. 1) identifies the Gihon with the Nile (cf. LXX. of *Jer.* ii. 18). The same writer also describes the Pishon as flowing through India, and identifies it with the Ganges.

[2] See Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 63, Boscawen, *The Bible and the Monuments*, p. 42, Driver in *Authority and Archæology*, p. 10 foll., L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion*, p. 61 foll.

[3] The same conception of the Deep as a dragon or serpent perhaps survives in *Am.* ix. 3, *Job* xxvi. 12, *Ps.* lxxxix. 9, 10, *2 Is.* li. 9–10.

is also found in the Babylonian sacred calendars, the performance of certain acts being forbidden every seventh day, in order that on it the gods might rest from their anger and be pacified.[1]

Yet in spite of the features which the Hebrew narratives of the origin of the world share in common with those of other races, the contrasts between them are no less significant. In particular, the many similarities between the account in *Genesis* and that discovered on the site of Nineveh only throw into relief the superiority of the former. Whilst the Biblical record is very much on a level with the other in the region of speculative thought, it is far otherwise in the field of religious truth.

It has been stated to be probable that the history of Creation, as given in *Genesis*, has been transmitted from times when Hebrews and Babylonians were in close contact with one another, the main outlines being preserved unaltered, whilst the theological conceptions have been silently changed. Consequently the history throws only a side-light upon the religious ideas involved, instead of explaining them directly. But notwithstanding the incidental manner in which the beliefs animating the narratives are conveyed, and the somewhat crude form in which (in *Gen.* ii.) they are expressed, there are implied, throughout the recital, the truths of the Divine Personality, the Divine Unity, and the Divine Goodness.

1. All belief in Creation involves a belief in God's Personality. The elements into which Personality, so far as it is capable of analysis, can be resolved are Thought, Will, and Feeling; and both of the Biblical narratives explicitly describe the Deity as thinking, determining, and approving. In depicting the universe as the work of a personal Creator the Hebrew history does not stand alone; but it asserts the fact in a much less ambiguous form than does, for instance, the Babylonian. In the latter, though one of the gods is represented as creating the planets and the inhabitants of the earth, yet the gods themselves emerge from the primæval chaos. On the other hand, from the beginning of *Genesis* onwards the pre-existence of God is assumed; and though it is true that no explanation is given of how chaos

[1] Thus amongst the Babylonians the Sabbath was not regarded as a day of rest for man, but of placability on the part of the deities.

came into being,[1] yet it is throughout regarded as wholly inert and passive, possessed of none of the spontaneous powers of generation attributed to it in the Babylonian inscriptions. The belief in a Personal Creator is opposed not less to a materialistic explanation of the universe—which regards it as the ultimate result of an original aggregate of matter, brought about automatically in accordance with mechanical, chemical, and other laws—than it is to a pantheism which views the world as the external manifestation of an indwelling Spirit, who, outside the limits of nature, has no existence, and whose only personality is that of the collective human race. If God is a Person, then, however immanent and active He may be *in* nature, both physical and human, He cannot be *identified with* nature; and in *Genesis* the distinction is asserted by the constant repetition of the Divine *fiat* before each stage of the creative process.[2] The immanence of God in nature is, indeed, recognised after a simple fashion when, in consequence of the utterance of the Divine will, the earth is said to have put forth grass, herb, and fruit tree, and the waters to have brought forth the moving creature that has life (*Gen.* i. 11, 20). But though the Spirit of God is represented as operating through the universe, it is nowhere confused with the natural agents which subserve His purposes. Nor is the relation thus regarded as subsisting between God and the universe materially altered by later and more scientific views respecting the process by which the world has been produced. The theory of evolution, for instance, only indicates a possible *method* by which it reached its present condition; the belief that ascribes its origin to the will of a Creator is equally true, whether it has been gradually developed from certain primordial elements, in which the capacity for such development was latent, or whether its various departments and provinces came into existence in disconnected succession, as depicted in *Genesis*. It is from an Agent possessed of powers of initiation analogous to our own that the Universe, in the last resort, must have come, whether His acts of volition have been one or many, continuous or occasional.

In the assertion, then, in *Gen.* i., of God's personality, and the

[1] Cf. *Wisd.* xi. 17. [2] See *Gen.* i. 3, 6, 9, 11, etc.

description of His activity in terms borrowed from human actions, there is nothing which is anthropomorphic in a gross and unreal sense. In *Gen.* ii. the representation is of a ruder character; but the fact that the Hebrews, after passing through a simple and elementary stage of religious ideas, could outgrow it without at the same time parting with the vital truth therein embodied is, in itself, an indication of the exceptional hold which they had upon a Theistic faith. With the Greeks, on the contrary, it was otherwise. Dissatisfaction with the human-like delineations of the gods found in the poems of Homer (which might almost be described as the Greek Bible) led philosophers like Xenophanes to purify the idea of God by practically emptying it of personality. The early Greeks had imagined the gods to be like men, and bad men at that;[1] and when it became impossible to retain such a belief, the element of truth in it, which is the pre-supposition of all real communion (as contrasted with confusion) between God and man, tended to disappear. Amongst the Hebrews, primitive ideas of the Divine nature were enlarged and purified without either human worship or human responsibility suffering. The decline in the anthropomorphic conception of God was compensated by what has been termed a theomorphic conception of man. Man was believed to have been created in the image, and after the likeness, of God (*Gen.* i. 26, 27); and as such, to have possessed originally so much in common with his Maker as enabled him to hold converse with Him, and even (as the subsequent story of Enoch suggests) to share the Divine life. That the actual condition of mankind corresponded but ill with so exalted a view was obvious; but this was explained by the history of the Fall.

2. A belief in the Unity of God was not attained by the Hebrews until comparatively late in their history; and their progress towards it will from time to time call for notice. The plural form of the commonest Hebrew word for God (*Elohim*) may even be a survival of a polytheistic stage of thought.[2] But by the period when the Creation narrative in *Gen.* i. arrived at

[1] See p. 48, note.

[2] Another explanation of the plural is that it is *intensive* in character, indicating the greatness of godhead. A similar use of the plural occurs in connection with a title like *Adonim* "lord," which may be used of an in-

its present shape, the idea of the Unity of God had been firmly grasped. The existence, indeed, of other celestial beings is indicated in *Gen.* i. 26 (cf. iii. 22, xi. 7, xviii. 2 foll., *1 Kgs.* xxii. 19–22, *Is.* vi. 8); but they are manifestly quite subordinate, attendants upon the Divine majesty, and interested in His work. On the other hand, most early religions were explicitly and avowedly polytheistic. The chief gods stood in various relations to one another, after the analogy of human kindred; and were believed to be moved by the same loves and hatreds, partialities and jealousies which prevailed amongst mankind. At later periods, reflection sought to replace the conception of a number of conflicting and antagonistic powers, controlling the world, by the idea of a single governing principle. But among the Semitic races generally the most that was attained was the exclusive worship of a particular god rather than a belief in the sole existence of one God—monolatry rather than monotheism. Each nation had a deity to which it rendered reverence and service without denying the reality of the deities adored by its neighbours.[1] Of the Aryan peoples the Persians, who recognised a single principle of Good, set over against it an equally potent principle of Evil, and thus acquiesced in a system of Dualism. In Greece the effort after Unity at first sought satisfaction in the subordination to Zeus of the rest of the gods (as described in Homer), but afterwards took a philosophic, rather than a religious, direction. With some other nations the revolt against polytheism assumed the form of pantheism. Among the Hebrews alone of the leading peoples of antiquity a monotheistic religion seems to have been developed; they only appear to have attained to a real faith in a single supreme God.

3. In the story of Creation there is less scope for a disclosure of the Divine Goodness than of some other attributes; for God's beneficence is most clearly evinced in connection with human fortunes, and the tale of these has, as yet, scarcely begun. But the reiteration, after each step of His creative activity, of the

dividual man, and have attributes attached to it in the singular, see *Is.* xix. 4 (Heb.). Cf. *Prov.* ix. 10.

[1] See pp. 84–6.

phrase "God saw that it was good," directs attention to the perfection of His work and, by implication, to the perfection of the Creator. The Divine goodness, as displayed alike in the physical universe (c. i.) and in the care shown for man's comfort (c. ii.), forms the background against which the disobedience of the first man and woman (as narrated in c. iii.), and the murder committed by their offspring (as recorded in c. iv.) stand out the more luridly. Beyond this, the chapters under review do not go. The ethical conception of God underwent a process of growth and advance in the course of Hebrew history; and the ideas eventually formed of the Divine character were, in many respects, unlike those which prevailed at an early age. But among the Hebrews the notion entertained of Divine morality never fell below the contemporary standards of human morality, as was the case amongst some other ancient peoples.[1] Hence with them religion and morality never became divorced, as happened elsewhere; and *their* religious beliefs alone have been found pure enough and elevated enough to command and retain the reverence of the civilised world.

THE FALL

The narrative of the Fall is a sequel to the second of the two accounts of the Creation, and relates the disobedience shown by the man and his wife to the command of Jehovah, and their consequent expulsion from the garden. The serpent, which was more subtle than any other beast of the field, tempted the woman to eat of the forbidden tree by representing that by tasting its fruit she and the man would become as God, knowing good and evil. She yielded to the temptation, partook of the fruit, and gave to her husband: whereupon the pair realised that they were naked, and made themselves aprons, or girdles, of fig-leaves. Hearing the sound of Jehovah walking in the garden, they hid themselves; and the man, on being summoned and questioned, threw the blame on the woman, and she, in turn, on the serpent.

[1] Xenophanes of Colophon, in particular, complained that

πάντα θεοῖς ἀνέθηκαν Ὅμηρός θ' Ἡσίοδός τε
ὅσσα παρ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὀνείδεα καὶ ψόγος ἐστίν,
κλέπτειν, μοιχεύειν τε, καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀπατεύειν.

The latter was pronounced cursed by Jehovah, and told that thenceforward it should go on its belly, and its food should be dust. Between it and the woman there would be perpetual enmity: the seed of the latter should bruise the serpent's head, and the serpent should bruise his heel. To the woman it was announced that with sorrow she should bring forth children, and should be subject to her husband. Finally to the man (*Adam*[1]) it was declared that the ground was cursed for his sake, and that only by the sweat of his brow should he obtain his bread from it, till he returned to the dust from which he was taken. For him and his wife (whom he called *Eve*[2]) Jehovah made garments of skins; but lest they should take of the tree of life,[3] and so live for ever, they were expelled from the garden of Eden, before which there were placed the *cherubim*, and a flaming sword which turned about, to keep the way of the tree of life.

The situation of the garden of Eden, as has already been stated, is placed in Babylonia; and it is possible that the general outline of the story of the Fall may, with some others of the narratives of *Genesis*, go back to a time when the ancestors of the Hebrews and Babylonians were in touch with one another. A seal has even been found on which a scene is depicted bearing some resemblance to that implied in the Biblical narrative, two figures (their sex is uncertain) being represented as seated on either side of a fruit-tree, to which they are both stretching out their hands, whilst behind one of them a serpent is coiling upward. In addition, a mutilated inscription upon one of the clay-tablets already referred to, has been deciphered, in which some scholars have seen an allusion to the forbidden fruit; but according to others the connection in which the passage stands and its actual contents negative the supposed parallel. The *cherubim*, one of which in *Ps.* xviii. 10 serves as God's

[1] *Adam*, the ordinary Hebrew word for *man*, seems to be used as a proper name first in *Gen.* iii. 17. Both it and the Hebrew word for *ground* (see iii. 19) appear to be connected with a root signifying to be "red" or "ruddy."

[2] i.e. *life*.

[3] The belief that a tree could communicate life to those who ate of it was akin to the belief that it possessed life—an idea at the root of tree-worship (cf. p. 87). The idea was doubtless suggested by the phenomena of growth, sappiness, etc.

chariot,[1] and is associated with "the wings of the wind" (and hence has been taken to represent a storm-cloud), fulfil a different purpose in *Gen.* iii. 24, where they act as sentinels[2] to prevent access to the tree of life. In *Ezekiel* i. 10, x. 14–15 (where, as in *Ps.* xviii., they are accompanied by wind and cloud and fire) they are described as having four wings and four faces—those of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle,[3] the description suggesting their resemblance to the colossal figures of winged lions and oxen, bearing human heads, which have been discovered among the ruins of Nineveh; and it is, no doubt, in these that the cherubim of *Gen.* iii. 24 likewise have their parallel. But whilst it may be assumed that an element common both to Hebrews and Babylonians underlies the Bible history of the Fall, there appears in conjunction with it certain local features peculiar to the Hebrews (the fig-tree, for instance, belongs to Palestine, not Babylonia, see Hdt. i. 193), and its whole inward meaning and significance (so far as can be judged) has been altogether transformed.

In its present connection, the narrative of the Fall is apparently an attempt at explaining the transition from the perfection and happiness which man is supposed to have enjoyed at the first to the very different conditions which now prevail. It purports to account for the entrance into the world of sin, suffering, and shortened life. In carrying out this purpose it is less faithful to historical than to moral and religious truth. The evidence of archæology, geology, biology, and allied sciences points to the conclusion that man, so far from having begun his existence upon the globe in the happy surroundings of an Eden, has slowly emerged from a state of savagery, in which he was, externally at least, little removed from the brute creation. His primitive condition was not one of harmony and happiness, but of fierce conflict against opposing forces. Pain and death prevailed upon earth before man made his appearance, and have, it would seem, been prime factors in his evolution. The narrative is valuable,

[1] Similarly the *cherubim* in Solomon's temple are termed "the chariot" in *1 Ch.* xxviii. 18.

[2] Cf. *Ezek.* xxviii. 14–16, "the cherub that covereth."

[3] In *Ezek.* xli. 18–19 the cherubim have two faces, those of a man and a lion.

therefore, not as a description of historical events but as a declaration of certain important ideas.

The main ideas which the story conveys are three: (1) that the relations which God intended should subsist between Himself and man have been disturbed by the act of the latter; (2) that suffering is the result of sin; (3) that a judgment incurred by one generation involves succeeding generations in its consequences. As might be expected, they are not set forth guardedly and with such qualifications as later reflection suggests, and the particular way in which they are imparted gives rise to obvious difficulties. But nevertheless they are, on the whole, true to fact. In the first place, it is assumed that man (like the God in whose image he was created) is a free agent; but that his Creator has a claim upon his obedience. There is thus implied the subordination of man as a moral being to a law arising out of the relative positions of himself and the Power to whom he owes his origin. This required submission man withholds; and at the promptings of the tempter, he exercises his power of choice in a direction contrary to God's will. His disobedience, in consequence, involves him in retribution; and his misconduct gets its deserts in the exchange of a condition of happiness for one of unhappiness. Secondly, by representing the ground as being cursed for Adam's sake, and the medium of his punishment, the narrative gives symbolically an explanation of the prevalent hardships of human life, which, though not exhaustive, cannot be deemed erroneous. That all physical evil is not directly traceable to human sin is, indeed, plain from the history of the earth anterior to man's existence. But in some cases, at least, a connection is actually visible between the two; and in others it may be inferred, unless all belief in a moral government of the world is abandoned. Finally, the solidarity of humanity, in consequence of which the suffering merited by the guilty is entailed in varying degrees upon the innocent, is a fact attested by all history. The moral law of individual, as opposed to collective, responsibility (which in the Hebrew consciousness only asserted itself gradually)[1] co-exists in this world with a law of physical heredity; and

[1] See pp. 442–4.

their reconciliation has to be sought in the world to come. On the other hand, it is not clear that the narrative of *Genesis* is intended to imply that a perverted moral nature was transmitted by Adam and Eve to their offspring. The succeeding generations are not represented as uniformly wicked, as appears from the instances of Abel, Enoch, and Noah; and in iv. 7 (according to one rendering, see marg.), Cain's duty, and consequent ability, to master his sin is asserted without any indication that his power of resistance was less than his father's. In the view of the historian, what Adam's posterity inherited in consequence of his fall was physical discomfort rather than a corrupt disposition.

The reason why the serpent appears as the instigator of disobedience to the commands of God is obscure. That spiritual agencies were popularly thought by the Hebrews of even a late date to subsist under certain animal forms is clear from the prohibition, in *Lev.* xvii. 7, of the worship of satyrs or he-goats. The serpent, in particular, was regarded by some ancient peoples as partly the embodiment, and partly the symbol, of the more subtle and potent elements in human nature itself: by the Romans, for example, it was held to be both the emblem of genius and the visible representative of the spirit of a deceased hero (Verg. *A.* v. 95). It is said to have been associated by the ancient Persians with Ahriman, the principle of evil; and the early Arabians are related to have believed that evil spirits dwelt in the bodies of serpents. It is noteworthy, too, that a Hebrew word for the practice of divination is akin to the usual term for *serpent*.[1] Amongst the Babylonians, the primæval Deep, in the tablet which relates the war in which it engaged against the gods,[2] was represented as a Dragon; and it is possible that this is the ultimate source from which the Biblical conception came. But if so, the early idea has been greatly modified, with the result that some inconsistency is apparent in the existing description. On the one hand, the serpent of *Genesis* is obviously not an original power, independent of God, for it is included among the beasts of the field which Jehovah-God had made. On the other hand, it is moved by an impulse of hostility towards the Deity,

[1] See *Gen.* xliv. 5, 2 *Kg.* xvii. 17, *Deut.* xviii. 10.

[2] See p. 43.

and becomes the prompter of rebellion. For such a part the serpent, of all members of the animal kingdom, by its insidious habits, and the antipathy which it generally inspires, was most adapted; and its exceptional method of locomotion readily lends itself to the explanation that it was the effect of a curse. The language used to describe the enmity which it was declared should exist between it and the seed of the woman—"he shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise his heel"—is manifestly in the first place expressive of the methods of attack pursued towards each other by mankind and the serpentine race. But since the serpent is not a mere serpent, but the subtle suggester of disobedience,[1] the words just quoted are doubtless likewise intended to depict the moral and spiritual conflict of which the human soul is the theatre, and perhaps even to express a belief in the eventual triumph of man over his enemy. But any conscious reference to a personal Messiah, such as the Hebrews subsequently came to look for, seems altogether improbable. Belief in the Fall produced little influence on Jewish thought, as enshrined in the Old Testament, and direct allusions to it are hardly to be found (unless *Prov.* iii. 18, xi. 30, *2 Is.* xliii. 27, *Hos.* vi. 7, *Job* xxxi. 33 be such).[2] At the date when the story of it took its present shape, it is scarcely likely that the Messianic hope had gone beyond the anticipation of a renewal of national glory under a king, or kings, of Davidic descent—the stage it reached in the tenth and ninth centuries B.C.[3]

[1] The first express identification of the Serpent with the Spirit of Evil seems to occur in *Wisd.* ii. 24, whence it is adopted into the N.T. (Rev. xii. 9, xx. 2). Generally in the O.T. God is represented as the direct source of all that happens to man, evil included: see *2 Is.* xlv. 7, *Lam.* iii. 38, *Is.* xxix. 10, *2 Is.* lxiii. 17, and cf. *Ex.* iv. 21, *Jud.* ix. 23, *1 Sam.* ii. 25, xvi. 14, *2 Sam.* xxiv. 1, *1 Kg.* xii. 15. But in *1 Kg.* xxii. 21 the enticement of Ahab is the work of a subordinate spirit, and in *1 Ch.* xxi. 1 (in contrast to *2 Sam.* xxiv. 1) the agent who moves David to number Israel is Satan. It is 'the Satan' also who, in the court of heaven, casts doubt on Job's sincerity, and afterwards is the author of his trials (*Job* i. 6, ii. 1 foll.), and who appears as the adversary of the High Priest Joshua in *Zech.* iii. 1.

[2] In the Apocrypha references to the Fall are more numerous, see *Ecclus.* xxv. 24, *2 Esd.* iii. 21, iv. 30, vii. 48 (118). An allusion to the Garden of Eden seems to occur in the difficult passage *Ezek.* xxviii. 11–19.

[3] See pp. 292–3.

THE FIRST MURDER

Adam and Eve, after their expulsion from Eden, had two sons, the first called Cain and the second Abel. The former of these was a tiller of the ground, the latter a keeper of sheep. Each brought to Jehovah an offering of what he possessed; but whereas to the offering of Abel Jehovah had respect, to the offering of Cain He had not respect. Cain, in consequence, became angry and his countenance fell; but Jehovah, remonstrating, declared that if he did well, it should be lifted up (see iv. 7 marg.), but if he did not well, sin couched at the door.[1] Then Cain took his brother out into the field[2] and slew him; and when Jehovah made inquiry about him, denied that he knew where he was. Thereupon he was told that his brother's blood cried for vengeance, and he was pronounced cursed; the ground was not to yield to him its strength; and he was to be a fugitive and a wanderer. But to prevent anyone from slaying him, it was declared that a sevenfold vengeance should be exacted from his slayer; and a sign was appointed for him (the nature of which is not stated) that he might be recognised. Cain then departed into the land of Nod,[3] east of Eden, where he built a city and called it after a son that was born to him, Enoch.[4] Of his subsequent descendants, one, Lamech, took two wives, named Adah and Zillah. Adah bore Jabal and Jubal, of whom the first was the father (*i.e.* the instructor) of such as dwelt in tents and had cattle; whilst the second was the father of those who handled the harp and pipe. Zillah's children were Tubal-cain, the father of all smiths

[1] So the Hebrew. But the LXX., pointing differently, renders *οὐκ ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς, ἥμαρτες, ἡσύχασον*, which implies that the reason why Cain's offering was not accepted was some error in the manner in which it was made. The writer of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* ascribes Abel's acceptance to his faith (xi. 4).

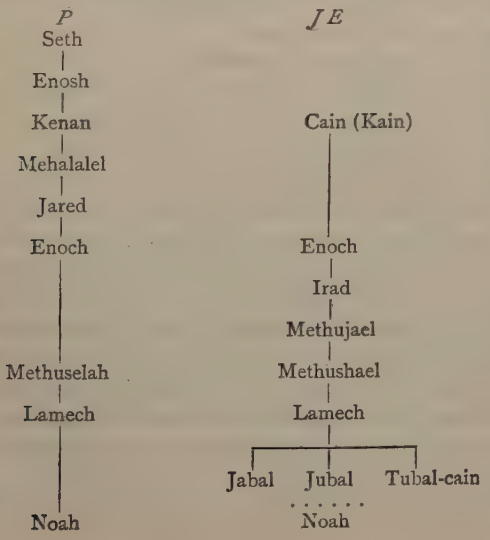
[2] This is expressed in the LXX., which reads in ver. 8, *καὶ εἶπε Κάϊν πρὸς Ἄβελ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, Διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον*, whilst in the Hebrew there are indications of a lacuna.

[3] Literally *Land of Wandering*, with an allusion to ver. 12, 14. It has been taken to describe the mountainous region E. of the Tigris, inhabited by wild and restless tribes.

[4] Josephus (*Ant.* i. 2) represents Adam and Eve as having daughters born to them, as well as sons, and presumably supposes that Cain married one of his sisters.

and workers in metal, and a daughter Naamah. The possession of weapons wrought by Tubal-cain enabled Lamech to retaliate upon one who had wounded him, and to boast that if Cain should be avenged sevenfold, he himself would be avenged seventy and sevenfold. After the death of Abel a third son was born to Adam, named Seth; and Seth had a son named Enosh, in whose time the worship of Jehovah is said to have begun to prevail. Of the further descendants of Seth little is related, except the age at which each begat his eldest son, and the age at which he died. The figures in all cases are exceptionally high, and are given differently in the ordinary Hebrew text, the Samaritan text, and the LXX. version. But of one of Seth's stock, Enoch, it is recorded that he walked with God; and instead of his death being described in the usual terms, it is said that "he was not, for God took him." The last name in the list is that of Noah, who is the principal character in the succeeding narrative of the Flood.

The accounts of the posterity of Seth and of Cain come respectively from the two sources from which the duplicate narratives of the Creation have been derived; and the correspondence observable between them suggests that the two lists of names are variant versions of a common tradition. The source denoted by the letters JE mentions Seth and his son Enosh, as well as Cain.



The first part of c. iv., though relating the history of the children of the first-created of mankind, yet strangely pre-supposes the existence of a population elsewhere, from which Cain obtained his wife and the inhabitants of his city (ver. 17), and amongst which he feared to find an avenger of blood. No light is thrown upon these difficulties by any parallel in the Babylonian inscriptions.

The main purpose of the story of Cain and Abel is manifestly to describe the increasing deterioration of mankind after the Fall. Disobedience to the command of God in the first generation is followed by fratricide in the second; and subsequently bloodshed becomes a matter for boasting (iv. 23). In the history of human wickedness, the Divine righteousness finds further illustration, God appearing as the vindicator of outraged justice. But another, though a subordinate, purpose is the tracing of the progress of civilisation. Abel leads a pastoral life, but Cain practises agriculture and builds a city; whilst his descendants domesticate the larger cattle, invent musical instruments, and devise brazen and iron implements, including weapons of war. It is possible that by representing the development of the arts as the work of Cain and his posterity, the writer displays his own partiality for nomadic, as contrasted with settled, life; or more probably, the preference implied goes back to the ancient period from which it is likely that the material of this, as of the allied narratives, has been transmitted. To the lives of extraordinary duration attributed to the descendants of Seth in c. v. a parallel is furnished by Hesiod's account of the Silver Age, when ἑκατὸν μὲν παῖς ἔτεα παρὰ μητέρι κεδνῇ Ἐτρέφετ' ἀτάλλων μέγα νήπιος ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ[1]; and Josephus (*Ant.* i. 3, 9) alludes to Hecatæus, Hellanicus, Ephorus, and other historians as holding the same belief. The removal of Enoch to the presence of God seemingly without dying is also not unexampled among the kindred records of other nations. Something of the sort, it will be seen, is related of the chief character in the Babylonian Flood story; and parallels, more or less relevant, may be adduced from Greek legend.[2] But a notable feature in the Biblical incident (as contrasted at least with those derived from Classical sources) is its moral colouring. The translation of Enoch is ascribed to his godly life; it was because he walked with God that God took him.

[1] Hes. *Works and Days*, 129–130. [2] Cf. Hom. *Od.* xv. 250–251.

THE FLOOD

In the process of time, men began to multiply, and with the increase of population there came also an increase of wickedness, until God repented that He had made man upon the earth. Unions took place between the daughters of men and the "sons of God" (the latter term probably denoting divine beings, or angels, such as are implied in i. 26, xi. 7 as attending upon the Deity); and the spread of violence is doubtless regarded as due to the more than mortal audacity of the offspring of such marriages. There was also existent then a race called *Nephilim*, of gigantic stature (cf. *Num.* xiii. 33) and presumably sinister disposition. In consequence of the depravity of mankind, God finally determined to destroy the earth and everything upon it, with the exception of Noah, who alone of his generation was a righteous man.

The expression *sons of God* is sometimes used to designate godly men (see *Ps.* lxxiii. 15); and has here been interpreted to denote the descendants of Seth (cf. iv. 26), the phrase *daughters of men* being understood to mean the daughters of other men indiscriminately (cf. *Jer.* xxxii. 20, *Jud.* xvi. 7, Heb.). Another view is that the first term indicates the upper and ruling classes, and the second, women of the inferior orders (cf. *Ps.* lxxxii. 6–7). But the natural sense of the words *sons of God* is that found in *Job* i. 6 (cf. *Ps.* lxxxix. 6), and the passage is doubtless meant (as Josephus, *Ant.* i. 3. 1. takes it) to describe the intermarriage of divine beings with mortal women (cf. *Jude* 6, 7); and finds familiar parallels in Greek legend.[1]

Noah, to save himself and his household, was directed to build an ark of gopher-wood,[2] 300 cubits long, 50 cubits broad, and 30 cubits high; and to take into it, together with his wife, his three sons, and their wives, some of every kind of living creature (according to one statement, a single pair of all sorts, according to another, seven pairs of clean and one pair of unclean animals). When these directions were carried out, and all had entered the Ark, rain descended from heaven, and the fountains of the great deep were broken up, so that a flood of waters prevailed on the earth, and the tops of the mountains were covered. The flood lasted for a long period (represented in one series of passages (derived from P) as a year and 10 days;[3] but in another series (from JE) as only 61

[1] Cf. the stories relating to Zeus and Europa, Helios and Clymene, etc.

[2] The wood meant is unknown; but probably some kind of fir is intended.

[3] See *Gen.* vii. 11, viii. 13–14.

days[1]); and when it eventually subsided, the Ark rested on the mountains of Ararat (Armenia). To find whether the ground on the plain or in the valleys was dried, Noah sent out successively a raven and a dove. The raven, a carrion bird, did not come back; but the dove returned twice before finally departing, bringing the second time the leaf of an olive-tree (which only grows in the valleys), from which Noah knew that the waters were abated. On leaving the Ark, he built an altar to Jehovah, and offered burnt-offerings of every clean beast and every clean bird. Then Jehovah smelled the sweet savour, and said in His heart that He would not again smite all living, as He had done; and God blessed Noah, delivering into his hand every living creature, and giving them to him for food equally with the herbs that were originally assigned for this purpose, the blood alone being prohibited. The blood of man, it was added, would be required at the hand of him who shed it. Finally, God established a covenant with Noah that He would not again destroy the earth with a flood; and as a sign, the bow was set in the clouds, that when He brought a cloud over the earth, He might remember His covenant.

The preceding narrative is derived from both of the two Pentateuchal sources JE and P; but the various sections have been fused together into a tolerably consistent history. The chief discrepancies have been noticed as they have occurred.

Accounts are found in many quarters of the globe which agree in representing the human race as destroyed by water, and propagated afresh from a few individuals saved from destruction by escaping to a mountain or island which remained uncovered, or by taking refuge in a boat or raft. The story current in Greece as reproduced by Ovid (*Met.* i. 240, cf. Pind. *Ol.* ix. 65–71) related that Jupiter (Zeus) in conjunction with Neptune (Poseidon) overwhelmed the world with a flood and destroyed the inhabitants either by drowning or starvation. Two persons, Deucalion and Pyrrha, alone were saved by ascending Mt. Parnassus; and then, to re-people the earth, were directed to throw stones behind them, those cast by Deucalion becoming men, and those cast by Pyrrha becoming women. In India, Brahma is said to have

[1] See *Gen.* vii. 12, viii. 10, 12.

announced to Manu a coming flood which destroyed the earth, and to have bidden him build a ship, into which he was to betake himself, together with all kinds of seeds. Brahma, in the form of a fish, guided the ship; and when the flood abated, it was left on a mountain in the north. Similar histories have been found in China, in Africa, and in Mexico and other parts of the American continent. But much the closest parallel to the Biblical record has been deciphered from the Babylonian inscriptions.[1] This recites how the gods Anu, Ea, and others, at the instigation of Bel, resolved to bring about a flood, their determination being communicated by Ea to one Par-na-pishtim (Shamash-pishtim or Tsitna-pishtim). The latter was bidden to construct a ship and to take refuge in it, with his family and slaves. What was necessary for subsistence was stored within it; whilst cattle and wild beasts were likewise gathered into it, to preserve the seed of life. Par-na-pishtim then entered into it with his possessions, closed the door, and intrusted the vessel to the helmsman. The rain fell, and the flood rose for six days and nights, until even the gods themselves were afraid; but on the seventh day it subsided, and the ship rested on the mountains of Nizir (probably the Gordyæan range, E. of the Tigris). After another seven days, Par-na-pishtim sent forth in succession a dove and a swallow, which both returned, and lastly a raven, which did not return. Then he let forth the animals and offered a sacrifice on an altar, built on the mountain, to which the gods, on smelling the savour, gathered like flies. Bel wished none to come forth alive, but he was appeased by the other gods, who urged that the sinner, and not the righteous, should suffer the penalty of his sin, and that man should be diminished by wild beasts or by famine, and not by a flood. Then Par-na-pishtim was taken by Bel into covenant, and he and his family were removed to a distant spot at the mouth of the rivers to dwell as gods.

The similarity between the Babylonian and Hebrew accounts is so great that it is manifest that they are substantially variant versions of an early story common to both peoples. It is possible that the same may have given rise to, or influenced, the

[1] See Sayce, *H. C. M.*, p. 107 foll., Boscawen, p. 114 foll.

Greek and Indian legends; but the others, no doubt, arose independently. The occurrence of a universal flood, within the period in which man has lived on the earth, is precluded by the evidence of geology; and upon the intrinsic improbabilities involved in the accounts of the inclusion and maintenance, in the Ark, of specimens of every variety of existing animal it is not necessary to enlarge. The fact at the base of the Hebrew and Babylonian story may be an extensive inundation of the valley of the Euphrates, both that river and the Tigris frequently overflowing their banks in consequence of the melting of the snow on the mountains whence they take their rise, and so producing floods, it is said, on a colossal scale. Similar disasters are not uncommon elsewhere, being occasioned either by an excessive rainfall, by the bursting of a river's banks, or (in the case of peoples living by the coast or on an island) by a tidal wave consequent upon an earthquake. In such catastrophes many of the accounts just related, or alluded to, find their simplest explanation; though some may be mere inventions or hypotheses to account for the existence of fossil shells on hillsides (as is said to be the case with that of the Leeward islanders).[1] In these accounts generally there are many isolated points of resemblance to the Biblical narrative, some of which may be due to coincidence, whilst others may perhaps be suspected of being introduced from acquaintance with the O.T. story.

The idea of a destructive flood being the divinely-sent penalty for human sin is not peculiar to the Biblical history, but is shared by it with others, notably the Babylonian. But the Biblical account gains greatly by comparison, in consequence of its prevailing representation of one God as the ruler and judge of the world. Among the many gods of the Babylonian heaven there is room for divergent desires and purposes; and in the record deciphered from the inscriptions, not divine justice only, but divine vindictiveness is illustrated. The contrast indicates how greatly the belief in the moral government of the universe was promoted by the conception of God entertained by the Biblical writers, however slowly the conception in question may have been apprehended by the popular consciousness of the Hebrew nation.

[1] See Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 18.

The narrative of the Flood introduces, for the first time, several features of religious belief and usage which subsequently become prominent in Hebrew history. The offering of sacrifice has already come under notice in connection with the story of Cain and Abel: but Noah is the first who is represented as building an altar; and his offerings, which are described as burnt-offerings, are chosen only from those beasts and birds which are "clean." The ideas at the root of the practice of sacrifice, and of the distinction between clean and unclean animals, as well as of the prohibition against the eating of blood, will be discussed later.[1] It is only necessary to observe here the parallel afforded by the Babylonian Flood Story. There, as in the Bible, an altar is erected, an offering is prepared, and the gods smell the sweet savour. It is plain that, at the early period to which the two records go back, it was already felt that the nature of deity was less gross than that of humankind, so that the solid parts of the sacrifice were no longer regarded as partaken of (as was originally believed, cf. *Deut.* xxxii. 38), and yet not so spiritual but that the fragrance of the meat offered was enjoyed.[2] So in Homer it is in the κνίση, the steam of the sacrifices, that the gods take pleasure. Another parallel offered by the inscriptions is that of a covenant formed between God and man. This is an idea of great importance in Biblical history, the covenant made with Noah being the first of a series. A covenant formed between men usually involves reciprocal obligations on the part of those who contract it; and in general when God is represented as making a covenant with man, certain commands are imposed on the latter, on the due performance of which the fulfilment of corresponding promises on the part of God is assured. The deepening sense, however, alike of human infirmity and of the Divine goodness and unchangeableness led, in later times, to important developments which will come under review in due course.[3] The covenant made with Noah is necessarily thought of as made with mankind as a whole, since Noah is to be the father of a new race. But in effect, the covenant is one only

[1] See pp. 93, 144–146.

[2] Language embodying the belief persisted in later times; see *1 Sam.* xxvi. 19 marg.

[3] See p. 445.

in name: it is really an unconditional promise given by God. There is, indeed, a command imposed, namely, the direction to abstain from the use of blood; but this is not connected with the declaration that the earth shall not again be destroyed by the waters of a Flood. Of such a promise, the rainbow was to serve as a reminder: it is not regarded as made or created for the first time, but as "set" or "appointed" for a token that God would remember in time of tempest the assurance He had given to all flesh.

THE SONS OF NOAH

The three sons of Noah were Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Their father, having planted a vineyard and made himself drunk with the wine, lay uncovered in his tent, and Ham saw his father's nakedness; but his two brothers took a garment, and turning their faces backward, covered him. When Noah awoke, he learnt what Ham had done; and he accordingly pronounced a blessing upon Shem and Japheth, and a curse upon Canaan, the son of Ham, who he prayed might be a servant to his brethren.

Of the three sons of Noah Shem appears to have been the eldest (see x. 21), and the usual order in which the names are given (v. 32, ix. 18) points to Japheth as being the youngest; but the natural sense of ix. 24 suggests that Ham was the youngest. Possibly there were variant traditions respecting their relative ages. It will be seen later that from Ham the African peoples were thought to be descended, among them being the Egyptians; and the discredit cast upon Ham in the story probably reflects national animosity. Noah's curse, however, is represented as falling upon Ham's son, Canaan, the Canaanites being the race which eventually became subjected to Israel, the descendant of Shem (cf. *1 Kgs.* ix. 20 21).

20
30
40
50
60
Euxine
Caspian Sea
MESHECH
RIPHATH
TUBAL
ASHKENAZ
GOMER
ELISHAH
TOGARMAH?
PADAN
Haran
ARAM
R. Habor
Nineveh
Rodanim
R. Orontes
Tiphsah
Hamath
Asshur
ASSYRIA
MADAI
CAPHTORIM
KITTIM
SYRIA
R. Euphrates
Accad
R. Tigris
Sidon
Damascus
ELAM
Babel
Shushan
BABYLONIA
PUT?
Philistines
CANAAN
AMMON
Gerar
MOAB
MIZRAIM
EDOM
HAVILAH
Persian Gulf
PATHROS
DEDAN
Red Sea
ARABIA
R. Nile
CUSH
SHEBA?
THE WORLD
As known to
THE EARLY HEBREWS
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300
40
30

CHAPTER II

THE PATRIARCHAL HISTORY

Sources—*Gen.* x.–l., *1 Ch.* i. 5–ii. 5

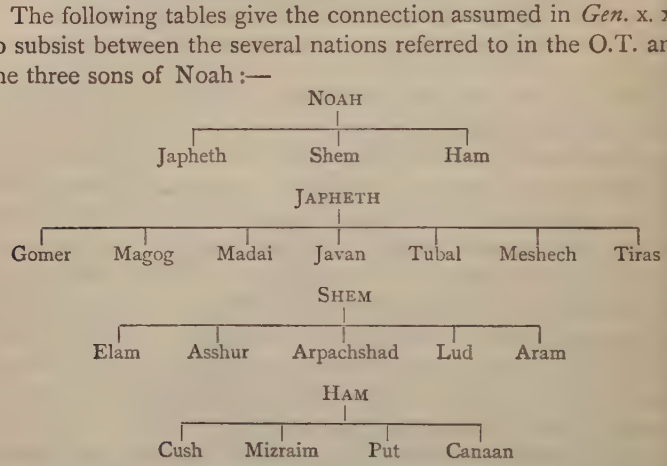
THE various peoples mentioned in the O.T. are almost all comprised within the region bounded on the North by the Caucasus Mountains, the Euxine, and the Sea of Marmora; on the West by the Ægean and Mediterranean Seas, and the African desert; on the South by Abyssinia and the Indian Ocean; and on the East by the Persian Gulf, the Caspian Sea, and a line drawn between them. It is this region which is represented as occupied by the descendants of Noah, who separated from one another after a brief sojourn in the plain of Shinar (South Babylonia), whither they had journeyed from the mountains of Ararat (*Gen.* xi. 1–2). But the nations with which the Biblical history is *mainly* concerned are included within still narrower limits than these—viz., the triangular space bordered on one side by the mountains of Kuzistan and Kurdistan, with their continuation in Mt. Masius and part of the Taurus, and on the other by Mt. Amanus and the Mediterranean, the base being formed by a line stretching across Arabia from the head of the Red Sea to the head of the Persian Gulf. And even of this triangle the centre was desert, the population being gathered on the mountain slopes and by the sea, or along the two large rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, which drained the Eastern portion of the district.

The existence of a number of nations speaking different languages, who were nevertheless believed to be of one stock, is accounted for by a story which relates that the descendants of Noah began to build in Shinar a city to serve as their common abode and prevent their dispersion, and a high tower to win them a name, and strengthen common feelings of pride. But God, anticipating that, if they succeeded in their purposes, nothing would be withholden from them, confounded their speech, so that they had to relinquish

their project, and were compelled to separate in different directions. The name of the city was, in consequence, called *Babel* (from *balal* "to confound," *Gen.* xi. 1–9).

The reason for bringing a narrative, purporting to explain the present variety of speech and situation prevailing amongst the peoples of the earth, into connection with the historic city of Babel (*i.e.* Babylon) is probably to be found in (1) the resemblance of the name to the Hebrew word "to confound";[1] (2) the existence in or near Babylon of vast structures which seemed to be heaven-defying in character. Ruins of such occur both within the actual circuit of the ancient city, and at Borsippa (*Birs Nimroud*); the latter are those of the Temple of Bel described by Herodotus (i. 181).

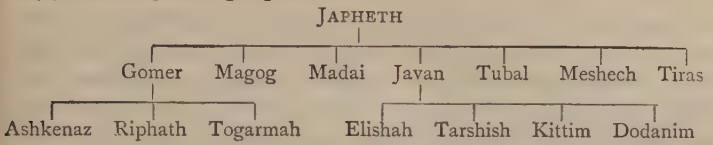
The following tables give the connection assumed in *Gen.* x. xi to subsist between the several nations referred to in the O.T. and the three sons of Noah:—



But though the arrangement of the names is thus ostensibly based on a genealogical principle, the fact that the peoples respectively allotted to each of the sons of Noah are for the most part contiguous suggests that it has been mainly determined by geographical position. To Japheth are assigned the nations of the Ægean sea-board, the parts of Asia Minor north of the Taurus, and the districts immediately to the south of the Caspian Sea; to Ham, the coast of Asia Minor south of the Taurus, portions of Arabia, and the north and north-east parts of Africa; and to Shem, the countries around the Euphrates and Tigris and the head of the Persian Gulf. From the point of view of modern ethnology, it will be eventually seen that two, at least, of the three groups contain members of more than one race.[2]

[1] The real meaning of the name *Babel* is "Gate of God." [2] See p. 69.

(1) The Japhetic peoples—



Gomer represents the most northerly of known peoples (cf. *Ezek.* xxxviii. 6), the Κιμμέριοι of Homer (*Od.* xi. 14). They originally came from Scythia, north of the Euxine, but crossed to Asia Minor, occupied Cappadocia, and following the coast, penetrated as far as Lydia and Ionia (Hdt. iv. 12). Gomer's descendants cannot be identified with certainty. *Ashkenaz* is associated with Ararat (Armenia) in *Jer.* li. 27, but comparison with the names Ascanius and Ascania (Hom. *Il.* ii. 882, Verg. *G.* iii. 270) has suggested a connection with Phrygia or Bithynia. *Riphath* (in *1 Ch.* i. 6 *Diphath*) is connected by Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6) with the Paphlagonians. *Togarmah* is mentioned in *Ezek.* xxvii. 14 as sending, in exchange for the wares of Tyre, horses and mules; and is identified by Josephus (*l.c.*) with Phrygia, and by others with Armenia.

Magog appears to be an expression (borrowed from Assyrian) meaning "the land of Gog." In *Ezek.* xxxix. 2 Gog comes from the north; and like the Scythians, his forces are horsemen, and armed with bows as well as with swords (xxxviii. 4, xxxix. 3).

Madai is Media, east of the mountains of Kurdistan and south of the Caspian.

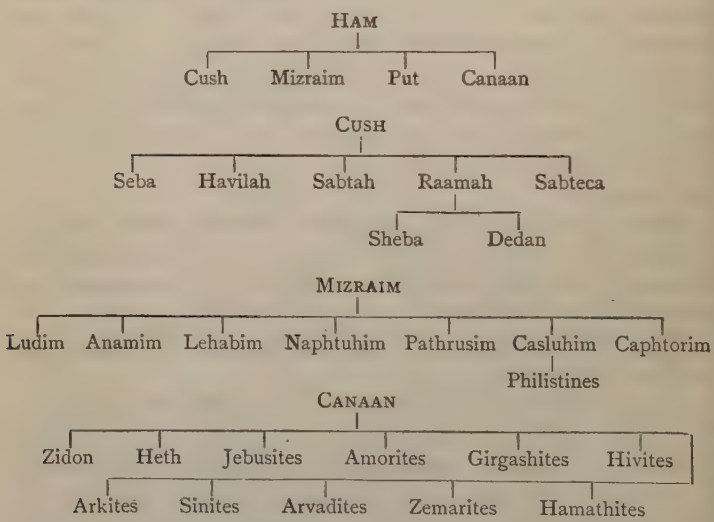
Javan is Ionia and the Greek isles in the Mediterranean (*2 Is.* lxvi. 19); and in *Daniel* (viii. 21, xi. 2) is used for Greece generally. Of the descendants of Javan, *Elishah*, from the isles or coastlands of which Tyre derived its blue and purple (*Ezek.* xxvii. 7) and which must therefore have bordered on the Mediterranean, resembles the name Hellas; and *Kittim* suggests Κίτιον, a town in the island of Cyprus (cf. *Jer.* ii. 10, *Ezek.* xxvii. 6) planted by Tyre (cf. *Is.* xxiii. 1). In *Dan.* xi. 30, Kittim is used vaguely of a western power (Rome being probably meant). *Tarshish* is associated with "the isles" in *Ps.* lxxii. 10, *2 Is.* lx. 9; it could be reached from Joppa (*Jon.* i. 3); was connected with Tyre (*Is.* xxiii. 6, 10); and was famous for its mines of silver

and other minerals (*Jer.* x. 9, *Ezek.* xxvii. 12). These *data* point to Tartessus, a Phœnician colony in Spain on the Bætis. In the LXX. of *Is.* xxiii. and *Ezek.* xxvii., it is rendered by Καρχηδών *i.e.* Carthage, which was also founded by the Phœnicians. For *Dodanim* the LXX. here and the Heb. of *1 Ch.* i. 7 give *Rodanim*, which has been taken to represent the Rhodians.

Tubal, *Meshech*, and *Tiras* cannot be positively identified. The first two are elsewhere associated with Javan (*2 Is.* lxvi. 19, *Ezek.* xxvii. 13) and Gog (*Ezek.* xxxviii. 2, xxxix. 1), and may represent the Tibareni and Moschi south of the Euxine.

None of the Japhetic nations are at all intimately connected with O.T. history.

(2) The Hamitic peoples—



Cush, associated with Egypt in *Is.* xx. 3, 4, *Ezek.* xxix. 10, and elsewhere, is Ethiopia (the modern Nubia); cf. the description of the land and people in *Is.* xviii. Of the sons of Cush *Seba* is associated with Egypt and Ethiopia in *2 Is.* xliii. 3. *Havilah* is the eastern end of the Arabian desert between Egypt and the Persian Gulf (cf. *Gen.* xxv. 18). *Sabtah* and *Sabteca* are not mentioned elsewhere, and *Raamah* only in *Ezek.* xxvii. 22,

amongst the traffickers with Tyre in spices, gold, and precious stones; they were probably parts of Arabia. *Sheba* was also part of Arabia (probably in the south), and abounded in gold and frankincense (*Ps.* lxxii. 15, *2 Is.* lx. 6, *Jer.* vi. 20). *Dedan* was in the north of Arabia (*Is.* xxi. 13), and seems to have been regarded as bordering on Edom (*Ezek.* xxv. 13, cf. *Jer.* xlix. 8). The connection of these districts of Arabia with Cush is probably due to the movements of Arab tribes across the Red Sea.

In *Gen.* x. 8 Cush is also said to have begotten Nimrod, "the beginning of whose kingdom was Babel." This involves a transition to a region inhabited by the Shemites, and is due to a confusion between *Kesh* (Heb. *Cush*) a name for the inhabitants of Ethiopia, as explained above, and the *Kasshu* or *Cassi*, a race who subjugated Babylonia between the 16th and 13th centuries B.C. Of Nimrod himself nothing is known, beyond the statement that he was a mighty hunter before Jehovah, and built certain cities in Assyria.

Mizraim is Egypt. The word (which is grammatically a dual) refers to the two distinct regions of which the country consists, viz. the triangle of the Delta, and the Nile valley, as far as Syene (700 miles from the apex of the Delta). To the first of these the name *Mazor* was especially applied (*Is.* xix. 6, xxxvii. 25); the second was properly designated *Pathros* (*Is.* xi. 11, *Jer.* xliv. 1, *Ezek.* xxix. 14). Of the sons of Mizraim, the *Ludim* are elsewhere associated with Egypt and Ethiopia (*Jer.* xlvi. 9); if they are identical with *Lud* (see p. 72), they may have been Lydian mercenaries settled in Egypt. The *Anamim*, *Lehabim*, *Naphtuhim*, and *Casluhim* are unknown, whilst the *Pathrusim* are the inhabitants of Pathros (explained above). The *Caphtorim* are generally regarded as the people of Crete. The *Philistines* are here derived from the Casluhim; but in *Jer.* xlvii. 4, *Am.* ix. 7 they are connected with the Caphtorim (cf. also *Deut.* ii. 23). This people settled in the south-west corner of Palestine (to which they gave their name), where they formed a confederation of five cities, *Gaza*, *Gath*, *Ashkelon*, *Ekron*, and *Ashdod*. *Gerar* was a little to the south of the first-named city. The Philistines were possibly tinctured with Semitic usages and modes of thought before coming to Palestine; they certainly became so subsequently to their arrival.

Put elsewhere is associated with nations widely separate: (1) with Egypt, Cush and Ludim (Lud) (*Jer.* xlvi. 9, *Ezek.* xxx. 5,

Nah. iii. 9); (2) with Persia and Lud in the service of Tyre (*Ezek.* xxvii. 10); (3) with Persia and Cush in the service of Gog (*Ezek.* xxxviii. 5). There is said to have been a place called Put Javan in Egypt, which has been taken to be a city inhabited by Greek mercenaries, which would explain the various connections in which the name is found.[1] Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, 2) identifies it with Libya; others with the west shore of the Red Sea.

Canaan in the widest sense of the term designated the whole of the maritime coast between Cilicia and Egypt (or from Mt. Amanus to Mt. Seir), but the name is more commonly used to denote the southern half only, within the limits of which the greater part of the Bible history was enacted, the northern section being called Phœnicia. The physical features of the country were such as to separate it into several clearly-marked divisions, which were occupied by peoples distinguished by different appellations, and belonging, in some instances, to different races. On the north the region was divided from Cilicia by Mt. Amanus; and a line of hills branching off from this ran through the country from north to south, forming, half-way down, two parallel ridges of great height (about 9,000 feet) called Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon (or Hermon).[2] The valley between them (known as *Cœle Syria*) was drained by two rivers, the Orontes and Leontes (Litany), which flowed respectively north and south, and eventually turning westward, entered the Mediterranean. On the Orontes was *Hamath;* west of Lebanon, on or near the coast, were *Arka, Zemara*, *Arvad*, and *Zidon* (the two last supplying rowers to Tyre, *Ezek.* xxvii. 8); whilst the *Sinites* also dwelt in the neighbourhood of Lebanon, though their precise position is not known. *Heth*, or the Hittites, came originally from beyond the Taurus (Cappadocia), but advancing southward established themselves both on the Euphrates (Carchemish being one of their chief cities) and in the Orontes valley, being generally mentioned in the Bible history in connection with the northern border of Israel (*Jud.* i. 26, *1 Kg.* x. 29), though a few settlements were formed within the limits of Canaan itself, especially

[1] See Sayce, *H. C. M.*, pp. 136–7.

[2] Called *Sion* in *Deut.* iv. 48. The Zidonian name was *Sirion*, the Amorite *Senir* (*Deut.* iii. 9). In *1 Ch.* v. 23 *Senir* and *Hermon* seem to be distinguished.

in hilly regions (*Josh.* xi. 3,[1] *Num.* xiii. 29). The name, however, was sometimes applied to the inhabitants of the whole country of Canaan (see *Gen.* xxvii. 46, and c. xxiii., and cf. *Josh.* i. 4); and a similar usage occurs in the Assyrian inscriptions of the 9th and 8th centuries. In point of race the Hittites by some authorities are believed to have been of Mongolian origin. From the east side of Hermon there ran two streams, the Abana or Amana (modern *Barada*) and Pharpar, which discharged themselves into a marshy lake, near which Damascus was situated. A third river, the Jordan, which also rose in Mt. Hermon, turned southward, and after passing successively through two lakes (Merom and Chinnereth), flowed through a long and deep gorge into the Dead Sea (which is 1,290 feet below the level of the Mediterranean). This gorge, on the west, was separated from the sea by a range of hills, crossed by several valleys; and on the east was flanked by a high and narrow plateau, which gradually merged into the Syrian desert. The only noteworthy river on the west was the Kishon, which entered the Mediterranean sea near Carmel (the single promontory which breaks the coastline); but the eastern tableland was drained by three streams, the Jarmuk, Jabbok (the modern *Zerka*), and Arnon, the first flowing into the Jordan just south of lake Chinnereth (separating Bashan the region on the north, from Gilead the district on the south, of the river), the second entering the Jordan half-way between lake Chinnereth and the Dead Sea, and the third discharging itself into the last-named lake. The high ground on both sides of the Jordan was occupied by the *Amorites* (for the E., see *Num.* xxi. 31, *Deut.* iii. 8, iv. 47, *Josh.* xii. 2, and for the W. see *Deut.* i. 7), a people who seem to have dominated the Orontes valley before the Hittites, and were subsequently forced southward. Like the latter, their name is sometimes used in the Bible to designate the inhabitants of Palestine collectively (see *Gen.* xv. 16, *Josh.* xxiv. 15, 18); and was so employed by the early kings of Babylon. The term *Canaanite* is often applied in a general sense to all the peoples dwelling between the Jordan and

[1] In this passage the LXX. transposes *Hittite* and *Hivite*, placing the Hittites under Hermon.

the sea (see *Gen.* x. 19),[1] this part of the country being sometimes called Canaan, in a narrow sense, in contrast to Gilead on the east of the river (see *Num.* xxxii. 29–30, *Josh.* xxii. 32). But the Canaanites, as distinguished from the other races previously described, occupied (1) the sea-coast, (2) the valley of the Jordan (see *Josh.* xi. 3; and cf. *Num.* xiii. 29, *Josh.* v. 1, *Deut.* xi. 30). The remaining groups, the *Hivites*, *Jebusites*, *Girgashites*, and a fourth (not named in *Gen.* x.), the *Perizzites*,[2] were perhaps subdivisions of the former nations, which acquired separate appellations from local or other circumstances. The *Hivites* (whose name may mean "dwellers in encampments") are mentioned in connection with particular places like Shechem (*Gen.* xxxiv. 2), Gibeon (*Josh.* ix. 3, 7), and the neighbourhood of Lebanon (*Jud.* iii. 3, cf. *Josh.* xi. 3). The *Jebusites* were the inhabitants of the town of Jebus or Jerusalem. Of the *Girgashites* nothing is known. The *Perizzites* are connected with Bethel (*Gen.* xiii. 3, 7), Shechem (*Gen.* xxxiv. 30), mount Ephraim, and the territory afterwards occupied by Judah and Simeon (*Jud.* i. 4); but the name is perhaps merely descriptive, in the sense of villagers or country folk (cf. the Heb. of *Deut.* iii. 5). The cities of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, *Admah*, and *Zeboiim* were situated in the valley of the Jordan immediately north of the Dead Sea, to which valley, together with its continuation south of the same sea, the name of the *Arabah* was given. *Lasha* is generally identified with Calirrhoë on the E. of the Dead Sea.

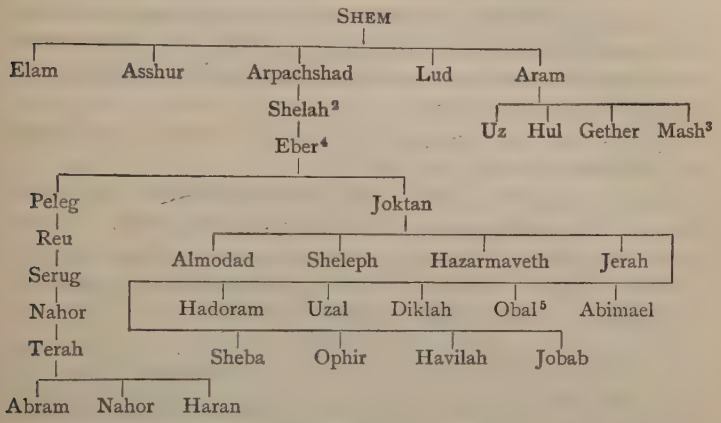
The use of some of these names is not always uniform. Hebron is Amorite in *Gen.* xiii. 18, xiv. 13, but Hittite in *Gen.* xxiii. 2, 3; and the Amorites of *Gen.* xlviii. 22 are Hivites or Perizzites in xxxiv. 2, 30: cf. also *Josh.* ix. 7 with *2 Sam.* xxi. 2. Moreover, the Amorite king of Jerusalem referred to in *Josh.* x. 3 seems to be identical with the king mentioned in *Jud.* i. 5 who is reckoned among the Canaanites and Perizzites; whilst the

[1] Some scholars hold that the terms *Amorites* and *Canaanites* to describe the people of Canaan W. of the Jordan are peculiar respectively to the sources of the Hexateuch denoted by the symbols E and J. The *data* for such a conclusion are not very decisive, but *Canaanite* is regularly used in the sections in *Gen.* which may with reason be ascribed to J (x. 18, xii. 6, xxiv. 3, 37, l. 11), whilst there appears to be a uniform use of *Amorite* in *Josh.* xxiv. 15, 18 which is suggestive of a different source (which must be E).

[2] It is possible that the Perizzites, since they are not named amongst the sons of Canaan in *Gen.* x. 15 foll., and are coupled with the Rephaim in *Josh.* xvii. 15, were, like the latter, an aboriginal race (see p. 73).

Amorites of *Deut.* i. 44 are the Canaanites and *Amalekites* of *Num.* xiv. 45. The last-named people are mostly represented as occupying the south of Judæa and the neighbouring wilderness (see *Gen.* xiv. 7, *Num.* xiii. 29, cf. *1 Sam.* xv. 7, xxvii. 8), but were also found in the peninsula of Sinai (*Ex.* xvii. 8).[1]

(3) The Semitic peoples—



Elam consisted of the mountainous country, with the marsh lands at its base, which was situated at the head of the Persian Gulf. Its chief city was Shushan or Susa (cf. *Dan.* viii. 2).

Asshur was Assyria, the country lying along the middle course of the Tigris and its affluent the lower Zab; its extent varied considerably at different times.

Arpachshad probably represents Babylonia (the latter half of the name being practically identical with the word *Chesed*,[6] from

[1] In *Gen.* xiv. 7 Amalekites are represented as existing in Abram's time, but in xxxvi. 12 Amalek is the son of Abram's descendant Esau.

[2] The LXX. inserts another step in the genealogy, making Καϊναν the son of Arpachshad and the father of Shelah.

[3] In *1 Ch.* i. 17 *Meshech.*

[4] From *Eber* the name *Hebrew* is derived, and according to the above table of descent, would apply to the Arabian tribes derived from Joktan as well as to the descendants of Peleg. If taken to mean those who had come in the person of Abraham from "the other side" (*eber*) of the Euphrates, it applied to several peoples beside the Israelites, who had an exclusive claim to the title only as immigrants into Canaan from "the other side" of the Jordan. The LXX. renders it by ὁ περάτης.

[5] In *1 Ch.* i. 22 *Ebal.*

[6] The name *Chesed* occurs amongst the sons of Nahor in *Gen.* xxii. 22.

which comes the plural *Chasdim*, the usual Hebrew appellation for the Babylonians (cf. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 6, 4). This was the level country between the lower waters of the Tigris and Euphrates as far as the Persian Gulf, *Shinar* being the southern portion of it. From Arpachshad, and his son and grandson *Shelah* and *Eber*, were derived, on the one hand (through *Joktan*) a number of Arabian tribes *Sheba*, *Havilah* and others, and on the other hand (through *Peleg* and his line) *Terah* and his descendants, who will be considered later.

Lud is unknown, but is perhaps to be identified with Lydia (cf. Jos. *Ant.* i. 6, 4).

Aram comprised (1) the country embraced within the upper course of the Euphrates and its tributary the Chaboras (Habor) (Aram-naharaim); (2) the district between the Euphrates and the Orontes, with the country of which Damascus was the centre.[1] Of the sons of Aram little is known.

It will be observed that there are some inconsistencies in the genealogical tables given above. Thus *Sheba*, *Havilah*, and *Dedan* are represented in *Gen.* x. 7 as descendants of Ham; but in x. 28, 29, and xxv. 3 as descendants of Shem. The *Ludim*, if the same as *Lud*, are likewise assigned to Ham in x. 13, but to Shem in x. 22. *Aram*, who, in *Gen.* x. 22, is the brother of Arpachshad, appears, in *Gen.* xxii. 20, among the latter's descendants; whilst *Uz*, who is the son of Aram in x. 23, is his uncle in xxii. 20. The name of Uz occurs in connection with Edom in *Gen.* xxxvi. 28, *Lam.* iv. 21.

As has been said, the distribution of the various countries named in *Gen.* x. between the sons of Noah has been made on geographical rather than ethnological lines. But between the Babylonians, Assyrians, Arameans and the Arabian tribes represented as descended from Joktan there seems to have been actual kinship. Allied also with these were the Canaanites, whose assignment to Ham rather than to Shem is doubtless due to Hebrew sentiment. The centre from which this group of peoples originally dispersed was probably N. Arabia. From this region some moved southward and occupied the S.W. coast of the peninsula. A portion of these appear to have crossed the Red Sea and established themselves in Ethiopia.[2] Others

[1] Amongst the places occupied by Aram were Zobah (*2 Sam.* x. 6, 8). Beth-rehob (*2 Sam.* x. 6), and Maacah (*1 Ch.* xix. 6).

[2] The connection between Arabia and Ethiopia finds expression in the relationship, described in *Gen.* x. 7, of Sheba, Havilah, and Dedan to Cush.

advanced eastward, and settled in Babylonia, which became a starting-point for fresh movements. There the new settlers united with a population of diverse origin, to which the names Sumerian and Accadian have been given, and over which they obtained ascendency about 2300 B.C. A number of cities were built and rose to power, among them being Accad,[1] Erech,[2] Babel (Babylon), Ur,[3] and Larsa (Ellasar).[4] The rulers of some of these cities claim, in their inscriptions, to have extended their sway not only over the neighbouring countries of Elam and E. Arabia, but even over Palestine. From Babylonia an advance was made northward, and the cities of Asshur and Nineveh were founded, the surrounding region receiving its name (Assyria) from the first-mentioned place (cf. *Gen.* x. 10–12).

Corroboration of a Babylonian conquest of Palestine has been furnished by the discovery at Tell el Amarna of a large number of tablets (inscribed with cuneiform writing and dating from the 15th and 14th centuries B.C.) which purport to be letters despatched by Egyptian governors or vassal princes in Canaan to their sovereign.[5] The fact that cuneiform writing, which was of Babylonian origin, was the medium of correspondence in Canaan even after it had fallen under Egyptian control points to a long prevalence of Babylonian influence in that country.

Another body, starting from Kir, a district supposed to be near the lower Euphrates, and following that river, occupied Aram-naharaim. The connection of this Aramean settlement with Babylonia is indicated by the town of Haran, the name of which is said to be Sumerian, whilst its chief temple was dedicated to Sin, the Babylonian moon-god. A third body likewise followed the Euphrates, and crossing it at its upper course, moved westward until they reached Canaan. The country was perhaps at the time already occupied by the Amorites and Hittites; whilst remnants of an aboriginal race of great stature, called the *Anakim* or *Rephaim*, existed in various places, surviving even to comparatively late times.[6] The Canaanite immigrants,

[1] Conjectured to be Agade, N. of Babylon.

[2] Its site has been found at *Warka*, 100 miles S.E. of Babylon.

[3] Its site is usually identified with *El Mugheir*, on the right bank of the lower Euphrates, about 125 miles from the mouth of the river.

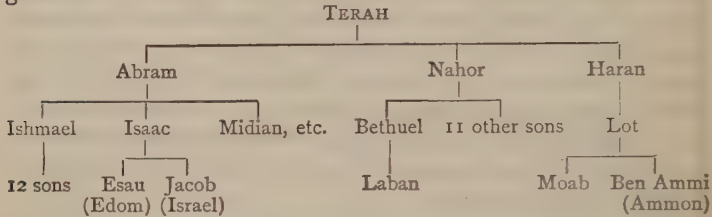
[4] In S. Babylonia, between the Euphrates and the Tigris.

[5] See p. 168.

[6] See *Gen.* xiv. 5, xv. 20, *Deut.* ii. 10–11, iii. 11, *Josh.* xii. 4, xiii. 12.

as has been shown, settled chiefly on the coast; and from thence penetrated through the valleys to the gorge of the Jordan.

Israel, whose destinies form the subject of the O.T. Scriptures, is represented as descended from Arpachshad, as shown in the following table,[1] viewed in connection with those previously given.



From the above table, Israel appears closely allied to Edom, Moab, and Ammon, and also to Ishmael, Midian, and other Arabian tribes. Its history begins with the migration of all these kindred tribes, in the person of their ancestor Terah, from Babylonia. As has been related, Babylonian enterprise had at an early date penetrated to Palestine; and following the track thus opened up, the allied peoples of Edom, Moab, Ammon, and Israel left the neighbourhood of the city of Ur and entered upon a movement westward. The course taken was by way of Haran in Aram;[2] and thence presumably to Hamath and Damascus. From the latter city, the route would naturally divide. Of the four peoples named, Edom took possession of Mount Seir (the hilly district lying S. of the Dead Sea and E. of the Arabah), dispossessing therefrom the native Horites; whilst Moab established itself E. of the Dead Sea, and Ammon settled on the E. flank of the Amorite kingdom which extended from the Arnon to the Jabbok (*Num.* xxi. 24), expelling the aboriginal Emim and Rephaim, whom the Ammonites called Zamzummim (*Deut.* ii. 9–22). Israel settled in the country

[1] See *Gen.* xi. 27, xvi. 16, xxi. 1–3, xxv. 1–4, xxii. 20–24, xxv. 12 foll., 19–26, xxiv. 15, 29, xix. 30 foll.

[2] In *Gen.* xxiv. 4, 10, *Deut.* xxvi. 5, Aram (Aram-naharaim) is represented as the home of Israel's ancestors; and by some Ur has been placed in N. Mesopotamia. The description, in *Josh.* xxiv. 3, of Abraham's home as *beyond the river* (Euphrates) is not strictly true of *El Mugheir*, which is on the right bank.

W. of the Jordan, the districts with which they are more particularly brought into connection in *Genesis* being Shechem, Bethel, Kiriath-Arba (Hebron), and Beersheba. Their history during this period is chiefly associated with three patriarchs, Abram (Abraham), Isaac, and Jacob (or Israel), the first of whom appears to have reached Canaan before 2300 B.C.

Some two centuries after this date, lower Egypt was conquered and occupied by a body of Asiatics called Hyksos,[1] who established themselves at Tanis (Zoan), the authority of the native princes being restricted to Thebes; and the possession of Egypt by these invaders from Asia naturally attracted others to the country. Some time prior to 1600 B.C. (the date assigned for the eventual expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt) the Israelites, who were now divided into several tribes, finally migrated from Canaan (no doubt in consequence of scarcity of food) to the banks of the Nile, and settled in a district called Goshen, E. of the Delta. The position of this region (which, in *Gen.* xlvii. 11, is termed "the land of Rameses") seems fixed by the discovery of Pithom, one of the "store-cities," afterwards built by the Israelites for their rulers, which has been found a little to the S.W. of the modern Ismailia.[2] Being left there to pursue without molestation their pastoral life, they rapidly increased in numbers and strength. The history of the entry into Egypt is connected particularly with the name of Joseph, who is represented as one of the sons of Jacob.

The Bible narrative relates that Terah, leaving Ur of the Chaldees for Canaan, died at Haran, and that Abraham, with his wife Sarai, proceeded thence to their original destination, in obedience to a Divine monition which was accompanied by the assurance that he would have an extensive posterity, and that his good fortune would be such that his name would become current in formulas of blessing.[3] The subsequent history of the patriarchs as given in *Genesis* (xii.–l) is as follows:—

(1) Abram, with his wife and his nephew Lot, crossing the Jordan,[4] advanced, by way of Shechem (where Jehovah appearing to him promised the land to his seed) and Bethel, towards the south part of what was afterwards Judæa.

[1] Their racial connections are unknown; and both a Semitic and a Hittite origin have been assigned to them. An account of them is given by Manetho, preserved in Josephus, *c. Ap.* i. 14.

[2] See Sayce, *H. C. M.* p. 240.

[3] On *Gen.* xii. 3 see p. 97, note.

[4] Presumably by the fords near Bethshan.

Thence he was driven by famine into Egypt, where the beauty of his wife (who at her husband's direction had passed herself off as his sister)[1] attracted the notice of the Pharaoh,[2] who took her; but in consequence of divinely-sent plagues, restored her. Returning to the south of Canaan, he found his substance so increased that at Bethel he was compelled to separate from his nephew, receiving there at the same time a renewal of the promise respecting the future extent of his posterity and its possession of Canaan. Lot settled in Sodom, whilst Abram himself dwelt near Kiriath-Arba (Hebron), entering into an alliance with three Amorite chieftains, Mamre, Eshcol, and Aner. Sodom, with four neighbouring cities, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim and Bela (Zoar) were at this time subject to an Elamite dynasty ruling in Babylonia, which had re-asserted the authority once exercised in Palestine by the native Babylonian princes.[3] But a revolt, headed by the king of Sodom, was made against the Elamite rule; and to suppress it, the Elamite king Chedor-laomer invaded the country in company with his allies Amraphel of Shinar, Arioch of Ellasar (Larsa), and Tidal, perhaps of Gutim.[4] The route followed was through the country E. of Jordan and the Dead Sea as far as El-paran (probably the later Elath), thence N. and W. by En-mishpat (the later Kadesh Barnea) and Hazezon Tamar (Engedi) to the vale of Siddim,[5] near Sodom and the marge of the Dead Sea. There a battle was fought, the king of Sodom and his allies were defeated, and Sodom and Gomorrah plundered, Lot being included among the captives. Abram, on hearing of the capture of his relative, armed his trained slaves, numbering 318, and with his Amorite confederates went in chase of the enemy as they retired in the direction of Damascus, and in a night attack near Laish or Leshem (the later Dan), which was followed by a pursuit as far as Hobah (N. of Damascus), succeeded in recovering both the captives and the spoil. On his return he was blessed by Melchizedek the priest-king of Salem (Urusalim or Jerusalem), to whom he gave a tenth of the booty taken, at the same time refusing for himself a share of the spoils, and accepting it only for his Amorite companions.

Abram at this period had no son, but he was again assured in a vision that he would have a numerous posterity; and on his requesting a sign, he was told to offer a sacrifice, and after dividing the victims, to place the several portions opposite each other. Then at sunset Abram fell into a deep sleep, and in the darkness, fire and flame passed between the pieces, and Jehovah made a covenant with him, declaring that his descendants, after a period of enslavement in a foreign land, would eventually possess Canaan. Subsequently his wife gave to him her handmaid Hagar, an Egyptian, who conceived by him; but before the child's birth she was harshly treated by Sarai (whose barrenness she now despised) and fled, only returning by command of an angel, who appeared to her by a well afterwards called

[1] She was in reality his half-sister.

[2] The use of the title in connection with this period is an anachronism, the word not being applied to the king until the 18th dynasty, see Hastings' *Dict. Bible*, *sub voce*.

[3] See above, p. 73.

[4] This is a correction of the received reading *Goiim* in *Gen.* xiv. 1, which only means "nations."

[5] This was a locality which the historian of *Genesis* regarded (xiv. 3) as having been subsequently submerged beneath the waters of the Dead Sea, perhaps in consequence of a shock of earthquake.

Beer-lahai-roi,[1] and who foretold the child's destiny. The son whom she bore was named Ishmael. Thirteen years after this, the Divine promises were for the fifth time renewed to Abram, to whom it was declared that his wife should bear a son. The names of both his wife and himself were changed from *Abram* and *Sarai* to *Abraham* and *Sarah*,[2] and the practice of circumcision[3] was invested with a religious significance. Subsequently the assurance that Sarah should have a son was repeated by three celestial visitants in human form,[4] who also intimated that Sodom and Gomorrah (where Lot still dwelt) would be destroyed for their wickedness, which was too great for Abraham's intercession to avail to save them. The cities were afterwards consumed by fire,[5] Lot being led out of Sodom by two angels. On the way, his wife, disobeying the command not to look back,[6] was turned into a pillar of salt.[7] Lot took refuge in a cave near Zoar,[8] and there unwittingly became by his two daughters the father of two sons, Moab and Ben Ammi, the ancestors of the Moabites and Ammonites. Abraham next journeyed again to the South, and sojourned at Gerar, where the incident which had occurred in Egypt was repeated in connection with the king of Gerar, Abimelech, with whom also Abraham had a quarrel respecting certain wells of water, which was brought to a close by a covenant between them at Beersheba. Eventually Sarah became a mother, and bore to her husband a son who was named Isaac. Ishmael, being detected mocking Isaac, was, on Sarah's appeal, expelled with his mother Hagar; and ultimately made his home in the wilderness of Paran. After this, Abraham, in obedience to a divine command, given to prove him, prepared to sacrifice his only son Isaac on a mountain in the land of Moriah,[9] three days' journey from Beersheba; but when the preparations were completed, he was

[1] *i.e.* "the well of the Living One, my beholder."

[2] *Abram* (of which *Abiram* is another form) may mean "the father is exalted" (cf. *Jehoram*); but the analogy of *Abijah* ("Jah is father") suggests that it signifies "Ram (? Ramman) is father." *Abraham* is probably only a dialectic variation of *Abram;* but in *Gen.* xvii. 5 the latter part of the name is brought into relation with the word *hâmôn* "multitude," and the appellation is made to signify "father of a multitude of nations." *Sarai* and *Sarah* are also probably varieties of a single name, meaning "princess."

[3] See p. 93.

[4] Jehovah is regarded as speaking through each of the three indifferently, see xviii. 16–17, 22, xix. 1, 17–18 (marg.).

[5] The neighbourhood abounds in bitumen, which could easily be ignited by lightning.

[6] Parallels to this command to refrain from observing a supernatural act are furnished by Hom. *Od.* v. 348–350, x. 526–528.

[7] At the *southern* extremity of the Dead Sea masses of rock-salt are said to occur, of which some detached block or pillar may have given rise to the story.

[8] Zoar was probably at the foot of the mountains of Moab, *Gen.* xix. 30, cf. *Is.* xv. 5.

[9] Identified by Josephus (*Ant.* i. 13, 2, vii. 13, 4) with Mt. Moriah, upon which the Temple was built (*2 Ch.* iii. 1). But the nearness of the city of Jerusalem is an objection to this identification; and as the LXX. uses the same rendering for *Moriah* and *Moreh* (*Gen.* xii. 6), some have thought Gerizim to be intended, which was near Shechem, where the terebinth of Moreh stood.

forbidden to harm his son, and substituted instead a ram. In consequence of his trust in Jehovah and his readiness to sacrifice, in accordance with His injunctions, the child upon whom his hopes rested, the blessings previously assured to him were for the seventh, and last, time[1] renewed. Sarah died subsequently to this, and was buried in the cave at Machpelah near Kiriath-Arba (Hebron) which Abraham had purchased. By another wife[2] named Keturah Abraham became the progenitor of several sons, Midian, Medan and others. Before his death, he sent his servant to Bethuel, the son of his brother Nahor, who still dwelt in Haran, to arrange a marriage between Isaac and Bethuel's daughter Rebekah. Abraham was 175 years old when he died; and was buried with his wife at Machpelah.

(2) Isaac[3] dwelt principally in the neighbourhood of Beer-lahai-roi and Beersheba. His wife bore him two sons, twins, who struggled even before their birth. The elder, called Esau, who was ruddy and hairy, became a hunter, and was the favourite of his father, whilst the younger, named Jacob, was quiet in character, and the favourite of his mother. Jacob obtained his brother's birthright[4] in exchange for a dish of lentil pottage, when Esau was weary with hunting. The divine promises made to Abraham were repeated to Isaac; whose wife Rebekah had at Gerar (whither famine had driven them) the same experience as Sarah. Isaac, too, like Abraham, had a dispute about certain wells with the people of Gerar and their king Abimelech, which was again closed by a covenant. Removing to Beersheba, he again received a renewal of the promises given to him and his father. A well which his servants digged shortly afterwards was called *Shibah* (apparently in allusion to the oath (*Shebuah*) which had passed between him and Abimelech).[5] When old and blind and nearing his death Isaac desired to bless his elder son; but Jacob, by the suggestion of his mother, personated his brother in his absence, and secured the blessing. To shield him from Esau's anger (or according to another account, to prevent him from marrying, like Esau, Canaanite wives)[6] Jacob was sent away to the home of his mother (variously described as Haran or Paddan-aram). Isaac died at Kiriath-Arba (Hebron) at the age of 180, and was buried by his two sons (who, as will be related, had become reconciled) at Machpelah.[7]

[1] The passages relating the Divine promises to Abraham are (1) xii. 2–3, (2) xii. 7, (3) xiii. 14–17, (4) c. xv., (5) c. xvii., (6) c. xviii., (7) xxii. 15 foll.

[2] Called a concubine in *1 Ch.* i. 32; cf. *Gen.* xxv. 6.

[3] The name, derived from *tsahak* "to laugh," is variously explained as due to Abraham's laughing in mockery (*Gen.* xvii. 17, P), to Sarah's laughing in mockery (xviii. 12, J), or to Sarah's laughing in joy (xxi. 6, E). It is perhaps in reality shortened from *Isaac-el* (cf. *Ishmael*).

[4] This carried with it the larger portion of the inheritance (*Deut.* xxi. 17).

[5] With this the narrator in xxvi. 33 connects the name of Beersheba; contrast xxi. 31.

[6] There is an obvious inconsistency (due to the narrative, as a whole, being derived from two sources) between the account which represents Jacob as sent to Haran to escape his brother's anger, and that which explains that he was sent to Paddan Aram to prevent him from following his brother's example. The former implies that Isaac was then on his death-bed; but the latter makes him only 100 (cf. xxv. 26 with xxvi. 34), his death not taking place until he was 180 (xxxv. 28).

[7] See *Gen.* xlix. 31.

(3) Jacob,[1] while on his way to Aram, saw in a dream, whilst sleeping, a ladder or flight of steps reaching from earth to heaven, and angels ascending and descending on it; and the promises made to his fathers that his posterity should be numerous, and should possess the land wherein he was, were once more repeated. On awaking, Jacob set up and consecrated with oil the stone on which his head had rested,[2] and called the place, or the stone, *Bethel*. On reaching Aram, he was received by Laban the brother of Rebekah; and agreed to serve him seven years for his younger daughter Rachel. On the conclusion of this period, Laban deceived him by substituting (as the custom of veiling the bride enabled him to do) his elder, and less well-favoured, daughter Leah. Jacob, however, agreed to serve another seven years for Rachel; and with Laban's two daughters he likewise received two handmaids, Zilpah and Bilhah. By his wives and their handmaids he had, besides a daughter Dinah, twelve sons, as follows: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun (by Leah); Dan, Naphtali (by Bilhah); Gad, Asher (by Zilpah); Joseph, Benjamin[3] (by Rachel). After marrying Laban's two daughters, he served his father-in-law six years longer on condition of receiving all the future offspring of Laban's flocks which were of exceptional colour. He increased the number of these by a device at the time of breeding, and became so wealthy that he excited the envy of Laban's sons; and by Divine direction he determined to depart secretly with his wives, of whom Rachel, before their departure, stole her father's *teraphim*.[4] Laban, on learning of the flight, pursued and overtook Jacob in Gilead, where after mutual recrimination, they made a covenant with each other. After separating from Laban, Jacob was met on his way by the angels of God, and called the place of the meeting *Mahanaim*.[5] Fearing his brother's resentment, he sent messengers to the country where he now dwelt (Seir or Edom), with presents to seek his favour, whilst he made arrangements, in the event of an attack, for part of his company to escape. On the way, near Penuel,[6] he wrestled with a supernatural antagonist, who by a touch rendered him lame, but whom he would not release until he blessed him. His antagonist thereupon changed his name to *Israel* (interpreted to mean "one who strives with God"),[7] and added (according to the LXX.) a promise that he who had power with God should also prevail over men. The subsequent interview with Esau, who came to meet him, proved friendly, and when the latter departed to Seir, Jacob took up his position first at Succoth and then near Shechem, buying a plot of ground there. A proposal for intermarrying, made by Hamor, the prince of the land (whose son, according to one account,

[1] The name (from *akab*) is explained in *Gen.* xxv. 26 to mean "one that takes by the heel, or supplants," with an allusion to the fact that when he was born, his hand had hold of his twin-brother's heel. But another meaning of *akab* is "to reward," and the name may be shortened from *Jacob-el* in the sense of "God rewards."

[2] For the pouring of oil upon a pillar as an offering cf. *2 Is.* lvii. 6.

[3] Benjamin was born in Aram according to xxxv. 24–26, but in Canaan according to xxxv. 16–18.

[4] The *teraphim* were perhaps figures of tutelary deities, and it has been suggested that Rachel wished to carry with her the fortune of her home.

[5] *i.e.* two companies.

[6] The name *Penuel* means "face of God."

[7] The real meaning of the name is "God strives." According to xxxv. 10, 15 Jacob's name was changed at *Bethel*.

had seduced Dinah)[1] was met by the sons of Jacob with the demand that the Shechemites should first be circumcised; but on their consenting, before they had recovered from the operation, they were all attacked and slain by Simeon and Levi, and their city spoiled. Jacob, in consequence, removed from Shechem in fear and went to Bethel, where he again received a renewal of the Divine promises, having previously put away the strange gods (*teraphim*) brought from Aram. On his leaving Bethel, Rachel died in giving birth to her second son, whom his mother wished to call Benoni,[2] but whom his father named Benjamin.[3] Jacob then settled in the south of Judah, at Hebron; and whilst there, two of his sons committed incest, Reuben with Bilhah, and Judah (unwittingly) with his own daughter-in-law Tamar, who bore him twins named Perez and Zerah.

The remainder of Jacob's life is intertwined with that of his son Joseph. (4) Joseph was his father's favourite; and partly in consequence of this, and partly in consequence of certain dreams which he had, portending future greatness, he was hated by his brethren. When he was sent by his father to Shechem and Dothan to inquire after their welfare, they took the opportunity to plot against him, intending at first to kill him; but a suggestion made by one of their number saved them from actual blood-guiltiness. According to one account, *Reuben*, to save his brother's life, proposed that they should cast him into a pit, from which he purposed to deliver him; but on subsequently going thither he found himself anticipated by a party of *Midianites*, who had drawn Joseph out of the pit and carried him off. According to a second account, *Judah* proposed to sell Joseph to a company of *Ishmaelites* who passed by, and who purchased him for twenty pieces of silver.[4] The brothers, to conceal what they had done, dipped in blood a certain garment,[5] which Joseph had received from his father as a mark of honour, and bringing it to Jacob, led him to believe that his favourite son was torn in pieces by a wild beast. Joseph, carried into Egypt, was there sold as a slave to an Egyptian, identified in one account with Potiphar, an officer of the Pharaoh's, with whom he enjoyed great favour, until, refusing the advances of his master's wife, he was charged by her with attempting her honour, and was consequently flung into prison. There his skill in interpreting the dreams of two fellow-prisoners brought him to the notice of the Pharaoh, who also had a dream of which he desired to know the significance. Joseph explained it as portending the approach of seven years of plenty, followed by seven years of famine, and urged the king to prepare accordingly. Pharaoh, impressed by the wisdom he displayed, then made him governor over the land of Egypt; and changing his name to Zephenath Paneah, gave him in marriage Asenath, the daughter of Potiphera, priest of On (*Heliopolis*), who bare him two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. Joseph's measures for

[1] *Gen.* xxxiv. seems to be composite, some verses exhibiting the phraseology of P; but the analysis of the constituent elements is precarious.

[2] *i.e.* "son of my sorrow."

[3] *i.e.* "son of the right hand," the right hand being the lucky side.

[4] In *Gen.* xxxvii. 28 as it stands, Joseph's brethren appear as the persons who drew him from the pit, but that the Midianites are really meant is suggested by the statement in xl. 15, that he was stolen away or kidnapped, which otherwise has no justification.

[5] Similar garments were worn by maidens like the princess Tamar (see *2 Sam.* xiii. 18), which Josephus describes as χειριδωτὸς ἄχρι τῶν σφυρῶν (*Ant.* vii. 8, 1).

storing the corn produced during the seven years of plenty were so successful that, when the years of famine came, Egypt was the only land where food was to be had, and Joseph's brethren came thither from Canaan[1] to buy it. Joseph pretended not to know them, and charged them with being spies, retaining one of them, Simeon, as a hostage before giving them corn, and refusing to supply them further unless they brought with them their youngest brother, of whom they had made mention; but on their departure he secretly restored their money. When they returned to buy corn again, they brought Benjamin with them (in spite of Jacob's unwillingness to part with him). After being feasted, they left, but on their homeward journey they were overtaken by Joseph's steward who accused them of stealing a silver divining-cup[2] (which by Joseph's orders had been placed in Benjamin's sack). They were accordingly all brought back, and Judah magnanimously offered to remain as bondsman instead of Benjamin; but Joseph, overcome by his appeal, discovered himself to them, and then sent them away with directions to bring their father into Egypt, where he promised to establish them. This they did; and Jacob and his sons were allowed by Pharaoh to settle in the land of Goshen[3] where there was pasturage for their flocks. Before his death Jacob blessed the two sons of Joseph, reckoning them as his own children, giving Ephraim precedence over Manasseh, and bestowing upon Joseph's posterity a special gift of territory in Canaan; and he likewise predicted the future destinies of each of his twelve sons.[4] He charged that his body should be buried at Machpelah; and died when he was 147 years old.

Joseph carried out his father's last charge, and allayed the fears which his brethren entertained that he would avenge himself upon them. By his arrangements during the famine, all the land of the Egyptians (with the exception of that belonging to the priests, who were supported by the king) became crown property, being surrendered in exchange for food. It was then restored to the cultivators on the payment of a rental of one fifth of the produce. Before his death, Joseph, asserting his belief that the Hebrews would finally return to Canaan in accordance with the Divine promises, required that his bones should be taken with them. His age at death was 110.

In contrast to the dry list of names which occupies *Gen.* x., xi., the life-like character of the narratives contained in c. xii. foll. suggests that in such the history recorded is that of real individuals. But these later chapters cannot be separated from those that immediately precede by a hard and fast line. In these what appear to be personal names are blended with appellations

[1] In Egypt the famine would be due to a deficient rise of the Nile, but in Canaan to want of rain.

[2] The cup when used in divination was presumably filled with water. Instances of such *hydromancy* are adduced both from classical and savage sources. Pausanias (vii. 21) relates that at Patræ there was a spring which was used for divining in cases of sickness, a mirror being let down as far as the surface, which, after prayer had been made to Demeter, showed to the observers the sick person either living or dead; and Mr. Frazer relates that Damascius mentions the case of a "sacred woman" who divined by means of pure water in a crystal goblet, professing to see the future reflected in it. Similarly amongst the Iroquois "if a crystal is placed in a gourd of water, it will render visible the apparition of a person who has bewitched another," Lang, *Making of Religion*, p. 91.

[3] See above, p. 75.

[4] See p. 97.

which are obviously as local or collective as any in c. x. and xi.[1] Thus Abraham, Hagar, and Keturah seem to be individuals; but the names of their children Ishmael, Midian, Medan, etc., are those of tribes,[2] which are actually represented as engaged in traffic in the lifetime of Abraham's grandson Jacob (*Gen.* xxxvii. 25, 28, 36). Similarly, the figures of Lot and Rebekah appear to be those of real personages; but the names of the former's sons (Moab and Ben-Ammi) and the latter's uncles (Uz, Buz, etc.) are again those of tribes. And this intermixture of personal with tribal appellations is not explicable by the supposition that the several tribes in question were really the descendants of an individual ancestor.[3] The origin of tribes and nations cannot with any probability be traced solely to the normal increase of a single family. There are, too, some features in the accounts of the different patriarchs which are unnatural: such are the repetition of the number 12 in connection with the families of Nahor (xxii. 20–24), Ishmael (xxv. 13 foll.) and Jacob; and the longevity ascribed to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, which is intermediate between the length of life attributed to the patriarchs of the pre-historic age and that represented as prevailing in more historic times (see *Deut.* xxxiv. 7, *Josh.* xxiv. 29). There are other features which seem to reflect certain circumstances of later history: for instance, Isaac's Blessing of Esau (*Gen.* xxvii. 39–40) describes with some accuracy both the condition of Edom and its successive fortunes in the time of the Israelite kingdom, culminating in the recovery of its independence in the reign of Jehoram of Judah (see *1 Sam.* xiv. 47, *2 Sam.* viii. 14, *2 Kg.* viii. 22), and so is probably to be assigned to the 9th century; whilst Jacob's Blessing of his sons (*Gen.* xlix.), from its acquaintance with the territory and condition of the several tribes in Canaan (see especially ver. 13) must have been composed after the occupation of that country, and from its attributing to Judah the possession of sovereignty (see ver. 10) is probably in part at least to be dated from the time of David. Other statements, again, are inconsistent with the historic situation: for example, both Abraham and Isaac are recorded to have come in contact with the Philistines at Gerar, whereas the Philistine immigration into Canaan took place only a short time before that of Israel under Joshua.[4] It is therefore difficult to regard the patriarchal records, taken as a whole, as completely trustworthy. Nevertheless, many of the figures in them are probably real characters: in particular, it is difficult to explain away Abraham and Isaac, in addition to Jacob (Israel), as eponymous ancestors of the Israelite people. The account presumably rests upon traditions relating to historical personages, which, originally fluctuating,[5] have been systematised and in some measure coloured in accordance with later ideas and fancies. One, at least, of the incidents

[1] In *1 Ch.* ii. 42–55 individuals (such as Caleb) are described as the fathers of *cities* and *localities*.

[2] Greek history furnishes parallels in Hellen, Æolus, Dorus, etc.

[3] That actual descent was not always connoted by the term *father* appears from *Gen.* iv. 20, 21, where members of a craft or profession are referred to a common ancestor.

[4] Cf. p. 169.

[5] The strong resemblance between certain incidents which are related both of Abraham, at different times of his life, and also of his son Isaac (compare *Gen.* xii. 10–20 with xx. 1–18 and xxvi. 6–11, xvi. 4–14 with xxi. 8–21, xxi. 22–34 with xxvi. 26–33) suggests that the parallel accounts are severally duplicate versions of a single tradition.

related fits in with what is known from other sources. Of the four kings who attacked Sodom in the time of Abraham, the names of three (Amraphel, Arioch, Tidal), if not of the fourth (Chedorlaomer), occur in the Assyrian inscriptions, and the king of Elam's precedence over the king of Shinar (Babylonia) and his alleged authority over Sodom and its sister cities agree with the supremacy which Elam appears to have exercised over Babylon and Palestine about 2300 B.C.; so that the narrative in *Gen.* xiv. is consistent with the conditions of the period, although the monuments furnish no actual corroboration of the occurrences related.[1] But if Abraham was really a contemporary of a king of this date, the period which the patriarchal history is made to cover is much in excess of the three or four generations to which it is ostensibly confined. According to *Ex.* xii. 40 (cf. *Gen.* xv. 13), the sojourn of Israel in Egypt lasted 430 years. If this can be trusted, and the date of the Exodus be fixed at about 1250 B.C., the entry into Egypt must have taken place shortly after 1700 B.C., so that the interval between Abraham's campaign and this event amounts to more than 600 years.[2]

[1] To which of the constituent sources of the Hexateuch *Gen.* xiv. should be assigned is questionable.

[2] On the other hand, some authorities (*e.g.* Hommel) place the Babylonian king (Khammurabi), who is identified with the *Amraphel* of *Gen.* xiv. 1, about 1900 B.C., so that the interval between Abraham and the entry into Egypt is greatly reduced.

CHAPTER III

RELIGION IN THE PATRIARCHAL AGE

AMONG the Semitic peoples with which the Hebrews were connected, religion appears to have originated in nature worship. It was primarily a deification of the powers, productive and destructive, of the physical world. The universe was believed to be pervaded by a number of divine beings whose potency was manifested in everything notable in nature or human fortune. In particular, the elements (the earth, sky, and sea), the storm-clouds, and the heavenly bodies (the sun and moon), were regarded as controlled by powerful spirits. To their bounty were ascribed the fruits of the soil, and the increase of the family; and their anger was displayed in disease, disaster, and death.

The deep impression made upon the Semitic mind by the power of these supernatural beings was reflected in the names employed to designate godhead. These conveyed such ideas as those of strength (*El*, *Il*),[1] lordship (*Adon*), possession (*Baal*), rule (*Melech*, *Molech*), or the awe which such attributes produce (*Elohim*). The Semitic religions, however, were not prevailingly inspired by fear. On the contrary, the gods were looked upon as friendly powers, and were even held to be akin to their worshippers. Of them their people considered themselves to be sons and daughters (cf. *Num.* xxi. 29, *Jer.* ii. 27)—ultimately, no doubt, in a figurative or ethical sense, but perhaps originally in a physical one (cf. *Gen.* vi. 4).[2] Such close and kindly rela-

[1] There are, however, said to be phonetic difficulties in the way of deriving *El* from the root meaning "to be strong."

[2] So the Trojans traced their descent through Dardanus to Zeus (Hom. *Il.* xx. 215); and the Romans, through the Trojan Æneas, attributed their origin to the same divine source (Verg. *A.* vii. 220–1).

tions between the peoples and their deities were reflected in such personal names as *El-hanan* (God is merciful) and *Baal-hanan*. Similarly the term *Melech* (king) doubtless designated the god in his capacity as the director of his people in war, and the source (through his ministers) of law and judgment. Besides the general titles just explained, the gods who presided over the various provinces of nature received individual appellations, the occurrence of the same divine names amongst the Babylonians, Assyrians, Canaanites, and Arameans confirming the common ancestry of these nations. Such (to enumerate those of the Babylonians) were *Anu*,[1] the god of the sky (of which the Assyrian *Asshur* is said to be originally a variation), *Ea*, the god of the waters, *Shamash* (Canaanite *Shemesh*), the god of the sun, *Sin* (or *Nannar*), the god of the moon, *Ramman* (Aramean *Rimmon*),[2] the god of the storm, *Bel*,[3] (presumably the same as *Baal*, but used as a proper name), the god of the earth and mankind, *Nergal*,[4] *Merodach*,[5] *Nebo*,[6] *Ninib*, *Adar*.[7] In addition to these male deities there were several female, such as *Anat* (Canaanite *Anath*), the wife of Anu, *Damkina*, the wife of Ea, *Ai*, the wife of Shamash, *Bilit* (perhaps the *Mylitta* of Herod. i. 131), and *Ishtar* (Can. *Ashtoreth*).[8] This distinction of sex was found in connection with the *titles* of *Baal* and *Melech*, to which the feminine *Baalah* and *Malcah* corresponded. But more commonly the proper names Ishtar (Ashtoreth) and Anath were employed as generic terms; whence arose the plural *Ashtaroth* and *Anathoth* (the latter a place-name). Among the Babylonians a considerable mythology existed in connection with some of the gods mentioned. Ea was believed to be the son, and Merodach, Nergal and Ishtar the grandchildren, of

[1] Probably intended by the *Anammelech* of *2 Kg.* xvii. 31.

[2] Cf. *2 Kg.* v. 18. [3] Cf. *Jer.* l. 2, *2 Is.* xlvi. 1.

[4] Cf. *2 Kg.* xvii. 30. [5] Cf. *Jer.* l. 2. [6] Cf. *2 Is.* xlvi. 1.

[7] Probably referred to under the title *Adrammelech* (*2 Kg.* xvii. 31). Other ancient gods mentioned in the Babylonian Creation-story were *Lakhmu* and *Lakhamu*, with one of whom the name of *Bethlehem* has been supposed to be connected.

[8] The LXX. represents *Ashtoreth* by Ασταρτη, which suggests that the original was *Ashtart* or *Ashtereth*, but was changed to *Ashtoreth* in order that the name might contain the vowels of the word *bosheth*, "shame," which was actually substituted for the allied name *Baal* in the word *Ishbosheth* (for *Eshbaal*).

Bel.[1] There was also a kind of hierarchy among the deities, Anu, Bel and Ea constituting a primary triad, and Sin, Shamash, and Ramman a secondary triad.

But in spite of the belief in the existence of a plurality of deities, there was a tendency on the part of the several city-states, into which both Babylonia and Canaan were at first divided, for each to pay special veneration to one god, after whom the city was often named. Thus in Babylonia Anu was the god of Uruk, Bel of Nippur, Ea of Eridu, and Nergal of Cuthah (cf. *2 Kg.* xvii. 30), and similarly among the Canaanite cities, Ir-shemesh (or Beth-shemesh) was presumably devoted to the worship of Shemesh, and Beth-Anath to that of Anath. There was a Baal of Peor, a Baal of Hermon, and a Baal of Tyre; and similarly there was a Baalah of Gebal and an Ashtoreth of Zidon. In consequence of this connection between a deity and a particular people or locality,[2] there was in time of war a conflict of spiritual as well as of human forces (cf. *1 Kg.* xx. 23); and when one nation conquered another, the gods of the vanquished were humiliated as well as their people (see *2 Is.* xlvi. 1, 2, *Jer.* xlviii. 7, xlix. 3, l. 2). Perhaps such was the origin of the use of the plural *Elohim* to designate a single god, in whom the powers of his rivals were merged, or upon whom they attended as subordinate ministers.[3] When in later times a number of smaller states were fused into a larger one, the latter doubtless paid honour to all the gods worshipped by the different communities that had become united. But even in such a case one deity occupied a position of pre-eminence over the rest, Asshur, for instance, being the supreme protecting power of the empire of Assyria; whilst Merodach presided over the destinies of Babylon. The chief god of Moab was *Chemosh*;[4]

[1] Merodach, however, was sometimes identified with Bel.

[2] For the connection popularly held to exist between a god and a people or land cf. *Ruth* i. 15, 16, *1 Sam.* xxvi. 19, *2 Kg.* xvii. 27. Israel was Jehovah's land (*Hos.* ix. 3), and in order to worship Jehovah on Israelite soil Naaman desired to carry into Syria two mules' burden of earth (*2 Kg.* v. 17).

[3] But see p. 46, note.

[4] On the Moabite stone mention is made of a deity *Ashtar-Chemosh*, *Ashtar* being a masculine form corresponding to the feminine *Ashtoreth*. Whether Ashtar-Chemosh was distinct from Chemosh is uncertain; possibly the compound name represents the fusion of two different divinities into one.

that of Edom is not certainly known (it may possibly have been *Edom*,[1] other deities were *Hadad* and *Kaush*[2]); whilst the people of Ammon appear to have called their national deity by the name of *Milcom*, which was perhaps a title like Molech.[3] The Arameans of Damascus paid special honour to Hadad,[4] though Rimmon is also known to have been worshipped there (*2 Kg.* v. 18).

The character of their religious faith resulted, among the leading Semitic peoples, in corresponding institutions and rites of worship. The veneration of the moon-god,[5] for instance, led not only to the beginning of the lunar month being religiously observed, but the establishment of a sabbath every seven days, whilst the eventual identification of several of the other deities, just named, with the planets (as of Merodach with Jupiter, Nergal with Mars and Ishtar with Venus) issued in the adoration of "the host of heaven." The attribution of the products of the soil to the bounty of the gods had its natural consequence in the holding of festivals at the time of the vintage[6] and harvest, at which offerings were made of the first-fruits of the vineyard and cornfield, together with the firstlings of the flock and the herd. Fountains of water and groves of trees,[7] as being endowed with growth or motion,[8] and affording grateful refreshment in a parched country like Canaan (cf. *Hos.* iv. 13) were regarded with great veneration, and invested with peculiar sanctity. Both alike, together (probably) with the animals that frequented them, were, at an early stage of thought,

[1] This is suggested by the personal name *Obed-edom* (the servant of Edom); cf. *Obadiah* (the servant of Jah).

[2] This name occurs in the appellation of the Edomite king *Kaush-melech* (cf. *Chemosh-melech*, *Malchiah*).

[3] In *Jud.* xi. 12–28 it is implied that Chemosh was the god of Ammon as well as of Moab, but see p. 207.

[4] It appears in the personal name *Hadadezer* (cf. *Eliezer*). The compound name *Hadad-rimmon* also occurs (*Zech.* xii. 11).

[5] The Canaanite Ashtoreth was a moon-goddess (cf. the place-name *Ashteroth-Karnaim*, Ashtaroth of the two horns); but the Babylonian *Ishtar* was associated with the planet Venus.

[6] Cf. *Jud.* ix. 27.

[7] Cf. the association of trees with deities in Greek and Roman religion (*e.g.* Verg. *G.* iii. 332, *magna Iovis antiquo robore quercus*).

[8] By the Hebrews, flowing water was termed "living water."

held to be the embodiment or dwelling-place of some animating spirit. Hence they were frequently the scene of worship (*Deut.* xii. 2), the seat of justice (*En-mishpat*, *Gen.* xiv. 7, cf. *Jud.* iv. 5), or the abode of an oracle (the terebinth of *Moreh* or "the teacher," *Gen.* xii. 6, *Deut.* xi. 30; cf. *Jud.* ix. 37). Originally, no doubt, the offerings which were intended to be conveyed to the divinities inhabiting such streams or woods were deposited in them.[1] When a locality, not naturally distinguished by spring or tree, became associated, from some reason or other, with the presence of a deity, it was marked by a stone pillar or a wooden pole (*Hos.* iv. 12, cf. *Gen.* xxviii. 18, xxxv. 14). At first, such pillars or poles (it would seem) were thought to be the abode of the deity (*Beth-el*), and the offerings made to the indwelling divinity were placed or poured upon them. But subsequently an earthen or stone altar was erected near them to receive the sacrifices, and the pillar or pole became the symbol, and perhaps eventually an image, of the god. These pillars and poles (the latter called *Asherim* or *Asheroth*) are frequently mentioned in connection with Canaanite temples and altars (*Ex.* xxxiv. 13, *Jud.* vi. 25, *2 Kg.* x. 26, 27):[2] and pillars were at first set up even beside the altar of Israel's God, though the practice was ultimately forbidden (*Ex.* xxiv. 4, cf. *2 Kg.* xiii. 4–6). Another common site of worship was the summit of a hill. Both the Canaanites and Moabites resorted to such (see, for the first, *Deut.* xii. 2, *Num.* xxxiii. 52, and for the second, *Num.* xxii. 41, *Is.* xv. 2, xvi. 12);[3] and many of the sanctuaries of the God of Israel were likewise erected on the tops of mountains (see *2 Sam.* xv. 30, 32, *1 Kg.* xviii. 19, 30, and cf. *1 Sam.* vii. 1).

The devotion which the peoples showed to their gods was reciprocated by the help and guidance which the latter were

[1] Cf. Hom. *Il.* xxi. 131–2 (ποταμὸς) ᾧ δὴ δηθὰ πολέας ἱερεύετε ταύρους, Ζωοὺς δ' ἐν δίνῃσι καθίετε μώνυχας ἵππους.

[2] In some passages in the O.T. the term *Asherah* seems used to describe the deity (perhaps Ashtoreth) of whom it was ordinarily only the emblem; see *Jud.* iii. 7 ("they served the Baalim and the Asheroth"), *1 Kg.* xviii. 19 (prophets of the Asherah), *1 Kg.* xv. 13, *2 Kg.* xxi. 7 (images of Asherah), xxiii. 4, 7 (vessels and hangings made for the Asherah).

[3] Mesha, king of Moab, in his inscription, speaks of "making a high place for Chemosh."

believed to afford to their worshippers in all important affairs of life. The mind of the deity was discovered, and his purposes communicated, through an extensive system of divination. This took four principal forms. The divine will might be manifested through the sights and sounds of physical nature, such as the waving or rustling of trees (cf. *2 Sam.* v. 24)[1] and the movements of clouds (*Jud.* ix. 37 Heb.). Or it might be declared through the condition of the entrails of victims offered in sacrifice (*Ezek.* xxi. 21). Or again appeal might be made to the fall of lots, with which the Hebrew *Urim* and *Thummim* were probably connected, and the arrows, and perhaps the *teraphim*, alluded to in *Ezek.* xxi. 21. Or finally the god might impart his counsel to his votaries directly instead of indirectly. In the Semitic, as in the Greek, religions, the deities were sometimes represented as appearing in bodily form, and openly conversing with ordinary[2] men. But more usually they disclosed their wishes or decisions secretly to certain chosen ministers who became their spokesmen or prophets. The communications were made in various ways. Sometimes the prophet was a dreamer of dreams (cf. *Num.* xii. 6, *1 Sam.* xxviii. 6); at other times he became inspired through the influence of music (*2 Kg.* iii. 15) or possibly through eating certain food.[3] Information, however, was not sought exclusively from the gods. The spirits of the dead were frequently consulted (*Deut.* xviii. 11, *1 Sam.* xxvii. 15); and for this purpose persons used to lie among the tombs (*2 Is.* lxv. 4) (like the Nasamonians mentioned by Herodotus, iv. 172). It was probably the dead with whom those who had familiar spirits professed to hold intercourse; at least the "chirping" and "muttering" spoken of by *Is.* viii. 19 resembles the "squeaking" and "gibbering" elsewhere attributed to ghosts.[4] The abode of the spirits of the dead was underground, a land of darkness and dust; and though in it

[1] Cf. the oak of Dodona, Hom. *Od.* xiv. 327, ὄφρα θεοῖο Ἐκ δρυὸς ὑψικόμοιο Διὸς βουλὴν ἐπακούσαι.

[2] Cf. the story of Philemon and Baucis, who entertained Jupiter and Mercury (Ov. *Met.* viii. 631 foll.).

[3] This was at any rate the case in Greece: see Jevons, *Introd. to Hist. Religion*, p. 286, and see below, p. 145, note.

[4] Cf. the ψυχὴ τετριγυῖα of Hom. *Il.* xxiii. 100–101.

the distinctions of rank and power observed in the upper world seem to have been recognised (cf. "*Is.*" xiv. 9, *Ezek.* xxxii. 27), the state of the dead generally resembled that of the Homeric *Hades;* they were but shadows of their former selves, nerveless and weak (cf. "*Is.*" xiv. 10).[1] It was therefore presumably only from the spirits of men who in life were specially endowed with powers of insight (like Tiresias in Homer) that communications were sought.

There is no reason for thinking that the influence of the Babylonian and Canaanite religions was wholly evil. The very fact that the deity worshipped was the deity of the nation as a whole, was, in itself, a social force, and fortified the common obligations of civil life with a supernatural sanction. Moreover the inscriptions supply actual evidence that the gods worshipped in Babylonia were believed to enforce such rules of conduct as the current standard of society recognised, and so exerted a restraining influence upon individual licence.[2] A flagrant wrong committed against a fellow-man was thought to incur the anger of the deities equally with an infringement of their own rights. The neglect of justice, the practice of deceit, the commission of murder, theft, and adultery were accounted sins calling for Divine vengeance. But when these religions are brought into comparison with the kindred but more progressive religion of the Hebrews, the elements of baseness and corruption in them are made apparent. They consecrated beliefs and rites which belonged to a primitive stage of human thought and conduct, and in consequence eventually became obstacles to the intellectual and religious advance of the peoples amongst whom they prevailed. This was the case in two noteworthy respects. In the first place, the sacrifice of the first-born son in order to ensure the favour of the deity was sanctioned by religious usage among the Canaanites and Moabites up to a late date in their history (*Deut.* xii. 31, *2 Kg.* iii. 27). And secondly, the dis-

[1] The burial of the body was an honour, and the deprivation of it a grievous loss, to the spirit of the dead; see "*Is.*" xiv. 18–20: cf. Verg. *A.* xi. 22–23, *Socios inhumataque corpora terræ Mandamus, qui solus honos Acheronte sub imo est;* Hom. *Il.* xvi. 456–457 ἔνθα ἐ ταρχύσουσι κασίγνητοί τε ἔται τε Τύμβῳ τε στήλῃ τε· τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων.

[2] See L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, pp. 216–220.

tinction of sex which was believed to exist among the divinities of these peoples inevitably affected their worship. The sexual licence which was practised in connection with the rites of Bilit (Mylitta) at Babylon is attested by Hdt. i. 199; and the numerous censures of it in the O.T. (see *Deut.* xxiii. 17, marg., *Hos.* iv. 14) imply that it was likewise common among the Canaanites.

From what has been already said, it will be seen that certain elements in the religions of Babylon and Canaan had their parallels in that of Israel; and detailed consideration of the latter will be found to add to their number. The God of Israel was frequently spoken of under the names of *Elohim* and *El*, the latter sometimes qualified by epithets such as *Elyon*[1] (Most High), or *Shaddai*[2] (Almighty); and the titles *Adon*, *Adonai* (my Lord), and (as the evidence of later times indicates) *Baal*,[3] were also applied to Him as to the gods of the countries just mentioned. But like the latter, He also had a personal appellation, viz. *Jehovah*, or, as it should probably be written, *Jahveh* or *Jahaveh*.[4] This was occasionally abbreviated to *Jah* (*Ex.* xv. 2, *Ps.* lxviii. 4), especially when, like Rimmon, Chemosh, and others, it entered into personal names, in which it also appeared in the form of *Jeho* or *Jo* (*Tobiah*, *Jehoram*, *Jonadab*, *Azariah*; cf. *Tab-rimmon*, *Chemosh-nadab*, *Hadadezer*). Of the circumstances under which the worship of Jehovah was at first adopted little can be positively asserted. On the one hand, according to the Pentateuchal source J (*Gen.* xii. 1) it was Jehovah that at the first called Abraham forth from his country (whether this is assumed to be Ur or Haran); and the same authority represents the Aramean Laban as worshipping Jehovah (*Gen.* xxiv. 31). On the other hand, it is related by the source E that the

[1] See *Gen.* xiv. 22. The title was also applied to the deity worshipped at Salem (Urusalim or Jerusalem), see ver. 18.

[2] The title *El-Shaddai* (*Gen.* xvii. 1) or *Shaddai* (xlix. 25) seems to be derived from a root meaning "to destroy" (cf. *Joel* i. 15), so that the name presumably at first described the Divine power as displayed in destruction. Some authorities derive it from a root meaning to "pour down," as though it meant the rain-giver.

[3] See *Hos.* ii. 16 and cf. p. 279.

[4] It is transliterated in Clement of Alexandria by Ιαουέ and in Theodoret by Ιαβέ, see Smith, *Dict. Bib.* vol. i. 953. It was probably pronounced as *Yahweh* or *Yahăweh*.

ancestors of Israel when they lived on the east of the Euphrates, worshipped other gods than Jehovah (*Josh.* xxiv. 2), and it is in accordance with this that Jacob, when returning from Aram, is described as bringing strange gods with him (*Gen.* xxxv. 2, cf. xxxi. 19), whilst the same source avoids using the name *Jehovah* until the passage recording how God made Himself known by it to Moses (*Ex.* iii. 13–14). The Priestly code, again, expressly states that God was known to the Patriarchs under the title of *El-Shaddai* only, the name *Jehovah* being first revealed to Moses (*Ex.* vi. 3). The appellation *Jehovah*, however, under the form *Jo* seems to occur before Moses' time in the name of his mother Jochebed; and it is scarcely likely that Moses, in conveying the Divine message to his countrymen, should have used, to designate its Author, a title altogether unfamiliar. On the whole, it seems probable that *Jehovah* is a name of pre-Mosaic date, but that it became current among the ancestors of the Hebrews in the desert country of Southern Palestine or Northern Arabia rather than in Babylonia. It was, at any rate, when Moses was staying amongst a body of Arabian nomads, called variously Midianites or Kenites,[1] that he received the revelation which renewed in Israel its well-nigh abandoned faith (*Josh.* xxiv. 14).[2]

The rites practised in connection with the religion of Jehovah during the Patriarchal period had much in common with those observed in honour of other deities, and were such as might be expected to prevail among a nomadic tribe. Worship was offered at trees (*Gen.* xxi. 33), or large stones set upright as pillars. These last, as has been said, were probably at first thought of as the abodes of the deity, and severally called the "house of God" (*Bethel*, *Gen.* xxviii. 22); and upon them offerings of blood, oil, or fat (*Gen.* xxviii. 18, xxxv. 14) were

[1] See *Ex.* iii. 1, *Jud.* i. 16. It is noteworthy that the Rechabites, who were a Kenite family (*1 Ch.* ii. 55), were zealous adherents of Jehovah at a time when Israel, under the influence of Jezebel, was attracted to Baal worship (*2 Kg.* x. 15–16).

[2] For the meaning of the name *Jehovah* see p. 104. The word occurs in later history as an element of the names of certain non-Israelites, viz. *Uriah* the Hittite (*2 Sam.* xi. 3), *Tobiah* the Ammonite (*Neh.* ii. 19), *Joram* of Hamath (*2 Sam.* viii. 10), and probably *Jahubidi*, also of Hamath (mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions): these are perhaps instances of borrowing.

poured or smeared in order to be conveyed to the indwelling power; but as the conception of God was increasingly spiritualised, they became simple altars upon which sacrifices were made by fire, in whose savour the Deity took pleasure (cf. *Gen.* viii. 21). Such sacrifices were accompanied by meals or feasts (*Gen.* xxxi. 54), in which the offerers participated. As was natural amongst a pastoral race the offerings were taken from the herd or the flock. A distinction between clean and unclean animals[1] for sacrificial purposes is represented in *Genesis* as dating from before the Flood, and as being observed subsequently by Abraham (xv. 9, where the five animals named are all "clean").[2] On one occasion Abraham purposed to offer up his son Isaac as a sacrifice to Jehovah (*Gen.* c. xxii.). Jehovah was regarded as the giver of offspring (*Gen.* xxx. 2, 6, xx. 17, 18, etc.); and the claim of the Deity to what He bestowed was (it would appear) occasionally acknowledged among the early Israelites, as amongst their neighbours, in this exceptional way. Circumcision prevailed in Israel as it did amongst the Egyptian priests (Hdt. ii. 104). The origin and significance of this rite is obscure; but among the Arabians it was practised at the time of marriage (cf. *Ex.* iv. 24–26), and was perhaps in part due to physical considerations, and in part invested with a sacrificial character. It is represented, however, as being imposed by Abraham upon his son Isaac when the latter was only eight days old, and is altogether regarded as a religious ordinance, the person upon whom it was performed being consecrated to Jehovah (*Gen.* xvii. 12, P). When the Israelites were subsequently settled in Egypt they seem to have neglected the practice, and thereby exposed themselves to the reproach of the Egyptians (*Josh.* v. 2–9). Nothing is related of the observance, by the patriarchs, of the Sabbath; but the week as a division of time occurs in the story of the Flood (*Gen.* vii. 4, viii. 10, 12), and appears more than once in the history of Jacob

[1] The origin of the distinction was perhaps due to *totemism*, *i.e.* the belief that certain kinds of animals were the ancestors of certain tribes, who, in consequence, held them too sacred for ordinary food, and might only eat them religiously for the purpose of entering into communion with the animal ancestor (cf. *2 Is.* lxv. 4–5, lxvi. 17, where the eating of swine's flesh and the mouse, both unclean animals, is connected with religious rites).

[2] See *Lev.* c. xi.

(*Gen.* xxix. 27, etc.). The patriarchs themselves acted as priests, the existence of a sacerdotal order being apparently a development of later times. As will be seen, even when such had come into existence, the chieftains of Israel for long continued to exercise priestly functions.

The sensuous conceptions of Jehovah which were involved in many of the rites whereby men approached the Deity have their parallels in the accounts given of the communications made by the Deity to men. These were often imparted through the channels of the senses, celestial beings in human shape visiting the patriarchs, partaking of their hospitality, conversing with them in tones audible to others, and even meeting them in physical encounter (see *Gen.* xviii. 1–15, xxxii. 24, 25). Such Divine visitants are generally described as Jehovah's *angels*, but they are sometimes identified with Jehovah Himself (*Gen.* xvi. 7, 13, xxii. 11, 12). In certain instances Jehovah or His angel speaks through the medium of a dream (xxviii. 12–15), or His presence is manifested by a mysterious flame[1] (likewise seen in sleep) (*Gen.* xv. 17). On the other hand, in the case of many of the occurrences ascribed to the immediate presence or act of God, the language employed only appears to mean that they were providential. For instance, Abraham's hope that Jehovah would send His angel with his servant when despatched on a journey could only be a prayer that success might attend him (*Gen.* xxiv. 40, 42); and the statement that it was God who directed the patriarchs to leave their homes (*Gen.* xii. 1, xxxi. 3) is doubtless only meant to express the belief that the patriarchs in their movements were divinely guided.

The sanctions of morality, so far as can be judged, were purely temporal; and the rewards of virtue and the penalties of wickedness were confined to this life. The prevailing ideas respecting the conditions of the scul after death resembled those which were current among the Babylonians, as described above. The spirit of a dead man was not thought to come to an end with the dissolution of the body, but passed to a lower world called *Sheol*, which is distinguished from the grave. Thus Jacob, who believed

[1] Cf. the Burning Bush at Sinai and the Pillar of Fire and Cloud in the Wilderness.

Joseph to be torn in pieces, is represented as saying that he would go down to *Sheol*, to his son, mourning (*Gen.* xxxvii. 35). There are no indications of a belief that in *Sheol* there was any distinction of condition based on moral worth. It seems to have been viewed as the general receptacle of all, without regard to conduct, and not as a place of retributive justice.[1]

But whilst the religion of Israel thus had numerous points of contact with the religions of the surrounding peoples, it can scarcely be doubted that it was characterised, even within the period covered by the patriarchal history, by a purer moral standard, and a more elevated view of the Divine nature, than prevailed in contemporary cults. The ideas and ideals of aftertimes cannot have stood altogether out of relation with those of an earlier age; and the germ and potentiality of Israel's mature beliefs must have existed in the nation's infancy. It is reasonable to suppose that the teachers to whom Israel owed so much in historic times had predecessors, who initiated the advance which their race ultimately made beyond kindred peoples. And though it is difficult to specify with precision or certainty the features of moral and religious superiority which the early forefathers of Israel presented over their contemporaries (since the account given of them is open to the suspicion of being idealised),[2] yet the record contains at least one instance of the actual passage from a lower to a higher morality. The narrative of the sacrifice of Isaac which represents it as being at first enjoined by Jehovah

[1] It has been thought by some that the *worship* of the dead prevailed among the early Hebrews, and that the *teraphim* (*Gen.* xxxi. 19, cf. xxxv. 2 foll.) were images of deceased ancestors, who were interested in the fortunes of their posterity. The nature of the *teraphim* is too obscure for the use of them to be made the basis of such an inference; but that worship was paid to the dead by the Canaanites and neighbouring peoples is at least suggested by the fact that certain usages practised in the worship of the gods were also observed in mourning for the departed. Such were the offering of food (*Deut.* xxvi. 14, *Ps.* cvi. 28), the removal of the shoes (*Ezek.* xxiv. 17, cf. *Ex.* iii. 5, *Josh.* v. 15), and self-mutilation (*Deut.* xiv. 1, *Lev.* xix. 28, *Jer.* xvi. 6, cf. *1 Kg.* xviii. 28, *Jer.* xli. 5); and the prohibition of certain of these practices amongst the Israelites as signs of mourning witnesses to some serious danger attending their adoption. It is noteworthy that many of the burial places of the Hebrew patriarchs were later sanctuaries (Hebron, *Gen.* xxv. 9, xlix. 30, xxiii. 2 foll., Shechem, *Josh.* xxiv. 32); and the term *god* (*Elohim*) is applied to the spirit of Samuel in *1 Sam.* xxviii. 13.

[2] See, for example, *Gen.* xiv. 19, 22, xviii. 25, xxiv. 3.

and then, by His direction, not completed, witnesses to a consciousness of the nation's having passed through a stage of religious development, in the course of which human sacrifice had at first prevailed, and then been discontinued as a nobler view of the Divine character asserted itself. The spirit of religious devotion, which prompted worshippers to offer to the deity they adored their dearest possession, even to the extent of slaying an only, or a firstborn, son thus appears as coming under the control of an enlightened conscience at a comparatively early date in the people's history; whereas in the case of the Moabites a sacrifice similar to that of Abraham is recorded as late as the period of the Israelite kings.

The stories of the converse which the Hebrew patriarchs are related to have had with the Deity owe their interest and importance to the fact that they form part of a history which in its later stages is of a remarkable character. The earliest accounts of intercourse held with celestial visitants and of communications received from God through dreams and oracles are not, indeed, in themselves of much value; nor can a hard and fast line be drawn between them and the similar stories which occur in the annals of other nations. But at the same time a progress is observable in the successive revelations reputed to have been made to Israel which is not to be detected elsewhere; and the final development attained by the Hebrew prophetic oracles is both worthy of the Divine origin ascribed to them, and gives significance to their ambiguous and obscure beginnings. It is the nature of the later revelations which is the best warrant for referring them to a supernatural source; and the inferences drawn from these necessarily affect the estimate formed of what is recorded of an earlier period.

It is from the same point of view that the import of the Divine covenant affirmed to have been made with the patriarchs, and the assurances which it conveyed of a great future in store for their posterity, must be considered. The ultimate greatness of Israel existed potentially from the first; and those who held the course of the world to be ordered by a Divine will naturally and rightly believed that the destiny of their race was providentially directed. In this, indeed, they were not singular. The

idea that the fortunes of a nation were the special care of the nation's god was shared by Israel with Moab, Assyria, and other peoples; and is familiar enough in Classical literature. But the destiny of Israel did not culminate with national aggrandisement, though it is probable that in the promises recorded to have been made by God to the patriarchs this is principally in the mind of the historian.[1] The development of a doctrine of God which the civilised world has made its own, and the gradual shaping of hopes which found their fulfilment in our Lord, give to the early beliefs of Israel a distinction the equal of which cannot be claimed for those of any other ancient people.

A specific reference to the actual coming of our Lord has very generally been seen in *Gen.* xlix. 10: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the obedience of the peoples be." In this passage the word *Shiloh* has been taken to be a personal name, and to describe the Messiah as the "Peace-bringer" (cf. *Is.* ix. 6). But the name as an appellation of the Messiah occurs nowhere else in the Bible, so that the abruptness of its introduction here is strange; and the explanation given of it has been questioned on philological grounds.[2] The LXX., in place of the third clause, reads ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, which points to a different Hebrew original (*Shelloh* in place of *Shiloh*) that admits of being rendered (1) "until there come that which is his"; (2) "until there come he whose it (the sceptre) is" (cf. *Ezek.* xxi. 27). The passage, as has been already said, probably dates from the time of David; and if the first of the two alternatives suggested by the LXX. be adopted, the allusion would seem to be generally to the acquisition by Judah of its destined inheritance, whatever it might be. But if the second alternative be correct, the reference is probably to the hopes centred in David's line, which were to culminate in a sovereign of world-wide authority. In the latter case, the passage may be regarded as really Messianic, but expressing anticipations which were fulfilled by our Lord in a sense which the writer presumably did not contemplate.

[1] In *Gen.* xxii. 18, xxvi. 4 the rendering should be "in thy seed shall all nations of the earth bless themselves" (see marg.), and the use of the reflexive form here determines the sense of xii. 3. The general tenor of these passages implies that the prosperity of Abraham's descendants would be such that people everywhere would wish for their friends nothing better than the like good fortune: cf. *Gen.* xlviii. 20 and contrast *Jer.* xxix. 22.

[2] By some scholars *Shiloh*, whilst treated as a proper noun, has been regarded as a *place*-name, and the passage rendered *until he* (*Judah*) *come to Shiloh*, the allusion being to the assembling of all Israel at Shiloh (in Mt. Ephraim) as related in *Josh.* xviii. 1. But it is highly improbable that Judah, separated as it was from the rest of Israel (see pp. 180, 184), was really among the tribes that gathered at Shiloh in the time of Joshua; whilst the proposed rendering makes it necessary to refer the previous expressions *sceptre* and *ruler's staff* (which are strongly suggestive of *royalty*) to such precedence as Judah enjoyed in being the first to invade western Canaan (*Jud.* i. 2), or to its alleged priority in the order of march through the wilderness (*Num.* x. 14, P).

CHAPTER IV

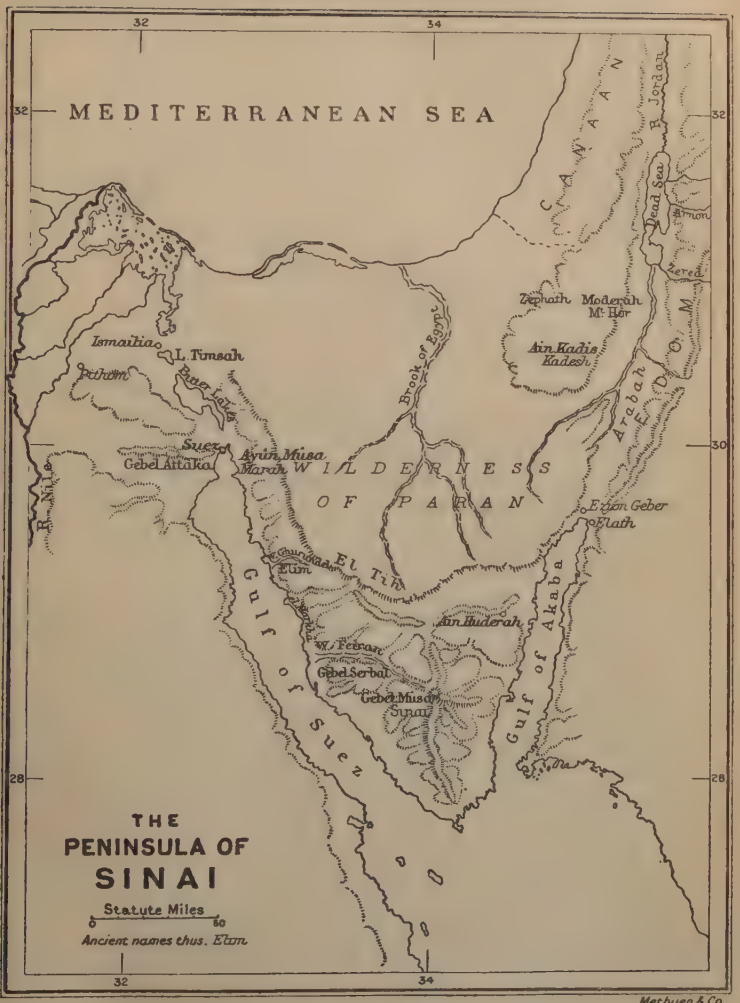
THE EXODUS AND THE WANDERINGS

Sources—*Exodus*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomy*

THE length of the sojourn of Israel in Egypt cannot be determined with certainty. It is fixed in *Ex.* xii. 40 at 430 years, with which *Gen.* xv. 13 approximately agrees. In the LXX., however, this period is made to include the time spent by the patriarchs in Canaan; and if value can be placed upon the genealogies given in *Ex.* vi. 16–20, *Num.* xxvi. 5–9, xxvii. 1, the number of generations from Jacob to Moses and his contemporaries only amounted to four or five[1] (cf. *Gen.* xv. 16). Nor can help be obtained from Egyptian sources, as the monuments furnish little or no information respecting the Hebrews.[2] It is probable, as has been already said, that the migration into Egypt took place during the domination of the Asiatic Hyksos, to whom the 15th, 16th and 17th dynasties are assigned. During their occupation of Lower Egypt (which, according to Manetho (in Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 14) lasted 511 years), they were constantly at war with the native Egyptian princes who had established themselves at Thebes; and the latter, in the time of Aames (Amosis), about 1600 B.C., succeeded in expelling them. The accession to power of a native line of rulers would naturally produce a change in the circumstances of those settlers who had been attached to, or protected by, the Hyksos; and the alteration in the attitude of the Egyptians to the Israelites, described in *Ex.* i.,

[1] The extraordinary age alleged to have been attained by the individuals included in some of the genealogies (see for instance *Ex.* vi. 16–20) need not be considered.

[2] For the only certain reference to the Israelites occurring on Egyptian monuments of this age see p. 121.



MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CANAAN
R. Jordan
Dead Sea
Arnon
Zered
Zephath
Moderah
Mt. Hor
Ain Kadis
Kadesh
Arabah
EDOM
Brook of Egypt
Ismailia
L. Timsah
Pithom
Bitter Lakes
Suez
Gebel Attaka
Ayun Musa
Marah
WILDERNESS
OF PARAN
Ezion Geber
Elath
R. Nile
El Tih
Elim
Ain Huderah
W. Feiran
Gebel Serbal
Gebel Musa
Sinai
Gulf of Suez
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THE
PENINSULA OF
SINAI
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32
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28

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may not improbably be connected with this dynastic revolution. The Pharaoh of "the oppression," who is unnamed, was probably Rameses II. of the 19th dynasty. The monuments discovered at Tell el Mashkuta, 11 or 12 miles from Ismailia, amongst the ruins of the city of Pithom, one of the two store-cities named in *Ex.* i. 11, show that it was for that monarch that the place was built; whilst the other city mentioned together with Pithom actually bears the name of Raamses.[1] It was not, however, in the reign of Rameses II., but probably in that of his successor Mernptah that Israel effected its escape. This is implied in *Ex.* ii. 23, and the only tradition outside the Bible which seems to relate to the departure of the Israelites assigns it to the reign of Mernptah.[2] The dates of Rameses II. and the kings who succeeded him are variously stated;[3] but the Exodus may be fixed approximately to 1250 or 1200 B.C.

Of the condition of the Israelites in Egypt almost as little is known as of the time they spent there. Their numbers rapidly increased; and it is probable that they came to abandon, to some extent, their earlier nomadic habits and adopted a more settled mode of life (cf. *Deut.* xi. 10), to the comparative comfort of which they looked back with regret when experiencing the privation of the wilderness (*Num.* xi. 5, xxi. 5). Nevertheless they did not become merged and absorbed in the people around them; and it was doubtless their separateness from the rest of the nation which ultimately excited the fears of the ruling powers, leading them to pursue a policy of repression. Several of the kings of the 18th dynasty, notably Thothmes I. and Thothmes III., had carried the Egyptian arms into Asia, had traversed Palestine, and had successfully engaged in conflict with the Hittites, who disputed that country with them; but in the subsequent reign of Amen-hotep (as the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, mentioned in a previous chapter, show) the Pharaoh's hold upon the Palestinian cities which acknowledged his overlordship became endangered.[4] Rameses II. of the 19th dynasty renewed hostilities with the

[1] It has been identified by some with Zoan.

[2] See p. 121.

[3] The limits of the reign of Rameses II. are variously given as 1348–1281 (Sayce, *Egypt of the Hebrews*, p. 309) and 1275–1208 (Driver in *Authority and Archæology*, p. 69).

[4] See p. 168.

Hittites; and he may have thought that in the event of ill-fortune the presence, on the eastern frontier, of a people alien in race and sympathies might be a menace to the security of Egypt itself, if they were allowed to acquire strength (cf. *Ex.* i. 10). Accordingly the Egyptians imposed upon them the system of the *corvée*, with the object alike of utilising their bodily vigour and breaking their spirit. Besides employing them on field labour (*Ex.* i. 14), they engaged them upon the construction of the store-cities of Pithom and Raamses already alluded to, the Hebrew labourers being compelled to work by superintendents of their own race, appointed over them by the officials of Pharaoh (*Ex.* v. 14). It is possible, too, that an effort was made to prohibit the practice of the Hebrew religion. The animal worship prevalent in Egypt must have made the Egyptians look with great dislike upon the ceremonies of a people into whose religious rites animal sacrifices largely entered (cf. *Ex.* viii. 26); and the declension of the Israelites from their ancestral faith during their stay in Egypt (affirmed in *Josh.* xxiv. 14, *Ezek.* xx. 8, xxiii. 3, 19) may have been furthered by persecution. Finally, an attempt was made to reduce their numbers by organised infanticide. The task of carrying this out was first entrusted to those who attended the Hebrew women in child-bed. The king's directions, however, were disobeyed by at least some of the midwives concerned,[1] so that the multiplication of the people was not seriously checked (*Ex.* i. 20). Accordingly more effective steps were taken, and orders were given that all the male children of the Hebrews should be seized immediately after their birth, and drowned in the Nile, the female children alone being allowed to live (*Ex.* i. 22).[2]

[1] The fact that the historian mentions no more than two midwives (whom he names Shiphrah and Puah) is perhaps owing to his having in view only Moses' birthplace, and not the whole Israelite settlement.

[2] Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9, 2) represents the edict as being due to the alarm caused to the king by the prediction of an Egyptian sacred scribe (*ἱερογραμματεύς*) that a child would be born of Israelite parentage who was destined to be a deliverer to his own people and a danger to the Egyptians. Some scholars regard the direction to drown the male children as *parallel* to the command given to the midwives, the two being different accounts (derived from J and E respectively) of a single device to reduce the Hebrew population.

From this harsh and cruel oppression no attempt at escape was made until there appeared amongst the oppressed a leader who revived in them the faith of their forefathers. This was **Moses**, the son of Amram, of the tribe of Levi,[1] and his wife Jochebed. The child seems to have been born soon after the decree for the destruction of the Hebrew male children had been issued; for nothing is said of any device employed by his mother to save his elder brother Aaron similar to that which she was constrained to adopt to preserve her second son. She concealed him at home as long as she could; but when at length she was compelled to commit him to the river, she placed him in a little boat of papyrus.[2] There, instead of meeting the death to which he was consigned, he was found by one of the daughters of the reigning Pharaoh (called Thermuthis by Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9, 5–7), and said to have been married but childless), who pitied him, took him under her protection, and even procured, through the agency of the child's sister (Miriam), his own mother to act as nurse. He was reared in the house of the Egyptian princess, and was thus enabled to acquire much of the learning for which Egypt was even then famous.

This narrative may conceivably be only a popular explanation of the name *Moses* (erroneously taken to mean "drawn out" of the water). A similar story is related of Sargon, an early king of Accad;[3] and the tales connected with the infancy of Romulus and Cyrus (the latter in Hdt. i. 107 foll.) are also parallel. But the sagacity which Moses possessed, and the skill in thaumaturgy attributed to him, seem to imply that he had been befriended and educated in some such way as is recounted in *Ex.* ii. 1–10.

The name *Moses* (*Mosheh*), if connected with the Heb. *mashah* "to draw out," could only mean "drawing out," not "drawn out." Probably the name is non-Hebraic; and some have seen in it the second element of words like *Thothmes* (*Thutmosis*), *Aames* (*Amosis*), *Rameses*, etc., which is said to have the meaning of "son."[4]

When Moses was arrived at manhood, an incident occurred which forced him to leave Egypt and flee into the wilderness of Sinai. Seeing one of his countrymen suffering ill-usage at the hands of an Egyptian, he slew the latter and concealed his body;

[1] For his ancestry see *Ex.* vi. 16–20, *Num.* xxvi. 57–59.

[2] Cf. *Is.* xviii. 2.

[3] See McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, i. p. 99.

[4] Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9. 6) gives as the etymology of the name the two Egyptian words μῶ and ὑσῆς, meaning respectively *water* and *saved from water*.

but on subsequently intervening in a quarrel between two Hebrews, he found that the homicide was known, and in fear of his life, he retreated to the desert. Under some of the earlier Pharaohs mines had been opened and worked in the Sinaitic peninsula; and the western parts of it were doubtless still occupied by Egyptians. Presumably therefore Moses withdrew to the southern extremity, where, on its south-eastern[1] flank, a body of Midianites had established themselves under a priest-chieftain (variously named Jethro (*Ex.* iii. 1), Reuel (*Ex.* ii. 18, 21), or Hobab (*Jud.* iv. 11)). With this priest (whose seven daughters he aided when disturbed as they watered their flocks) he took up his abode; and marrying Zipporah, one of the seven, had by her two sons, whom he named Gershom and Eliezer (*Ex.* ii. 22, xviii. 4).

In *Jud.* i. 16, iv. 11 Moses is represented as marrying into a *Kenite* family. Of the three names given to the priest of Midian, *Reuel* may perhaps be regarded as a title (shepherd of God); but the discrepancy between *Jethro* (*Jether* in *Ex.* iv. 18) and *Hobab* remains unless the word rendered "father-in-law" in *Ex.* iii. 1 is translated "brother-in-law" in *Jud.* iv. 11, or unless Zipporah was granddaughter of Jethro (Reuel) and daughter of Hobab (cf. *Num.* x. 29, where Hobab is termed the *son* of Reuel).

It was whilst staying with Jethro and keeping his flock that Moses formed the resolution of attempting the deliverance of his countrymen from their oppressors. He was led to it by acquiring among the Midianites or Kenites, with whom he dwelt, fresh faith in the Deity whom his fathers had worshipped, and who was still adored by these tribes of the desert,[2] who, like himself, traced their descent to Abraham. Amid the mountain-heights which occupy the central and southern portions of the Sinaitic peninsula there was one peak which was already regarded as a sanctuary (*Ex.* iii. 1, xix. 4), and known by the double appellation of Horeb or Sinai[3] (see *Ex.* iii. 1, xxiv. 13, 16).

[1] This is indicated by *Ex.* iii. 1, where Moses is represented as leading the flock of the priest of Midian to *the back* of the desert, *i.e.* westward.

[2] That Jethro the priest of Midian was a worshipper of Jehovah is suggested by *Ex.* xviii. 10–12.

[3] Sinai or Horeb, if really in the peninsula, may be identified with one of two peaks, some 8,000 or 9,000 feet high, named *Gebel Mûsa* and *Serbal*, the oldest traditions favouring the latter (Driver in *Auth. and Arch.*, p. 65), but the incidents connected with the place being best suited by the former (see p. 113). In some passages, however, Sinai is brought into con-

When Babylonian control extended to this region, the place had doubtless been consecrated to the worship of the god Sin; but by the Kenites it was regarded as hallowed by the presence of their own God Jehovah (cf. *Deut.* xxxiii. 16, *1 Kg.* xix. 8 foll.), who manifested Himself in the storm-clouds that wreathed, and in the fire which played about, the mountain summit (cf. *Deut.* xxxiii. 2). To it Moses, in the course of his sojourn in the desert, came; and there, whether indirectly through the influence of human counsellors, aided by the physical phenomena and sacred associations of the spot, or directly by the immediate action of the Divine Spirit upon his spirit, he was nerved by the Deity to undertake the enterprise of rescuing his countrymen from bondage and restoring them to communion with the God of their fathers by solemn worship at the same sanctuary (*Ex.* iii. 12). It was not, however, without hesitation that he entered upon his task; for he did not possess the eloquence best calculated to persuade and animate an unbelieving and disheartened people (*Ex.* iii. 11 foll. iv. 1 foll.). But he had, besides his faith in Jehovah, two reasons for confidence. On the one hand, he could use as his spokesman his elder brother Aaron, a man who was endowed with the faculty which he lacked; and on the other hand, he possessed gifts of thaumaturgy, which, in the eyes of both himself and others, indicated that a Divine power was working with him. He accordingly determined to obey the Divine monitions; and finding that the danger which had driven him from Egypt no longer threatened him, he at once took leave of his father-in-law, and returned, with his wife and sons, to his people. On the way a peril affecting his life was attributed to the Divine resentment at his failure to undergo the rite of circumcision (according to Arabian custom) at the time of his marriage; and it was only averted (as was believed) by his wife taking a flint[1] and circumcising, as a substitute, their son Gershom. After this it would appear that Zipporah was sent

nection with Paran and Seir (Edom) (see *Deut.* xxxiii. 2, *Jud.* v. 4–5, and cf. *Hab.* iii. 3). Of the two names for the mountain, *Horeb* is generally regarded as employed by E and D, *Sinai* by J and P.

[1] For the use of stone in preference to metal cf. *Josh.* v. 2. Stone implements are often retained in connection with religious rites after they have passed out of common use; see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. p. 173.

back to her father, with whom she stayed until after the Exodus (see *Ex.* xviii. 2).

The historian relates that at Horeb the angel of Jehovah appeared unto Moses in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush, which it left unconsumed,[1] and that when Moses turned aside to see the sight, God called unto him out of the bush, bidding him put off his shoes, for the place was holy, and affirming Himself to be the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Moses hid his face in fear,[2] and God then revealed His purpose of delivering His people and leading them into Canaan, and declared His name, when Moses inquired it, to be **I am that I am** (or **I will be that I will be**), adding "Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, **I am** (or **I will be**) hath sent me unto you."

The narrative of the Burning Bush seems to fall into line with others which represent fire as the symbol of the Deity, such as *Ex.* xiii. 21, xix. 16, *Ps.* xviii. 8, 12; cf. also *Gen.* xv. 17. The belief implied finds its most natural explanation in electric phenomena.

The name **I am** or (better) **I will be**, under which God is related to have disclosed Himself to Moses, is the 1st pers. of the imperf. or fut. tense of the verb *to be*, the 3rd pers. of which (in a dialectic form) is disguised in *Jehovah;* and the expression is doubtless an abbreviation of the previous **I am** (or **will be**) **that I am** (or **will be**). In this the vagueness of the predication is in accordance with a common idiom employed where fuller explanation is either unnecessary or impossible (cf. *Ex.* iv. 13, xxxiii. 19, *1 Sam.* xxiii. 13 (Heb.), *2 Sam.* xv. 20 (Heb.), *2 Kg.* viii. 1); and suggests the inexhaustible character of the Divine activity. What Israel's God is, or will be, to His people no present specification can adequately express, but the future will increasingly reveal. The name thus does not lay stress upon God's self-existence or immutability (though the LXX. renders it by ὁ ὤν), but upon His progressive self-manifestation, and conveys an assurance of His active concern in the fortunes of men and especially of Israel.[3] But though this was the significance which the name had for the Hebrews in historic times, it is possible that its meaning, if the word be of great antiquity, was originally quite other.

As has been previously noticed, the passage in *Ex.* vi. 2 foll., (taken from P) expressly relates, in defiance of the evidence of J, that the name *Jehovah* was revealed for the first time to Moses, the patriarchs only knowing God under the title of *El-Shaddai.* Some scholars hold that E shared the same view as P, and that *Ex.* iii. 9–15 (derived from this source) is meant to imply that the name *Jehovah* was previously unknown to Israel. From this point forward, one of the chief *criteria* of E (the preference for *God* (*Elohim*) over *Jehovah* in those parts of the Hexateuch which do not belong to the Priestly code) disappears.

Before leaving the wilderness, Moses was joined by Aaron, who met him at Mount Horeb, and the two proceeded together to Egypt. There Moses, with the help of Aaron, communicated to his countrymen the will of Jehovah. As a warrant to convince them that he was divinely commissioned, he performed three

[1] Similarly at Tyre fire is said to have played round a sacred olive tree without scorching its leaves; see Robertson Smith, *Rel. of Semites*, p. 193.

[2] Cf. *Jud.* xiii. 22.

[3] Cf. Driver, *Stud. Bib.*, p. 15 foll.

signs in succession: (1) the transformation of his rod into a serpent, which was again re-transformed into a rod; (2) the conversion of the flesh of his hand into a leprous condition, and its subsequent restoration; (3) the transmutation of water, taken from the Nile, into blood. The performance of these wonders overcame the incredulity of the people; and they bowed their heads and worshipped Jehovah who had thus deigned to compassionate them (*Ex.* iv. 1–9, 27–31). From their countrymen Moses and Aaron next proceeded to the court of the Pharaoh, and demanded in the name of Jehovah leave for the Hebrews to go three days' journey into the wilderness to hold a feast to Him there. The request to be allowed to sacrifice at a distance was specious. The animals which would be offered in the contemplated sacrifices were sacred in the eyes of the Egyptians; and the Israelite rites, if performed in Egypt, might excite popular indignation (cf. *Ex.* viii. 26). But the king, in reply, not only refused the permission (Jehovah was not a god he recognised), but charged Moses and Aaron with making the people restless and idle; and directed that their tasks should be increased by the withdrawal of the straw hitherto supplied to them for making brick. For the future they were to procure this for themselves, whilst they were still required to deliver the same quantity of bricks. The unhappy slaves, whose officers were beaten if the tale of bricks was short, were now in a worse plight than ever, and gave expression to their anger and despair in murmurs against the men whose appeals had only served to augment their distress.

But the refusal of the king was not long-continued, and his obstinacy had to yield to the compulsion of circumstances. The Egyptians were suddenly harassed and alarmed by a succession of plagues similar to those to which the country is still exposed. First, the water of the Nile turned a blood-red colour, and for seven days became undrinkable. This visitation was followed by swarms of frogs, which penetrated even into the houses and bedchambers of the people. To this succeeded a plague of flies (probably gadflies[1]). Next the cattle and draught animals were smitten with a murrain. Then a violent hailstorm destroyed the bulk of the crops; whilst the remainder was consumed by locusts,

[1] LXX. κυνομυῖα; cf. *Ps.* lxxviii. 45.

brought by an east wind. After this, the light of the sun was obscured for three days by sandstorms. Finally a pestilence broke out, in which the Egyptians lost the flower of their families. The Israelites, to avert from themselves the ravages which the pestilence was bringing upon their masters, were directed by Moses to observe a rite which was already in vogue amongst them, viz. the Passover (*Ex.* xii. 21), which consisted in the slaughter, by each household, of a lamb or a kid, and the sprinkling of its blood upon the lintel and side-posts of the door of the house. They carried out the command, and from the destruction which prevailed all around them they were mercifully exempted. Before the misfortunes that were accumulated upon his people (many of them the more distressing from the cleanliness characteristic of the Egyptians), Pharaoh gave way. According to the narrative, indeed, he did so more than once, under stress of the immediate calamity and the urgent appeals of his own servants (*Ex.* x. 7); but when the respite came, he broke his word, proposing, instead of the complete dismissal required, various compromises (first that the Israelites should sacrifice to Jehovah in Egypt itself, or, at least, not far away; next that the men should be free to go, but should leave their children as hostages; and then that all should depart, but their cattle be retained). The final disaster, however, made him consent to everything that was demanded. The distress in which the rest of the country was plunged enabled the Hebrews to effect their escape before the sovereign could again change his mind; and they were even assisted by some of the Egyptians themselves, who, in their alarm, desired the departure of those to whose God they attributed their misfortunes, and with a view to the feast which they were to keep, gave them all they asked. Accordingly, the Hebrews, starting in such haste that cakes of unleavened dough formed their last meal in Egypt (the memory of which was preserved in subsequent times by the Feast of Unleavened Bread), finally left the land of their bondage, taking with them their flocks and herds, the treasure received from the Egyptians, and the bones of Joseph; and accompanied by a mixed multitude (*Ex.* xii. 38, *Num.* xi. 4), they turned eastward, and directed their course towards the Isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea.

The narrative dealing with the events that followed Moses' return to Egypt and culminated in the Exodus (*Ex.* vii.–xiv.) is composite; and the representation differs to some extent in the sources employed. In the text the combined account of JE is followed, no attempt being made to distinguish their respective contributions.[1] According to P, Moses was discredited by the Israelites when he came to them with Jehovah's message (*Ex.* vi. 9, 12), and no mention is made of any signs wrought by him to convince his countrymen; but a wonder was performed when he and Aaron appeared before Pharaoh, Aaron's rod, in answer to the challenge of Pharaoh, being changed into a reptile (perhaps a crocodile). Of the plagues P enumerates five, including the conversion of water into Blood, the multiplication of Frogs, and the Pestilence (recounted by JE), but extends the change into blood and the production of frogs to every stream and pool in Egypt. In place of JE's plagues of Flies, Murrain, Hail, Locusts, and Darkness (the first three and the last of these are represented as not extending to Goshen), the writer substitutes a plague of Lice (or perhaps gnats[2]), and a plague of Blains, affecting both man and beast. In his account, the Egyptian magicians are described as attempting to rival Moses and Aaron in their wonders: they convert their rods into reptiles (which, however, are swallowed up by Aaron's rod), and change water into blood, and bring up frogs from the river; but they fail to create lice (or gnats), and like the rest of their countrymen they suffer from the plague of blains. The writer thus saw in the plagues a contest between the God of the Hebrews and the gods of Egypt, ending in the triumph of the former (cf. *Ex.* xii. 12).

In both of the constituent narratives the plagues are conceived to have been miraculously produced, in P by *Aaron* stretching out his rod, in JE generally by some corresponding action on the part of *Moses*. It is not improbable that both Moses and the Egyptian magicians were acquainted with much that in that age passed for magic. But the character of the plagues, in the main, suggests that they were in reality natural occurrences which were interpreted by the Hebrew writers in accordance with their religious beliefs. Frogs, flies, and locusts are common pests of the country. Violent murrains or cattle plagues are recorded to have taken place there within the last century. Hailstorms, accompanied by lightning, though not common, are not unknown. The bloody appearance of the Nile might be produced by the intermixture with it of mineral matter or minute animal organisms, brought down from its upper reaches. The darkness was probably the result of the *khamsîn* wind, a hot southern blast which blows at intervals for nearly two months about the time of the spring equinox, and fills the air with dust and sand. That the final plague was a pestilence is indicated in *Ps.* lxxviii. 50–51 and perhaps *Am.* iv. 10 (cf. *2 Sam.* xxiv. 15–16). The representation that only the eldest son in each family was destroyed is perhaps due to a somewhat fanciful parallel between the firstborn of Jehovah (*i.e.* Israel) and the firstborn of Pharaoh and his subjects (see *Ex.* iv. 22–23), the latter being slain to avenge the oppression of the former. Others think that the firstborn of the

[1] According to JE the plagues numbered eight in all. Those scholars who believe that they can accurately distinguish between J and E assign seven plagues to J and five to E, four being common to both (water turned to Blood, Hail, Locusts, and Pestilence), three peculiar to J (Frogs, Flies, and Murrain), and one peculiar to E (Darkness). It has been pointed out that the seven plagues mentioned by J are just those enumerated in *Ps.* lxxviii. 44–50 (if with two MSS. *murrain* is read for *hail* in ver. 48); see Kirkpatrick, *ad. loc.*

[2] LXX. σκνῖφες, insects which attacked figs and the bark of trees.

Egyptians were regarded as a substitute for the firstborn of the cattle which the Israelites were being prevented by Pharaoh from offering to Jehovah at the feast they wished to keep in the wilderness (*Ex.* viii. 27, x. 9, 26, xiii. 12).

The Passover, which seems to have already been in existence in Moses' time (*Ex.* xii. 21 *the* Passover), was probably an ancient rite, wherein the firstlings of the flock were offered in sacrifice by every household for the purpose of establishing a covenant or communion with the Deity (cf. p. 145), the participation in it of all the members of the family being indicated by putting some of the blood upon the door of the house. The relation thereby constituted between Israel and Jehovah was believed to ensure the protection of the former from the pestilence that smote the Egyptians. On the other hand, the Feast of Unleavened Bread, which kept alive the recollection of their deliverance from bondage (*Ex.* xiii. 7–8), was probably an agricultural festival, connected with the beginning of the harvest, with which they became acquainted in Canaan, and to which memories of the Exodus became attached. The two feasts followed each other in close succession, and were frequently treated as one.

The exact line of march pursued by the people after leaving Goshen cannot now be traced. It is clear that they did not follow the Mediterranean coast,[1] along which they might have come in contact with Egyptian troops (for Canaan since the time of Thothmes I. had been often traversed, and in part occupied, by Egyptian armies), and it is probable that they would from the first seek to join the Midianites near Sinai; but the localities through which they passed cannot be identified with certainty. From Rameses (which, in *Ex.* xii. 37, *Num.* xxxiii. 5, is regarded as their starting point) they are described as journeying to Succoth,[2] which has been taken to be a Hebrew corruption of *Thaku* or *Thuket*, the name of the district in which the city of Pithom was situated; and from thence they removed to Etham.[3] They next encamped before Pihahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, east of Baal Zephon, their movements here being so erratic as to suggest to anyone observing them that they had lost their way (cf. *Ex.* xiv. 3). The sea must have been the Gulf of Suez; but many authorities suppose with much plausibility that the gulf then stretched further to the north than it does now, and extended to the Bitter Lakes and Lake Timsah,

[1] Since the Philistines did not settle in Canaan before the reign of Rameses III., the phrase "land of the Philistines" in *Ex.* xiii. 17 anticipates a condition of things that had not yet arisen.

[2] The word *Succoth* in Hebrew mean "booths," such as were used in the Feast of Tabernacles. But the construction of these would be out of the question at this stage of the journey, even if materials were procurable.

[3] The E. frontier of Egypt was guarded by a line of fortresses called *Khetem*, a term which has been supposed to survive in the name Etham.

and believe that the Israelites reached it near Ismailia. On the other hand, some identify Baal Zephon with Mt. Attâka,[1] and so bring the Israelites into the neighbourhood of the modern town of Suez. However this may be, the fugitives, in the position they occupied, soon found themselves in great danger. Pharaoh, recovering from the dismay caused by the recent pestilence, and realising that the Hebrews, instead of departing on a temporary pilgrimage (*Ex.* v. 3, xii. 31), had gone altogether (*Ex.* xiv. 5), despatched a large force of chariots (given as 600) in pursuit of the escaping multitude, which overtook them in a spot where they had the sea in front of them and the wilderness around them. The Hebrews were filled with the utmost alarm, and reproached Moses with having lured them to their destruction. But it providentially happened that a strong gale from the east had so affected the shallow waters at the head of the gulf as to render a passage to the other side practicable; and Moses seized the opportunity offered. He dashed across; and was followed by the Egyptians, who seem to have overtaken the Hebrews and engaged them (cf. *Deut.* iv. 34). But the pursuers were terrified by the lightnings that burst from a heavy cloud near (*Ex.* xiv. 24); and finding besides that the wheels of their heavy chariots became clogged[2] in the soft and yielding sand, lost heart, and attempted to regain the western shore. But meanwhile, the wind had veered, and the sea returned to its usual bed. The Egyptians were consequently caught before they reached secure ground, and perished miserably in the waters. The Hebrews, led by Miriam, celebrated their deliverance by a triumphal pæan, which still exists (*Ex.* xv. 1–21), though seemingly expanded and modified by later additions.[3]

The means by which the passage of the Red Sea was made feasible is apparent enough from the account in *Ex.* xiv. 21, but the precise course

[1] Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 15. 3, describes them as being shut up "between inaccessible precipices and the sea; for a mountain terminated at the sea, which was impassable by reason of the ruggedness of its tracks.

[2] The Heb. of *Ex.* xiv. 25 has *Jehovah took off their chariot wheels;* but the LXX. reads *συνέδησε τοὺς ἄξονας τῶν ἁρμάτων αὐτῶν.*

[3] See especially ver. 13, 15, 17. The allusions to Jehovah's "holy habitation" and His "sanctuary" imply for this part of the song (ver. 13–17) a date subsequent to the Conquest and the establishment of the Ark at Shiloh, if not to the erection of Solomon's Temple.

of events is obscure. On the supposition that the sea then reached to Lake Timsah and that the E. wind named was more exactly a S.E. wind, the shallow waters may have been driven to the N.W.; and if at the same time an ebb tide drew the main body of the sea southward, a track would be left across which the Israelites could march, with water on either hand. This agrees fairly with the representation in verses 22, 29, where, however, the language of the song (xv. 8) is taken *au pied de la lettre* and the waters described as being a wall on the right hand and on the left. It is also stated that the sea was divided and afterwards restored to its channel by Moses stretching his rod over it (ver. 16, 26–27).

The conception of the Pillar of Cloud which guided the Israelites by day, and the Pillar of Fire which led them by night[1] (*Ex.* xiii. 21–22) may have originated in a thunderstorm which, gathering during the flight of the Israelites, broke as the Egyptians followed the fugitives across the sea (see *Ex.* xiv. 24, and cf. *Ps.* lxxvii. 17–20).[2] Such an occurrence, coupled with the belief that the host was providentially guided by Jehovah (Who was thought to manifest His presence more particularly by fire), might readily, amongst a religious and imaginative people, give rise to the tradition.

The number of the Israelites who left Egypt is given in *Ex.* xii. 37 as 600,000 men, beside women and children. Approximately the same figures are recorded in connection with a census taken in the following year (*Num.* i. 46, *Ex.* xxxviii. 26, cf. also *Num.* xi. 21), and again at the close of the wanderings (*Num.* xxvi. 51), where only men of twenty years old and upwards are included. This number has been calculated to imply a total of 2,000,000 persons, which appears far too large a body to have crossed the Red Sea as easily and as rapidly as is represented, or to have found support in a desert country now occupied by a few thousand people (even if, as has been thought probable, the Sinaitic peninsula was more fertile formerly than it is now). There are, besides, several passages which are at variance with the statement that there were among the Israelites at this time half a million fighting men; see *Ex.* xxii. 29–30, *Num.* xiii. 31.

Only one reference to the Hebrews has been produced from Egyptian sources of this age, and this can hardly relate to the Exodus (see p. 121). In Manetho, preserved by Josephus (*c. Ap.* i. 26, 27), there occurs what is possibly a distorted account of the departure of the Israelites. This states that Mernptah (Amenophis) was directed to clear the land of a number of lepers. These, amounting to 80,000, were collected and placed by him on the E. of the Nile and compelled to work in quarries. They were subsequently allowed to occupy a city called Avaris, where they rose in rebellion under a priest called Osarsiph, who changed his name to Moses, and prohibited the worship of the Egyptian gods. The rebels were aided by the descendants of the Hyksos, who had occupied Jerusalem, and with these became masters of Egypt for thirteen years. Mernptah retired to Ethiopia; but he eventually returned, and the invaders were then defeated and expelled from the country.

[1] According to *Ex.* xiv. 19, 20, the pillar of cloud which went before the Israelite host removed and stood behind them, between the camp of Egypt and the camp of Israel; and the obscure words "there was the cloud and the darkness, yet gave it light by night," are generally supposed to mean that the cloud gave light to Israel in front, but showed dark to the enemy behind. The LXX., however, has καὶ ἐγένετο σκότος καὶ γνόφος καὶ δίηλθεν ἡ νύξ.

[2] Cf. Jos. *Ant.* ii. 16, 3, ὄμβροι τε ἀπ'οὐρανοῦ κατέβαινον καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραὶ προσεξαπτομένης ἀστραπῆς καὶ κέραυνοι δὲ κατηνέχθησαν.

The northern portion of the peninsula of Sinai is a high, monotonous, and barren table-land (called *El-Tih*), edged by a narrow and comparatively level coast-track; whereas the southern angle is occupied by a group of peaks, clothed to some extent with vegetation, and separated by a number of narrow valleys, in which springs occur. One or two similar valleys or *wâdies* lead from the plateau in the centre to the sea; and it was at the streams that watered these that the Israelites hoped to find refreshment as they pressed towards the south. Leaving the spot where they had crossed the Red Sea, they advanced through the desert of Shur (*Ex.* xv. 22) or Etham, in the direction of the narrow track already alluded to, which skirts the shore. Reaching after three days' march a spring named Marah (probably the modern *Ayûn Mûsa*[1] near Suez), they found it to be so bitter and nauseous that it was undrinkable. Moses, however, rendered it sweet by casting into it the branches of a certain tree, a device said to be still employed by the Arabs.[2] They next passed through an oasis called Elim, near the coast (*Num.* xxxiii. 9), described as consisting of twelve springs of water and seventy palm trees (and identified by some with the *Wâdy Ghurundel*), where (according to the chronology of *Ex.*[3]) they stayed a month; and then proceeding along the coast (*Num.* xxxiii. 10) they entered the wilderness of Sin. This has been identified with a plain, four or five miles broad, into which the coast-track expands, called *El Markhâ*. In it the two places named in the Itinerary (*Num.* xxxiii. 12–13) Dophkah and Alush were presumably situated, the first of which has been identified with the *Wâdy Maghara*. It was in this desert region that they first began to experience privation from lack of sufficient sustenance; for though they possessed flocks and herds, they, like the Arabs in general, were seemingly not accustomed to treat them as ordinary articles of food. In their distress they

[1] This identification assumes that the Israelites crossed the sea near Lake Timsah. If the passage was effected near Suez, Marah must be placed further south (to allow for the three days), probably at Ain Hawâra.

[2] F. de Lesseps, *l'Isthme de Suez*, cited by Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 445; cf. the somewhat similar act ascribed to Elisha (*2 Kg.* ii. 19–22).

[3] Cf. *Ex.* xvi. 1 with xii. 1–4

broke into loud murmurings against their leaders, and expressed their bitter regret at having left Egypt, where they had not known scarcity. They obtained some relief, however, by falling in with flights of quails (*Ex.* xvi. 13), birds which Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 1, 5) describes as more plentiful on the Arabian gulf than anywhere else,[1] and which are still numerous in the peninsula and the neighbouring countries of Palestine and Syria. In their need they also became acquainted with, and utilised as food, *manna*, a substance hitherto strange to them, which exudes from the branches of the tamarisk and a few other shrubs when punctured by insects.[2] From the wilderness of Sin Moses now led his people in the direction of the sacred Mount of Horeb or Sinai (following what is now the *Wâdy Feirân*) to a place called Rephidim (*Ex.* xvii. 1, 6). Here[3] they again suffered from want of water, and their murmurs against Moses and Aaron were renewed. Their wants were eventually supplied; but the memory of the people's discontent was preserved by the names *Massah* (Proving) and *Meribah* (Strife) given to the scenes of their outbreak.

The providential character of the supply of manna (which, in reality, is found in comparatively small quantities) is, in *Ex.* xvi. and elsewhere, heightened by its being represented as forming the staple food of the people for forty years (cf. *Josh.* v. 12), and as occurring only on six days of the week, the amount procured on the sixth sufficing for the following Sabbath. The narrative (which comes in part from the Priestly source) adds that the manna gathered by each man, whether much or little, exactly satisfied his needs (ver. 18). The water with which the people's wants were supplied at Massah and Meribah is described in *Ex.* xvii. 6 (cf. *Deut.* viii. 15) as being produced from the rock in Horeb by a stroke of Moses' rod: but this may arise from a poetical account of a more ordinary, though not less providential, incident (cf. *Num.* xxi. 16–18).

[1] Or *than anything else* (*τρέφει τοῦτο τὸ ὄρνεον ὡς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ὁ Ἀράβιος κόλπος*).

[2] The name *manna* is explained as arising from the question of the Israelites on first seeing it, *Mân hu'*, "what is it?" In some passages it is regarded as falling from heaven with the dew (*Num.* xi. 9), a belief resembling that which prevailed amongst the Greeks and Romans respecting honey (cf. Verg. *E.* iv. 30, *roscida mella*). It is described as resembling, in size, flakes of hoar-frost or grains of coriander seed, and in appearance, bdellium (a resinous gum); its taste is variously said to have been like that of wafers mixed with honey, or cakes baked with oil (*Ex.* xvi. 14, 31, *Num.* xi. 7–8).

[3] In *Ex.* xvii. 6 the incident is placed at Horeb, but a comparison of xvii. 1 with xix. 1 implies that the people had only reached Rephidim. Nevertheless Rephidim must have been near Horeb.

The approach to the holy ground of Horeb was not effected without molestation. A formidable attack was made upon them by a body of Amalekites, who partly resented the intrusion of Israel upon ground which they regarded as their own, and partly sought to gratify their desire for plunder. The Amalekites first directed their assault upon the rear and the stragglers (*Deut.* xxv. 18), and then gathered their forces for a general engagement. The fighting men among the Israelites were placed in charge of Hoshea or Joshua, an Ephraimite; and an engagement ensued in which the Amalekites were worsted. Moses, who, with the rod of God uplifted in his hand, watched the fight, supported by Aaron and Hur (the latter said by Josephus to have been the husband of Miriam), erected an altar to commemorate the deliverance, which he called *Jehovah nissi* (Jehovah is my banner).[1] If Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 2, 4) is to be followed, the Israelites acquired considerable spoil as the fruits of the victory; but the unprovoked attack produced such a feeling of resentment among them that a record of the injury was made with a view to subsequent retaliation. At length arrived at Horeb or Sinai, the people camped before the mount; and as this implies the existence, at its foot, of open ground, the circumstance is in favour of the identification of it with the modern *Gebel Mûsa* rather than with *Serbal* (see p. 102, note). *Gebel Mûsa* overlooks a plain (called *Er Râhâh*) of considerable extent, offering sufficient room for a large encampment; and the approach to it is much more easily traversed than is the case with the rival peak.[2] Moses, after he had taken up a position there, was joined by his father-in-law Jethro, who brought with him Moses' wife, and his two sons Gershom and Eliezer. Jethro, as was natural, shared in the rejoicings which the escape from Egypt and the successful march just accomplished occasioned; and he, together with Aaron and the elders of Israel, offered sacrifices to Jehovah, and partook of the accompanying feast. By his advice Moses now proceeded to organise a judicial system more adequate for the needs of the people than had hitherto prevailed.

[1] For the bestowal of such a name upon an altar cf. *Gen.* xxxiii. 20, *Jud.* vi. 24.

[2] See Harper, *The Bible and Modern Discoveries*, pp. 105, 111.

Over the various tribal and family divisions a certain amount of authority was exercised (as had been the case from the earliest times) by their respective elders; but all cases of controversy were brought to Moses, whose decisions were accepted as those of the Deity Himself (*Ex.* xviii. 15–16, cf. *Deut.* i. 17). The work, however, had grown beyond one man's strength to perform; and Jethro before departing (*Ex.* xviii. 27) to his own people, recommended his son-in-law to delegate some of his duties to others, who might deal with the smaller disputes, whilst the more important ones were still reserved for himself to determine. The counsel thus offered was followed; "rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens"[1] were invested with judicial authority; and Moses was thus enabled to apply himself more effectively to the reformation and development of the prevailing social, moral, and religious ideas of his people.

Deut. i. 6–18 is at variance with *Ex.* xviii., which is here followed, in implying that the appointment of the judges was not made until shortly before the departure of the camp from Horeb. *Deut.* further differs from *Ex.* in ignoring Jethro and in representing Moses as bidding the people select their heads for themselves, though he conferred upon them, when selected, the needful authority.

Of the circumstances under which the legislation attributed to Moses was promulgated a perfectly satisfactory account is impossible, partly in consequence of the confusion prevailing amongst the records, and partly in consequence of the dramatic character of their descriptions. There appear to be portions of no less than three narratives (corresponding to the three sources of which the first four books of the Pentateuch are composed), which differ considerably alike in the contents of the legislation and in the incidents attending it. They agree generally, however, in representing that a body of legal enactments was given to Israel at Sinai by Moses, who received them by personal communication from the Deity, amid the awe-inspiring accompani ments of a theophany; that some of these laws were inscribed upon two tables of stone; that during Moses' absence on the mountain, the people made and worshipped a calf of gold as

[1] In later times these appellations described *military* officers; see *1 Sam.* viii. 12, xxii. 7, *2 Kg.* i. 9.

a visible symbol of Jehovah; that Moses on returning and hearing of what had been done, cast down, in his indignation, the tables of stone and broke them, and then destroyed and ground to powder the idolatrous image; that the broken tables were replaced by a second pair, which, as embodying a covenant made between Jehovah and Israel, were placed in an Ark of acacia wood, which was thenceforward called the *Ark of the Covenant of Jehovah* (see *Deut.* x. 1–5,[1] *Num.* x. 33, xiv. 44); and that the Ark was kept in a Tent or Tabernacle,[2] to which all who sought the presence of Jehovah used to resort, and which was consequently known as the *Tent of Meeting*. The scenic character of the description of Jehovah's descent upon Sinai and His converse with Moses, finds a parallel in many rhetorical passages of the Psalms and Prophets,[3] and is doubtless to be explained similarly. In these any signal event in which the hand of God is discerned is depicted as accompanied by disturbances in the elements and by convulsions of nature. In the light of such, it seems reasonable to regard the narratives recounting the delivery of the Law at Sinai as a dramatic picture, the details of which are not to be pressed. The Divine communications made to Moses were presumably internal rather than external; and were imparted through the avenues of reflection and conscience rather than by the outward hearing. Yet it is not impossible that in the locality where the events are placed there may really have occurred natural phenomena which are reflected in the narrative. To the race, and in the age, to which Moses belonged, all that was startling or exceptional in nature unmistakably manifested Divine power; and lightning and tempest, in particular, were associated by the Hebrews with Jehovah's presence. Consequently the storms that occasionally burst round the top of Sinai may easily have impressed the spirit of

[1] This passage in *Deut.* is doubtless based on JE, though no mention of the construction of the Ark appears in the sections of the latter document that have been preserved in *Exodus*.

[2] The mention of this in *Ex.* xxxiii. 7 (JE) is abrupt, no account of its construction having been previously given. A *subsequent* account of it occurs in xxxv. foll. (P), but the conception of it in the Priestly code differs widely from that in JE (cf. p. 141).

[3] See *Ps.* xviii. 7 foll., *Mic.* i. 3, 4, *Hab.* iii. 3–6.

the Israelite leader with a sense of God's nearness; whilst the thunder may have been to him something more than a mere symbol of the Divine voice (cf. *Ps.* xxix. 3–9).[1] But though Sinai must have been the scene of a portion of Moses' legislation, it is not likely to have been the scene of all that he actually initiated, still less of all that he is credited with. On the one hand the narrative, just repeated, recording the appointment of judges to assist Moses suggests that the successive oral decisions of such judges were among the sources of Hebrew law, and could only accumulate gradually. And on the other hand, a review of all the legislation ascribed to Moses in the Pentateuch exhibits discrepancies so serious that it is difficult to regard it as proceeding from one individual or even from one age. The number of distinct codes, partly duplicating and partly contradicting each other, and the many divergences which, as will be seen, are discernible between their enactments as a whole and the usage of the times immediately succeeding, combine to render it probable that the legislation of the complete Pentateuch is Mosaic in inception and germ rather than in its ultimate shape. Further consideration, however, of this question must be reserved till later.

The details with which the general outline given above is filled in present many repetitions and divergences. Thus, (1) according to the main tenor of *Ex.* xix., xx., it was God's purpose to deliver all His commands in the audience of the people assembled to meet Him at the foot of Sinai (xix. 9, 17, xx. 22); but the people, after hearing the Decalogue, in their fear prayed that the Divine communications should only be made to them through Moses (xx. 19, cf. xxiv. 3, *Deut.* v. 4–5, 22–31). On the other hand xix. 12–13 states that the people in general were forbidden on pain of death to ascend the mount, or even to touch it, but certain persons (*they* in ver. 13 is emphatic), who in ver. 22, 24 appear to be Moses, Aaron, and other priests, were summoned into the mount as intermediaries between God and the people; and it is in accord with this latter representation that in xxiv. 1, 9–11 Aaron, Nadab, Abihu and seventy elders accompany Moses up the mount, behold God, and eat and drink there. (2) In xix. 19, xx. 18 a *trumpet* is heard and *the people tremble;* but in xix. 13 (marg.) a *ram's horn* is the signal for *coming up into the mount.* (3) In xxiv. 12–14, Moses, accompanied by Joshua, ascends into the mountain to obtain the tables of stone and the law (written by God) which he is to teach the people (ver. 12), whilst Aaron is left in the camp (ver. 14); and agreeably with this in xxxii. 1 foll. Aaron is the maker of the Golden Calf, whilst Joshua (ver. 17) calls Moses' attention to the noise in the camp, and in the issue (ver. 35), Jehovah, rejecting Moses' appeal (ver. 32), smites the people

[1] Travellers relate that the presence of strange noises is a feature of these mountains, sounds being carried to a great distance (Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 13)

because of the calf. On the other hand, in xxxii. 7–14 Jehovah Himself apprises Moses of the people's sin, whilst at the latter's intercession He repents of the evil which He said He would do to them, and the offenders are punished by Moses who summons the sons of Levi (which does not harmonise well with the previous representation that Aaron had been among the guilty) to slay the idolaters (ver. 26–28).[1] These differences point to the existence of two versions of the incidents in question, from E and J respectively, which have been united together.[2] In the subsequent narrative the second tables which are substituted for those broken by Moses, are described as *like unto the first* (xxxiv. 1, cf. *Deut.* x. 2–4); but the Hebrew phrases used of them differ,[3] as also do the commandments inscribed upon them (contrast xx. 2–17 with xxxiv. 14–26). It is probable, therefore, that whilst the account of the first tables comes from one source (E), that of the second comes from the other (J). Again, in *Ex.* xxv.–xxxi. and xxxv.–xl., together with the book of *Leviticus* and a part of *Numbers*, a multitude of ritual and other directions are given, which differ largely in matter but to a still greater extent in spirit from the legislation (viewed as a whole) which is included in *Ex.* xx.–xxiii. and c. xxxiv. These must, therefore, be derived from a third source, which, as already stated, has been termed the Priestly Code. The discrepancies between the requirements of this and the other codes, as well as *Deuteronomy*, will be examined in detail in the following chapter.

The time spent at Sinai seems to have been something less than a year (*Ex.* xix. 1, compared with *Num.* x. 11). Before breaking up the encampment Moses requested Hobab (if he can be regarded as distinct from Jethro, who had already left, according to *Ex.* xviii. 27) to accompany the people and share their fortunes; but the latter expressed a desire to return to his own kindred (*Num.* x. 29–30). Moses then urged that from his knowledge of the wilderness he could be of great service as a guide; and a subsequent notice suggests that he finally consented (*Jud.* i. 16, iv. 11). When the departure from Sinai was begun, the march of the people was preceded by the Ark of the Covenant of Jehovah, which went before them three days in advance to determine the next station, its starting and halting being saluted with the words of a chant (*Num.* x. 33–36). The first movement was made in a northerly direction towards the wilderness of Paran. The latter was the barren region of *El-Tih* lying south of Canaan and west of Edom, and seems

[1] Cf. *Deut.* x. 8 (where *at that time* refers to the sojourn at Horeb, ver. 1–5, not to the verses immediately preceding), xxxiii. 9.

[2] In *Deut.* ix. the combined account has been followed, with certain omissions.

[3] In xxiv. 12 they are styled *tables of stone*, but in xxxiv. 1, 4 *tables of stones*. In the recapitulation in *Deut.* v. 22 (Heb. 19), x. 1, this difference is ignored.

to have been approached by the shore of the Gulf of Akaba. This appears from the fact that the Israelites are represented, shortly after leaving Sinai, as being in the neighbourhood of the sea (*Num.* xi. 22, 31), but the stations mentioned as being on the route cannot be positively identified. These stations are Taberah (*Num.* xi. 3),[1] Kibroth Hattaavah,[2] and Hazeroth. The first two are described as owing their names to certain incidents which occurred near them. At Taberah ("Burning") the people murmured, and in consequence the fire of Jehovah burnt among them. At Kibroth Hattaavah ("the graves of lust"), the people lamented the want of flesh to eat, contrasting the manna upon which they now subsisted with the dainties they enjoyed in Egypt. These repeated complaints so distressed Moses that he pleaded that the burden laid upon him was too heavy for him. He was accordingly led to associate seventy elders with him to share his responsibilities;[3] upon whom when gathered at the Tent of Meeting outside the camp the Divine spirit was bestowed, and they prophesied.[4] Two others, named Eldad and Medad, who were not among the seventy, were at the same time endowed with the spirit of prophecy whilst remaining in the camp; whereupon Joshua on hearing of it, in his zeal for his master's pre-eminence, which seemed imperilled, urged Moses to forbid them, but the high-souled leader only expressed his wish that Jehovah would put His spirit upon all His people. The desires of the multitude for flesh food were afterwards gratified by the providential appearance (seemingly for the second time) of flights of quails, which were driven from the sea towards the camp. But reckless indulgence, after long abstinence, brought disease in its train; and great mortality ensued among the people.[5] Hazeroth, the third of the places named, merely means

[1] This is not mentioned in the list of stations enumerated in *Num.* xxxiii.

[2] In *Deut.* ix. 22 Massah is named between Taberah and Kibroth Hattaavah.

[3] This incident appears to be quite distinct from the somewhat similar one of *Ex.* xviii. (p. 114).

[4] Though the appointment of the seventy elders stands in close relation to Moses' complaint of his weight of responsibility, the story of their prophesying has little bearing upon the people's demand for flesh.

[5] The expression in *Num.* xi. 33 can scarcely be taken literally (contrast ver. 19, 20).

"encampments": it has been identified by some with the *Wâdy Huderah*. Here Miriam and Aaron murmured against their brother, partly (it would seem) because he had married a Cushite woman,[1] and partly from jealousy of his position, contending that they, like him, were recipients of Divine revelations. Moses' authority, however, was vindicated by Miriam being attacked by leprosy, in consequence of which she had for a time to be separated from the camp.

On entering the wilderness of Paran, the people established themselves at Kadesh (distant eleven days' journey from Horeb, according to *Deut.* i. 2). This place is usually identified with *Ain Kadis*, some fifty miles south of Beersheba. From this place an entry into Canaan was contemplated; and with this in view, a party of twelve spies[2] were sent to explore the country and its defences. They reached Hebron, and, as it was late summer (*Num.* xiii. 20), they gathered in the neighbouring valley of Eshcol specimens of the products of the district, grapes, pomegranates, and figs, to exhibit to their countrymen as evidence of its fertility. But the sight of the inhabitants, who belonged to the gigantic race of the Anakim, so impressed them that on their return, though they spoke most eulogistically of the country, they represented that its conquest was impracticable owing to the strength of the towns and the formidable character of its people. One spy alone, named Caleb,[3] was confident of success, and urged an immediate attack. But his voice was unheeded amid the general dismay produced by the report of his companions. So disconcerted were the people by what they heard that they even proposed to choose a captain who would lead them back to Egypt. This suggested abandonment of what was regarded as a divinely-promoted undertaking brought at once upon its advocates a sentence of punishment. Moses sought

[1] If *Num.* xii. 1 is to be reconciled with *Ex.* ii. 21, it seems simplest to regard this as a second marriage, Zipporah being now dead. But it is possible that this is another version (from E) of his marriage with Zipporah (related in *Ex.* ii. 21, from J). *Cushite* usually means "Ethiopian"; but there were certain Arabian tribes whose descent was traced to Cush (see *Gen.* x. 7), and in *Hab.* iii. 7 *Cushan* is connected with Midian.

[2] This number is given not only in *Num.* xiii. 1–17 (P), but in *Deut.* i. 23.

[3] Caleb, though described in *Num.* xiii. 6 as a Judahite, was possibly of Edomite origin; see p. 174, note.

forgiveness for the people from Jehovah (Who is represented as desiring to smite them with a pestilence, and to make of Moses a chosen people), pleading that their destruction would discredit Jehovah's power in the sight of neighbouring nations; and he thus obtained their pardon. But speaking afterwards to the multitude in the name of Jehovah, he declared that of that generation none but Caleb should see the land which had been promised to their race: they themselves should die in the wilderness, and only their children should enter the country which, from motives of fear, had been rejected. A revulsion of feeling immediately seized the people, and acknowledging their error, they professed themselves eager to set about the conquest without delay. Moses asserted that disaster awaited them if they persisted; but they could not be restrained. In spite of their leader's protest, and without being accompanied by the Ark, they advanced to the attack; but Moses' words were verified, and they were defeated by the Canaanites and Amalekites (in *Deut.* i. 44, called Amorites) at Zephath (subsequently named Hormah, *Jud.* i. 17), a place some twenty-five miles N. of Kadesh (now *Sebaita*).

In the narrative of the espial of Canaan contained in *Num.* xiii. and xiv. two accounts are blended, of which one is adopted in the text. The other, differing from this, recites (1) that the spies, despatched from the wilderness of Paran, surveyed the whole land throughout its entire length from the wilderness of Zin (cf. *Num.* xx. 1, xxxiii. 36) to Rehob (either the place of that name in the territory of Asher (*Josh.* xix. 28) or Beth-rehob, near the town of Dan, *Jud.* xviii. 28), forty days being spent in the work; (2) that they represented that the land was *impoverished* (with *Num.* xiii. 32, cf. *Lev.* xxvi. 38, *Ezek.* xxxvi. 13); (3) that *Joshua* (who was one of them), as well as Caleb, brought back a true account, and was with Caleb excepted from the sentence of exclusion pronounced upon the rest, who died by a plague (*Num.* xiv. 37). The review in *Deut.* i. 22 foll. agrees with the account contained in the text above, and ignores the other version.

The defeat at Zephath (Hormah) (*Num.* xiv. 45, *Deut.* i. 44) appears the same with one related in the isolated section, *Num.* xxi. 1–3, as having been sustained at the hand of the king of Arad. Arad was some twenty miles E. of Beersheba, so that its king must have marched southward to meet the Israelites. The retribution inflicted by Israel, as described in *Num.* xxi. 3, is doubtless anticipatory of that recorded in *Jud.* i. 17 (see p. 175), and does not refer to Moses' time; if it did, the omission of the Israelites to repeat the attempt to enter Canaan from the south would be unaccountable.

Of the period which followed the abortive attempt to enter Canaan, the history is obscure in the extreme. The length of time that elapsed between the Exodus and the final invasion

of Canaan is conventionally represented as forty years (*Num.* xiv. 34, cf. xxxiii. 38), which is presumably regarded as the equivalent of a generation. In the narrative which has been preserved two or more records appear to be fused together, and a consistent account is practically impossible. It seems probable, on the whole, that Kadesh was the centre round which their movements turned. The place was, as its name indicates, a sanctuary, and possessed a supply of water; and though doubtless the people left it from time to time in search of pasture for their flocks, they remained in its neighbourhood. It is possible that whilst here they came, for the first time since the Exodus, into contact with the Egyptians. An inscription of the Pharaoh Mernptah has been found recently,[1] the close of which relates the conquest by the Egyptians of the land of Canaan and Ashkelon; and then adds, "The Israelites are spoiled, so that they have no seed; the land of Khar (perhaps the land of the Horites, *i.e.* Edom) is become like the widows of Egypt." Of the circumstances alluded to nothing positive is known; but the situation of the Israelites implied in the inscription is in or near S. Palestine, and as the fuller records of later date show no trace of any relations between Israel and Egypt until the time of Solomon, the sojourn at Kadesh seems to be the only occasion that will suit the conditions.[2]

The duration of the sojourn in Kadesh is nowhere definitely stated, and the various passages relating to it point to different conclusions. After the discontent which followed upon the report of the spies, the people were bidden to turn to the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea, *i.e.* to the Gulf of Akaba (*Num.* xiv. 25); and in *Deut.* i. 46 it is said that after "many days" had been spent at Kadesh they wandered for thirty-eight years around the border of Edom (ii. 1, 14). On the other hand, it is affirmed in *Num.* xx. 1, 14, 22, that Kadesh, at the close of the forty years' wanderings, was the starting point for the final march into Canaan; and this appears the most plausible of the conflicting representations. For the view implied in *Num.* xxxiii. see p. 125.

Only a few noteworthy events are related in the Pentateuch as occurring within the years spent at, or near, Kadesh. Among these was a revolt against the secular authority of Moses, organised

[1] See Sayce, *Early Hist. of Heb.*, p. 159.

[2] On the assumption that the Exodus took place in the reign of Mernptah, the only alternative to the view in the text is to regard the inscription as a boastful account of the Exodus itself, considered as an *expulsion* of the Israelites.

by three Reubenites, Dathan, Abiram, and On, who contended that Moses had brought the people out of a bountiful land into the wilderness under false pretences, and was endeavouring to make himself a king over them. Moses vehemently protested his innocence of any act of oppression, and bade the people separate themselves from the mutineers, appealing to the doom that he asserted would befall them, to vindicate his claims and his position. The narrative relates that his anticipations were verified, and that Dathan and Abiram, with their families, were swallowed up by an earthquake as they stood at the door of their tents (*Num.* c. xvi.).

The revolt of Dathan and Abiram is confused in *Num.* xvi. with a movement amongst a number of *Levites* which was headed by *Korah*; but only the former appears to belong to JE, and is alluded to in *Deut.* (xi. 6). Korah's rebellion (the account of which comes from P) was directed against the superior *religious* authority enjoyed by Moses and Aaron together over other Levites. He and his partisans (250 men) were challenged by Moses to approach the Tabernacle and offer incense, it being left to Jehovah to decide whether they or Aaron should be His chosen ministers. They did so, and were destroyed by fire.[1] The censers which they used were made into plates for covering the altar, to serve as a reminder that none but members of the house of Aaron might burn incense before Jehovah (*Num.* xvi. 40). On the morrow, however, the people charged Moses and Aaron with causing the death of their fellow-countrymen; whereupon a plague broke out in which 14,700 persons perished, and was only stayed by Aaron standing with a censer of incense between the dead and the living to make atonement (*Num.* xvi. 41–50). After this, to still such complaints for the future, Moses was bidden to lay up in the Tent of Meeting twelve rods, each inscribed with the name of one of the tribes, Aaron's name being written on the rod of Levi. The next morning Aaron's rod was found to have borne almonds; and as a token of Jehovah's choice, his rod was preserved before the Testimony (*Num.* xvii.).

It will be seen that the selection (in c. xvii.) of *Levi's* rod from among those of the twelve *tribes* has little bearing upon the protest of the *Levite* Korah against the exclusive privileges of *Aaron* and his house, so that this part of the narrative (c. xvii.), though derived from P, is not quite homogeneous with the rest. Probably it belongs to a version of the story which represented Korah as championing against the religious privileges of Levi the claims of the other tribes (cf. the phrase in xvi. 3 *all the congregation are holy*, and see also *Num.* xxvii. 1–3).

At Kadesh Miriam died, and was buried there. At the same place another outbreak of discontent on the part of the people was produced by want of water (*Num.* xx. 2 foll.). Their needs

[1] Korah's sons did not perish with their father (*Num.* xxvi. 11), and in the succeeding history descendants of his obtain mention, Samuel being amongst them, according to *1 Ch.* vi. 22 foll. But see pp. 283–4.

were again providentially supplied; but in his impatience with the murmurers, Moses, together with his brother, did not show proper faith in the God Whose servants they were, and (according to one account) to this distrust was due the fact that they were not in the end permitted to enter the Promised Land (cf. *Deut.* xxxii. 51).

From the account as it stands, it would appear that the offence of Moses and Aaron consisted in the lack of faith in Jehovah's power revealed by the former striking the rock twice in order to procure water (for there is no emphasis on *we* in Moses' speech, ver. 10), but the allusion in ver. 24 (cf. *Num.* xxvii. 14) suggests something of a more directly rebellious character. To the waters which were forthcoming to supply the wants of the discontented people the name *Meribah* was given, which is identical with that bestowed on the scene of the similar incident in *Ex.* xvii. 1–7; and it is possible that tradition has preserved two versions of one event.[1] If the occurrence took place at Kadesh, identified in *Gen.* xiv. 7 with *En-mishpat* ("the Spring of Judgment") the absence of water is curious.

Another explanation of Moses' exclusion from the land of Promise is given in *Deut.* i. 37 (cf. iii. 26, iv. 21), where it is brought into connection with the incident of the spies, the leader suffering with the people for the offence of the latter (*for your sakes*), and Joshua being appointed as his successor to effect the conquest.

The disastrous issue of the invasion of Canaan from the south seems to have left a deep impression upon the people; so that even when the second generation had grown up, and were prepared to renew the attempt to settle themselves in Canaan, it was from the east and not from the south that they determined to approach it. But between them and the east bank of the Jordan lay the countries of Edom and Moab. To the king of Edom application was made from Kadesh for leave to pass through his territory. It was, however, refused; and consequently, as the Israelites were not disposed to force a passage against armed opposition, they had to compass Edom. If the narrative (which is composite) is to be followed as it stands, Israel before receiving the hostile answer of the Edomite king, had approached Mt. Hor, which has been identified with a hill called *Moderah* on the W. border of Edom some thirty or forty miles N.E. of Kadesh, and directly E. of Zephath.[2] There Moses lost his

[1] Possibly there may be a third version, alluded to in *Deut.* xxxiii. 8, in which God is represented as striving with, and proving, *Levi* at Massah and Meribah, whereas in *Ex.* xvii. and *Num.* xx. the whole people are described as striving with, and proving, God.

[2] Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 4, 7) places Mt. Hor near Petra; but this was E.

brother Aaron, who is said to have been 123 years old at his death, and who was mourned by the people for thirty days. His wife, whose name was Elisheba, the daughter of Amminadab, had borne him four sons, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar, of whom the two eldest are related to have perished in the wilderness of Sinai for offering "strange fire"[1] before Jehovah (*Lev.* x. 1–3, *Num.* iii. 4); and it was the third, Eleazar, who succeeded his father in the priestly office. Aaron, before his death, was taken to the top of Mt. Hor, and there divested of his priestly robes, and Eleazar formally arrayed in them. From Mt. Hor Israel proceeded southward towards the Gulf of Akaba in order to skirt the Edomite territory by Elath and Ezion-geber (*Deut.* ii. 8). The length of the march and the want of water and of an adequate supply of food again produced discouragement, which found expression in sullen murmurs. The malcontents were terrified into a more submissive frame of mind by being attacked by serpents whose bite caused a burning pain.[2] On their repenting, Moses prayed for them, and by Divine direction he made a serpent of brass which he raised aloft on a pole, towards which those who were bitten were bidden to gaze, in order to prove their faith in Jehovah, whilst recalling their sin. Those who obeyed were healed of the poison. The remainder of the march was without noteworthy incident. They were allowed, when they eventually turned northward, to traverse part of the territory of Edom (*Deut.* ii. 4); and then proceeded to compass Moab (*Deut.* ii. 9). The E. border of this country was reached at Iye-abarim (*Num.* xxi. 11), and they appear to have crossed a portion of it (as they had previously done of Edom), its inhabitants, though not forward in offering provisions (*Deut.* xxiii. 3, 4), nevertheless selling them what they needed (*Deut.* ii. 29). After camping at Iye-abarim the Israelites crossed the Zered, which seems to be the modern *Seil es Saideh*, an affluent flowing into the Arnon from the south; and finally

of the Arabah and of Edom, if not actually within the latter country. Both *Num.* xx., which calls the scene of Aaron's death *Mt. Hor*, and *Deut.* x. 6–7 (compared with *Num.* xxxiii. 31–35), which calls it *Moserah*, imply that it was on the road to Ezion-geber, W. of the Arabah and of Edom (see p. 125).

[1] See *Ex.* xxx. 9.

[2] Such serpents are represented in *Deut.* viii. 15 as abounding in the desert.

arrived at the Arnon itself (the modern *Wâdy Mojib*), the river which formed the boundary between Moab and the Amorites; and here they began to enter upon their inheritance.

The route followed by the Israelites from Kadesh to the border of Moab is difficult to trace, not only from the impossibility of identifying with certainty the places named, but also from the contradictory character of the accounts given, the several lists of the stations mentioned between Sinai and Moab being as follows:—

Num. {x. 11–xiii. 26. xx. 22–xxi. 11.	*Num.* xxxiii.	*Deut.* x. 6–7.
Sinai	Sinai	
Taberah		
Kibroth-hattaavah	Kibroth-hattaavah	
Hazeroth	Hazeroth	
	Rithmah	
	Rimmon-perez	
	Libnah	
	Rissah	
	Kehalathah	
	Mt. Shepher	
	Haradah	
	Makheloth	
	Tahath	
	Terah	
	Mithkah	
Kadesh	Hashmonah	
	Moseroth	Beeroth-bene-jaakan
Mt. Hor (Aaron died)	Bene-jaakan	Moserah (Aaron died)
	Hor-haggidgad	Gudgodah
	Jotbathah	Jotbathah
(Journey to the Red Sea, at Ezion-geber, to compass Edom)	Abronah	
	Ezion-geber	
	Zin (Kadesh)	
	Mt. Hor (Aaron died)	
	Zalmonah	
	Punon	
Oboth	Oboth	
Iye-abarim (border of Moab)	Iye-abarim (border of Moab)	

It will be observed that (1) the places in *Deut.* correspond (with a slight difference in order) to certain localities named in *Num.* xxxiii. as on the road to Ezion-geber, and that *Deut.* therefore agrees with *Num.* xx. 23–xxi. 4 in dating Aaron's death *before* the arrival at Ezion-geber, though it gives a different name to the scene of it; (2) *Num.* xxxiii. mentions Kadesh and Aaron's death at Mt. Hor *after* Ezion-geber. It has been attempted to reconcile the discrepancy either by assuming that Ezion-geber and the places named before it in *Num.* xxxiii. and *Deut.* x. were visited twice (the mention of them in *Num.* xxxiii. relating to the first occasion, and that in *Deut.* x. to the second), or (which seems preferable) by considering the reference, in *Num.* xxxiii. 36b–41a, to Zin (Kadesh) and Mt. Hor as interpolated or misplaced.

The Amorites on the E. of Jordan were divided at this time

into two kingdoms, the southernmost, under Sihon, being included between the Jabbok and the Arnon and having its capital at Heshbon, whilst the other, whose ruler was Og, comprised the district called Bashan (reaching from the Jabbok to the slopes of Hermon). Sihon had acquired his territory at the cost of the Moabites (who had previously expelled an aboriginal race called the Emim (*Deut.* ii. 10)), the Moabite possessions now being confined to the region south of the Arnon. His country the Israelites now sought to traverse, with a view to reaching the Jordan.[1] They accordingly made, from the wilderness of Kedemoth (*Deut.* ii. 26), the same application to him which they had previously made to the king of Edom, and met with the same refusal. But the obstacle thus presented could not be turned as was done on the earlier occasion; and between themselves and the Amorites there were none of the ties of blood which had doubtless made themselves felt in the case of Edom. Consequently it was sought to effect a passage through the enemy by force; and Sihon was defeated at Jahaz. The victory thus gained was improved upon. Heshbon and some other towns were captured; the population expelled or exterminated;[2] and the whole district between the Arnon and the Jabbok stretching eastward as far as Jazer,[3] was placed at the mercy of the invaders.[4] The

[1] The stations reached after Iye-abarim are given differently in *Num.* xxi. 12–20 and xxxiii. 45–47, and are as follows:—

Num. xxi.	*Num.* xxxiii.
Zered	
Arnon	
Beer	Dibon-gad
Mattanah	Almon-diblathaim
Nahaliel	
Bamoth	
Pisgah	Nebo

The places in *Num.* xxi. following the mention of the Arnon, and all the places named in *Num.* xxxiii. 45–47, were in Amorite territory, and the occurrence of them in their present position in the former chapter anticipates the conquest of Sihon related subsequently. In *Num.* xxi. 19, in place of *from the wilderness to Mattanah* should be read (after the LXX.) *from Beer to Mattanah.*

[2] See *Num.* xxi. 32, *Deut.* ii. 34.

[3] This was the border of the children of Ammon, see LXX. of *Num.* xxi. 24 (end).

[4] In the song, quoted in *Num.* xxi. 27–30, in celebration of the victory over Sihon and the Amorites, whose chief city, Heshbon, is described as

attractiveness of its extensive pastures appealed strongly to a people which had spent so many years in the desert, and two of the tribes, Reuben and Gad, which were richest in cattle and flocks,[1] applied to Moses for leave to occupy it instead of seeking other possessions on the W. of Jordan. The Israelite leader consented on condition that they armed themselves to accompany their brother-tribesmen when they should cross the river; and these terms the Reubenites and Gadites undertook to fulfil (*Num.* xxxii.).

In *Num.* xxi. 33–35, *Deut.* iii. 1–15, xxix. 7–8, xxxi. 4 (cf. *Num.* xxxii. 33–42), Og the king of Bashan[2] is also said to have been defeated by the Israelites at Edrei (E. of the sea of Chinnereth), and his country (comprising sixty fortified cities) is related to have been occupied at this time, a share of it falling to half the tribe of Manasseh. If Israel had actually penetrated so far to the north on this occasion, it is scarcely probable that the passage of the Jordan would have been effected at no other place than the fords of Jericho; and in *Jud.* xi. 19–22 only the defeat of Sihon is alluded to, and the borders of the territory taken from him (called in ver. 21 *all the land of the Amorites*) is described as extending from the Arnon to the Jabbok and from the wilderness to the Jordan. It will be seen subsequently that there are indications that the country north of the Jabbok was really occupied by Israel at a much later date (cf. *Jud.* x. 3–4).

The Moabites must have followed with friendly eyes the war waged against their enemies the Amorites by Israel; but the retention by the latter of the territory taken from Sihon doubtless brought about a change of attitude. The Israelites, however, who, powerful already by their numbers, had been rendered still more formidable by their recent success, appeared too dangerous a foe to meet with purely human weapons, and Balak the king of Moab accordingly sent for a soothsayer (*Josh.* xiii. 22) or enchanter named Balaam, from Pethor[3] near the Euphrates

overthrown and needing to be rebuilt (ver. 27, 30), there is incorporated in mockery an *Amorite* triumph song (ver. 28, 29), which records how in previous times the flame of war had been carried by the Amorites from Heshbon into Moab, as far south as Ar. For that aggression Sihon's present defeat was a fitting retribution.

[1] The neighbouring Moabites also possessed large numbers of sheep, see *2 Kg.* iii. 4.

[2] In *Deut.* iii. 11 his bedstead, "a bedstead of iron," nine cubits long and four cubits broad, is stated to have been preserved at Rabbah in Ammon. It has been suggested that this was a sarcophagus of basalt, specimens of which have been found in the country E. of the Jordan.

[3] Pethor has been identified with Pitru on the W. bank of the Euphrates. In *Num.* xxii. 5 for *the children of his people* the Vulgate reads *the*

(cf. *Deut.* xxiii. 4), who was a worshipper of Jehovah (*Num.* xxii. 18), to cripple his enemies by pronouncing a curse upon them.[1] Balaam, after some opposition, was brought to Ar, the capital of Moab (*Num.* xxii. 36, cf. xxi. 15), and there shown from certain commanding heights the extent of the people he was required to curse. But after directing Balak to erect altars and offer sacrifice upon them, he was led by Divine inspiration to pronounce upon Israel, not a curse but a series of blessings. He subsequently returned home, and Balak was left to encounter his foes with little hope of success. The accounts of the sequel are conflicting. According to *Num.* xxv. 1–5 the Israelites and the Moabites fraternised, and the former were corrupted by the women of Moab, and seduced to join in the worship of the Baal of Peor (probably Chemosh).[2] To avenge the crime the chief offenders were hung or impaled (cf. *Deut.* iv. 3). On the other hand, according to *Josh.* xxiv. 9–10, Balak's warlike intentions towards Israel were carried out (contrary to *Jud.* xi. 25); but no details are given, though it is indicated that the result of the war was as disastrous to the Moabites as that of the previous campaign had been to the Amorites.

Of Balaam and his connection with Israelite history, tradition has preserved more than one account. Even the version which is followed above (from JE) is not homogeneous; for in the narrative of *Num.* xxii. there are obvious repetitions (cf. 3a beside 3b) and inconsistencies (*e.g.* in ver. 20, 21 Balaam goes with the princes of Moab according to the Divine direction; whereas in ver. 22 foll. he goes with two servants alone, in defiance of the Divine will, for he is intercepted by an angel and only saved from being slain through the intelligence of his ass, which is endowed with articulate utterance, and addresses its master).[3] With regard to Balaam's prophecies, it is questionable whether in their present form they all date from the Mosaic period: the reference to an Israelite king and kingdom (xxiv. 7, 17) points to the time of the Monarchy, in which case the allusions to the overthrow of Edom and Moab (ver. 17, 18) may have in view the disasters which those countries sustained in the reign of David. The section xxiv. 20–24 seems to be of later origin still, for Assyria (ver. 22) did not come within the political horizon of Israel until the 9th century at the earliest. The predicted captivity of the Kenites by the Assyrians may have been an incident in the deportation, by Tiglath Pileser, of N. Israel (where the Kenites are placed in *Jud.* iv. 17), *children of Ammon*, pointing, perhaps, to another tradition of Balaam's origin, which one of the constituent sources of JE may have followed.

[1] For the effect attributed to a curse cf. *Josh.* vi. 26, *1 Kg.* xvi. 34, *2 Kg.* ii. 24, *Zech.* v. 1–4.

[2] Cf. *Hos.* ix. 10.

[3] For the endowment of an animal with speech cf. Hom. *Il.* xix. 404 foll.

but the prophecy has as little reference to Israel as it has to Moab. The affliction of Assyria by ships from Kittim (Cyprus), foretold in ver. 24, is quite obscure.

Another account of Balaam (derived from P) represents him as in league, not with the Moabites but the *Midianites*, and counselling them to seduce the Israelites from their allegiance to Jehovah by means of their women (*Num.* xxv. 6 foll., xxxi. 16). The guilty Israelites were punished not by a judgment inflicted by human agents (as in xxv. 4–5) but by a plague, which destroyed 24,000. Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the high priest, distinguished himself by killing with his own hand one of the most shameless offenders, a Simeonite called Zimri, together with the woman (Cozbi the daughter of a Midianite prince) with whom he was sinning. The Divine wrath being by this means turned away, Phinehas, for the zeal he had displayed for the honour of Jehovah, had the priesthood secured to him in perpetuity.[1] It is due to an attempt to harmonise these two accounts of Balaam that "the elders of Moab" are combined with "the elders of Midian" in *Num.* xxii. 4, 7).

A sequel to this second account (*Num.* c. xxxi.) relates that in consequence of the evil done to Israel by the Midianites, war was directed to be made upon them. A body of 12,000 men with Phinehas at their head, bearing the vessels of the sanctuary, was sent against them, and slew the five kings of Midian, and all the males (Balaam being amongst the slain), burnt their cities and encampments, and took captive all their women and children, with their flocks, herds, and other possessions, without losing a single man (*Num.* xxxi. 49). When the army returned to the camp, Moses was wroth at the indiscriminate sparing of the women and children, and directed that all the male children and all the married women should be put to death, only the unmarried girls being spared. He further required that the Israelite soldiers should purify themselves from the defilement they had contracted from the slain on the battlefield; and enacted that the spoil should be equally divided between those who went out to battle and those who remained behind, and that $\frac{1}{500}$ of the share of the former should be given to the priests, and $\frac{1}{50}$ of the share of the latter should go to the Levites. The narrative, which, like the one immediately preceding, comes from P, has many improbable features; and the wholesale destruction of Midian is inconsistent with the power possessed by the nation in the time of the Judges (*Jud.* vi.). It has been suggested that one of the objects of the narrative is to give an historical setting (seemingly imaginary) to certain laws relating to (1) purification after contact with the dead, (2) the distribution of booty taken in war.[2]

The time at last came for an attempt to be made to pass the Jordan and invade its western bank. Moses himself was too old to conduct the people on this new and arduous campaign, and consequently another leader had to be appointed. It was clear that for the work now to be accomplished a soldier was needed; and the choice fell upon Moses' minister Joshua, who had shown

[1] Yet at a subsequent date Eli, of the house of Ithamar, was high priest (see Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 1, 3).

[2] The principle, here laid down, of an equal division of the spoil between those who went to battle and those who stayed in the camp is the same as that related to have been established by David after his defeat of the Amalekites who had sacked Ziklag (*1 Sam.* xxx. 24). ; see p. 239.

his military capacity in the engagement with Amalek at Rephidim (*Ex.* xvii. 9). He was accordingly taken to the Tent of Meeting, and was there formally commissioned, and invested with the authority hitherto possessed by Moses (see *Deut.* xxxi. 14 foll., *Num* xxvii. 15 foll.).

According to the idealising representation of P (*Num.* c. xxvi. and xxxiv.), at this time not only was the commander chosen, who was to lead the host to the conquest of Canaan, but a census was taken of the people with a view to the allotment of the land, the boundaries of the territory to be divided were determined, and a body of commissioners was appointed to conduct the division between the tribes. The numbers of the people above twenty years of age are represented as 601,730, Judah being the most numerous tribe and Simeon the smallest.[1] The land to be distributed is described as extending from Kadesh-barnea to the "entering in" of Hamath (probably the gorge between the Lebanons (*Num.* xxxiv. 8)),[2] and from Jordan to the sea; and within these frontiers the position of the tribes (Reuben, Gad, and the half of Manasseh being excluded) was to be decided by lot, though the extent of their divisions was to depend on their respective numbers (*Num.* xxxiii. 54).

Moses now had death in contemplation; but before departing, he addressed to the people, whom he had so successfully led, a final exhortation, in which he reiterated the terms of the covenant subsisting between them and Jehovah (*Deut.* xxix. 1 foll., xxxi. 24 foll.), reviewed the past mercies they had received, and foretold the future which would be theirs, according as they were faithful or unfaithful to their God. He then ascended from the plains of Moab to the top of one of the heights of Abarim (*Num.* xxvii. 12), variously called Nebo (*Deut.* xxxii. 49) or Pisgah (iii. 27), which overlooked the Jordan valley, and from which he could view the country beyond on which he was not allowed to set his foot. After having thus seen the promised land, he died; and was buried (*Deut.* xxxiv. 6 marg., and LXX.) in the land of Moab, though the place of his burial soon passed from memory, and was unknown in the time of the historian (*Deut.* xxxiv. 6). He is said to have been 120 years old at the time of his death, retaining his natural vigour to the last. For him, as for Aaron, whom he followed to the grave within a year, the Israelites mourned for thirty days.

[1] In the census which, according to *Num.* i., was taken in the second year after the Exodus the number of men over twenty is given as 603,500, Judah being the most numerous tribe and Manasseh the least numerous.

[2] The "Mount Hor" here mentioned must be quite distinct from that alluded to in *Num.* xxxiii. 37–38; and is conjectured by some to mean Hermon.

Of Moses' farewell address to his people in the plains of Moab[1] the book of *Deuteronomy* purports to be an account (i. 1–5, xxix. 1). The historical situation presented in it is intrinsically a probable one, and there seems no reason for doubting that an address of such a tenor was actually delivered, and the memory of it preserved. The book itself, however (as distinct from the law it contains), does not claim to be actually written by Moses; and reasons have been previously given for regarding it as the production of an age considerably later than the Mosaic.[2] But if composed at the later date suggested in the *Introduction*, it nevertheless includes matter derived from much earlier, and possibly Mosaic, times. Not only does it explicitly mention a book written by Moses, but many of the laws contained in it are a repetition of those embraced within the Book of the Covenant (attributed to him in *Ex.* xxiv. 7); and injunctions and allusions occur (such as those which relate to the future treatment of the Canaanites and Amalekites (vii. 1–5, xx. 16–18, xxv. 17–19) or imply a vivid knowledge of Egypt (xi. 10)), which in a composition of the date assigned are explicable only on the supposition that they are recapitulated from some writing of early origin (such as that referred to in *Ex.* xvii. 14). Such early materials, however, are not, for the most part, reproduced *verbatim*, but are re-cast, and appear with all the characteristic phrases of the writer of *Deuteronomy*.

Deuteronomy contains two poetical compositions which are both attributed to Moses, but neither of which is likely to be his: viz. the *Song* of c. xxxii., and the *Blessing* of c. xxxiii. (1) The *Song* implies that the events reviewed (the journey through the wilderness and the entry into a fertile land (xxxii. 10–14), which were followed by apostasy on the part of the people (15 foll., 21)), were those of a distant past (ver. 7); and the religious ideas prevailing in it are most consonant with the teaching of the later prophets.[3] (2) The *Blessing*, besides mentioning Moses in the third person (xxxiii. 4), refers to the conquest as past (ver. 27); and its probable date seems to be shortly after that event (perhaps the time of the Judges), when allusion to the local position of the tribes (19, 23) would be most natural, when Judah and Simeon (the latter not here mentioned) were severed from the rest of the nation (ver. 7), and when the tribe of Joseph was eminent (13–17),[4] the last two features pointing to the northern tribes as the place of its origin. The prominence given to the priestly character of the tribe of Levi is against

[1] Though the land of Moab is generally represented as the scene of the discourse (see *Deut.* i. 5, xxiv. 1), it is noteworthy that of the localities mentioned in i. 1 as those in the neighbourhood of which Moses delivered it Paran, Hazeroth, and Laban (if this can be identified with Libnah, *Num.* xxxiii. 20) are places named in connection with the earlier journeys (see *Num.* x. 12, xi. 35, xxxiii. 20); and with this the expression *in the wilderness* (*Deut.* i. 1) agrees. It is possible therefore that two distinct subjects have been fused into one, viz. a review of the *legislation of the wilderness*, and an account of Moses' *parting address in the valley of the Arabah*.

[2] See *Introd.* p. 7. It has been pointed out that the incidental references in xxviii. 58, xxix. 20, 27, xxx. 10 to *this book* before the mention, in xxxi. 9, 24, of its composition is, of itself, an indication that the account is not contemporary with the events recorded.

[3] *e.g.* ver. 21, 27, and see pp. 454–5; with ver. 39 cf. *2 Is.* xli. 4, xliii. 10, xlviii. 12.

[4] The reference to a sanctuary in Benjamin (xxxiii. 12) perhaps has in view Bethel or Mizpah. The *king* in ver. 5 is probably Jehovah (cf. *Num.* xxiii. 21, *Jud.* viii. 23, *Zeph.* iii. 15).

its having originated in the northern kingdom, in the reign of Jeroboam I., a period to which it is sometimes referred (see *1 Kg.* xii. 31), and accordingly some scholars assign it to the time of Jeroboam II.

Moses was the first, and in some respects the greatest, of the series of illustrious characters which adorn Hebrew history. Israel perhaps more than any other nation owes its distinction to a few individuals. Poorly endowed as a people with the qualities which lead to national success, being gifted with tenacity and retentiveness rather than power of initiation, it has been indebted for its position amongst mankind to a few commanding personalities. Among these Moses occupies a foremost place. A multitude of dispirited serfs he transformed into a conquering host. Into a people who had fallen away from the religion of their forefathers he instilled renewed faith in a righteous and holy God, a faith which in after-times, in spite of numerous corruptions and frequent declensions, was never wholly quenched. An undisciplined rabble he accustomed to habits of law and order; and laid for it the foundations of a system of civil and religious jurisprudence with which his name became indelibly associated, however small may be the part of the existing structure which was really completed by him. When this process of training and organisation was sufficiently advanced to make his countrymen capable warriors, he started them on a career of conquest, and himself saw a section of them pass from the condition of landless nomads into that of settlers and occupiers. And this work he accomplished in face of great opposition. He had to contend with the cowardice and discontent of the people he led, with the antagonism of tribal leaders like Dathan and Abiram, and with the jealousy of his own kinsfolk Aaron and Miriam. Besides the trials inseparable from the desert character of the country in which the wanderings were spent, and the impatience which they produced in the mass of the people, he had to confront more than one crisis connected with the religious polity he was engaged in instituting. But he rose superior to all difficulties, all discouragements, and lived to bring his countrymen to the confines of the Promised Land, and to commit them to a leader whom he had trained to continue and crown his work.

The nature of Moses' religious mission will be considered elsewhere. It only remains to notice here the various traits of character and temperament which are brought to light in the course of his career. Throughout his history there appear in him qualities of humility, unselfishness, and single-hearted patriotism which are by no means invariable accompaniments of extraordinary ability. His first entry upon the task of delivering Israel from the power of Pharaoh was marked by deep self-distrust (*Ex.* iii. 11, iv. 10). At Sinai, when the people provoked the Divine anger by worshipping the golden calf, and Jehovah is represented as wishing to destroy them, that He might make of Moses a great nation, Moses interceded for the offenders, and prayed that his own name might be blotted out of Jehovah's book if his countrymen could not be forgiven (*Ex.* xxxii. 9 foll., *Num.* xiv. 12 foll.).[1] And again when his minister Joshua, in his jealousy for his master's honour, wished him to forbid two men who, not being of the seventy elders chosen by Moses, were nevertheless prophesying in the camp, he expressed a desire that all Jehovah's people might be prophets and endowed with the Divine spirit like himself. Nor was he any more ambitious for his children than for himself. Whilst Aaron was succeeded in the priesthood by his son Eleazar, Moses' successor was Joshua, an Ephraimite; and his posterity was never distinguished in Israel.[2] As has been seen, even the site of his tomb was forgotten. His only memorial was the people whose future greatness he rendered possible, and of whose religious and social life he determined the direction for centuries to come.

[1] Passages like these may be regarded as expressing doubts which arose in Moses' mind as to the expediency of seeking any longer to train the Israelite community as a whole in the service of Jehovah, instead of gathering round him an independent body of followers better calculated to secure the result he desired (cf. Bennett in Hastings' *Dict. Bib.*, iii. 446).

[2] See *Jud.* xviii. 30, *1 Ch.* xxiii. 16, 17, xxiv. 24, xxvi. 25–28.

CHAPTER V

RELIGION IN THE MOSAIC AGE

OF the Mosaic legislation four accounts are preserved. The first two, which are contained in *Ex.* xx.–xxiii. and xxxiv. 11–26 respectively, are substantially one, and ought to agree even more closely than they do, for the latter, professing to give what was written upon the second tables of stone after the incident of the Golden Calf (see xxxiv. 1), might be expected to repeat the ten "words" of the first pair of tables contained in *Ex.* xx. 1–17. But in reality only the first two and the fourth "words" of the earlier tables are reproduced (xxxiv. 14, 17, 21), the rest of the injunctions in c. xxxiv. being nearly identical with certain of the *ceremonial* laws comprised in c. xx.–xxiii. The third account is contained in *Deuteronomy*, and purports to be a review and repetition, at the close of the Wanderings, of the laws enacted at the beginning. This, in the main, is an expansion of the legislation of *Ex.* xx.–xxiii., but includes many important departures from it, some of these being, however, *primâ facie* explicable as due to the difference in the situation of the people, who were then about to enter the Promised Land. The fourth account is that which extends over the greater part of the books of *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, and *Numbers* (more exactly, *Ex.* xxv.–xxxi., xxxv.–xl.—which describe the execution of the directions given in the preceding section—*Leviticus*, *Num.* i. 1–x. 28, xv., xvii.–xix., xxvi.–xxxi., xxxiii.–xxxvi.), and is derived from P. This, besides containing much that has no place in the others, diverges from them in a large number of particulars; and in general presents the religious organisation of the Mosaic age in a very different light from that in which it appears in *Ex.* xx.–xxiii. or xxxiv. Unlike *Deuteronomy* the bulk of this body of

laws is represented as belonging to the same period as the legislation of *Ex.* xx.–xxiii., so that the differences observable cannot easily be explained as due to corrections and modifications suggested by Moses' own experience. It is therefore necessary in attempting an account of the legislation of Moses to make a choice between these discrepant codes; and as agreeing best with the conditions of the time, that of *Ex.* xx.–xxiii. (termed in xxiv. 7, "the book of the covenant"), which, as has been said, is in part duplicated in *Ex.* xxxiv. 11–26 (both being from JE),[1] seems to have the most claim to be considered earliest in date, and probably in substance of Mosaic origin. This conclusion is, for the most part, confirmed by the testimony furnished by the period immediately following the age of Moses, the practice of which (so far as is recorded) agrees generally with the group of laws here mentioned. In the history of the Judges and the early Kings the regulations of P (as has been stated in the *Introduction*) are ignored under circumstances which suggest that they were unknown. The inference in the abstract is, it is true, somewhat precarious. Neither silence respecting some regulations nor the recorded violation of others necessarily involves their non-existence; for, on the one hand, reasons for noticing them may not have arisen, and on the other hand, the infraction of known laws is a familiar occurrence.[2] But the argument has a force, when used in corroboration of another, which it may not possess if urged by itself, and where discrepancies subsist between different codes of laws, the negative evidence of later history is of considerable weight. The laws, however, which are contained in *Ex.* xx.–xxiii. and xxxiv. 11–26 are not exhaustive, and many questions must have required for their determination ordinances similar to, if not identical with, those included in the books of *Leviticus* and *Numbers*, but which find no place in the chapters of *Exodus* just named. Such questions, for instance, as those relating to marriage and the practice of sacrifice are likely to have occupied much attention in early times. In regard to sacrificial laws, indeed, it has been argued that prophets like

[1] More precisely, *Ex.* xx.–xxiii. is assigned to E, xxxiv. 1–28 to J.

[2] For instance, cf. *Neh.* x. 31 with *Ex.* xxiii. 10–13, *Jer.* xxxiv. 11 with *Ex.* xxi. 2.

Amos (v. 25) and Jeremiah (vii. 22) imply that there was little sacrifice in the wilderness; but their language is obviously rhetorical rather than historical,[1] and many of the ceremonial enactments of *Leviticus* bear their early character upon their face. It is nevertheless impossible to decide positively how large a part of them go back to Mosaic times; and there is room for uncertainty even in regard to the laws of *Ex.* xx.–xxiii. Portions of this code (as will be seen) are scarcely appropriate to the circumstances under which it is described as being enacted, for though, no doubt, an early advance upon Canaan was in contemplation, directions are included implying settled abodes (xxi. 6) and agricultural operations (xxii. 5–6, xxiii. 10), without any indication that they are intended to meet future and not immediate needs. Part of what is related to have been enjoined when Israel was at the foot of Mt. Sinai leaves the impression of having been laid down on later occasions;[2] but all is here brought under review at a single *coup d'œil*. And this arrangement, by which there have been included in the Sinaitic legislation laws which, by their discrepancies with the (presumably) genuine enactments of Moses, appear to be the product of much later times, is, though historically defective, yet not without a certain justification. The work of Moses lay at the root of all Hebrew legislation; and it is intelligible that ordinances subsequently established should have been, for the purpose of a general survey, amalgamated with previous provisions without any distinction being drawn between what proceeded from Moses himself and what was a later development of his principles. Such a fusion would be furthered, if not rendered almost inevitable, by the process whereby a system of law actually came into existence amongst the early Israelites. In *Ex.* xviii. 13 foll., one of the sources of the statutes and the laws taught by Moses to his people is shown to be the oral decisions given by Moses in settlement of causes brought from time to time before him. Such decisions would doubtless come to form a body of precedents which were followed more or less closely by priests and

[1] Cf. pp. 425–6.

[2] The law regulating the division of booty, which in *Num.* xxxi. 25 foll. is ascribed to Moses, is in *1 Sam.* xxx. 24 foll. actually attributed to David; see p. 239, and cf. Budde, *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, p. 32.

judges at subsequent periods. In this way a nucleus of Mosaic legislation would become expanded, the accretions no less than the core passing current under the name of the great lawgiver.[1]

As will have been gathered from what has just been said, there was at first no separation between the legislative and judicial organs. The judges not only laid down the principles of justice but determined questions of fact (*Ex.* xxii. 8). Nor was there any regularly constituted executive body; and what means the judges had of enforcing their decisions are unknown. In cases of homicide much was left to the initiative of the kinsmen of the individual wronged (see *2 Sam.* xiv. 7), and presumably in other instances the community carried out the sentence (see *Deut.* xvii. 7).

The legislation of *Ex.* xx.–xxiii. opens with the Decalogue. Of the X. "words" of which it consists, i.–iv. relate to religious, and v.–x. to social, duties. The injunctions comprise:—

i. The exclusive service of Jehovah.
ii. The prohibition of the use of images in worship.
iii. The prohibition of a "vain" use of Jehovah's name.
iv. The observance of the Sabbath as holy.
v. The honouring of parents.
vi. The prohibition of murder.
vii. The prohibition of adultery.
viii. The prohibition of theft.
ix. The prohibition of false-witness.
x. The prohibition of covetousness.

In *Deut.* v. 7 foll. the Decalogue is repeated, but in the fourth "word" the motive for observing it (ver. 15) is different from that given in *Ex.* xx. 11. In the latter, the injunction to rest on the Sabbath is based on what is recorded of God at the Creation; but in the former it is brought into connection with Israel's sojourn in Egypt and deliverance from its bondage, the servitude undergone there being a reason for allowing to all servants a day of rest. This variation in the reason annexed, together with the absence of reasons in the case of the majority of the other "words," has suggested that ii., iii., iv., and v. originally existed in a briefer form than they do at present.

As has been already observed, c. xxxiv. also contains a Decalogue (see ver. 28), but its provisions admit of being arranged in more than one way. The following seems the simplest:—

[1] It is not improbable that the body of legislation ascribed to Solon and Lycurgus came into existence by a parallel process.

i. The exclusive worship of Jehovah.
ii. The prohibition of molten images.
iii. The observance of the feast of Unleavened Bread.
iv. The dedication to Jehovah of the firstborn male of men and cattle.
v. The observance of the Sabbath.
vi. The observance of the Feast of First-fruits or Weeks.
vii. The observance of the Feast of Ingathering.
viii. The prohibition of the use of leavened bread with the blood of the sacrifice (the Passover), and of the keeping of the sacrifice till the morning.
ix. The dedication to Jehovah of the first-fruits of the soil.
x. The prohibition of the practice of seething a kid in its mother's milk.[1]

By some it has been claimed that this Decalogue is of a more archaic character than the preceding and better-known one—partly on the ground that the tenth "word" of the latter, with its prohibition, not of an outward act but of an inward disposition, belongs to a higher stage of ethical consciousness than is likely to have prevailed in the Mosaic age. On the other hand, the relative positions in this tenth "word" of the "house" and the "wife" points to a primitive phase of thought.[2] It is noticeable that both Decalogues direct the exclusive worship of Jehovah, prohibit the use of images, and enjoin the observance of the Sabbath.

The commandments of the Decalogue are supplemented by a number of more precise enactments, which may be most conveniently considered under various heads, arranged in two divisions, according as they relate to

I. Religious, II. Social requirements.

Those contained in the Book of the Covenant form the basis of the following accounts, the additions and modifications furnished by the other two codes being subjoined after each paragraph for the purpose of comparison.

I. The laws regulating religious observances determine (i.) the object, (ii.) the manner, of worship.

(i.) The first "word" of the Decalogue requires, as has been seen, the exclusive service of JEHOVAH (cf. *Ex.* xxiii. 13, xxiv. 14) and this is enforced by the command to "devote" any one who sacrifices to another god (*Ex.* xxii. 20, cf. *Deut.* xiii. 12–18). A special caution is added against serving the gods of the Canaanites, whose images are to be utterly overthrown, their pillars broken in pieces, and their *Asherim* cut down (xxiii. 24, xxxiv. 12, cf. *Deut.* vii. 5, xii. 3); and to guard against the temptation to idolatry which intercourse with these nations might present, the making of all covenants with them is strictly forbidden (*Ex.* xxiii. 32, xxxiv. 12–16, cf. *Deut.* vii. 2–3).

[1] See note on p. 158.

[2] Contrast *Deut.* v. 21.

Sorcery, which was the art of acquiring knowledge or power through illicit supernatural means, was a breach of the spirit of the injunction here considered; and accordingly a sorceress was to be put to death (*Ex.* xxii. 18, cf. *Lev.* xx. 27).

The command, contained in the third "word" of the Decalogue, against taking Jehovah's name "in vain" probably relates, in the first place, to false swearing (cf. *Lev.* xix. 12 and Jos. *Ant.* ii. 5, 5); but it also has in view irreverent and blasphemous language (cf. *Lev.* xxiv. 10–23). As judges and rulers were regarded as the representatives of the Deity (*Ex.* xviii. 15, xxii. 8–9), insults to such were also prohibited (*Ex.* xxii. 28).

The prohibition against the worship of other gods than Jehovah is especially emphasised in *Deut.* (see vi. 14, viii. 19, xi. 16–17); and with a view further to safeguard the nation against the seductions of foreign rites of worship, express directions are given to "devote" the Canaanites (vii. 1–3, xx. 16–18). The practice of "devoting" to a deity the worshippers of a rival deity was followed by several Semitic races. The expression is put into the mouth of an Assyrian in *2 Kg.* xix. 11; and Mesha, king of Moab, likewise speaks of "devoting" the inhabitants of the Israelite town of Nebo to Ashtar Chemosh (see App. B). In strictness "to devote" meant to separate from common, and consecrate to Divine, use (see *Lev.* xxvii. 28); but in practice a "devoted" person was put to death (see ver. 29). The devotion of a city or district involved the total destruction of all the human beings; but the *property*, though sometimes destroyed (*Deut.* xiii. 16, *Josh.* vi. 21, *1 Sam.* xv. 3) was, at other times, appropriated as spoil (*Deut.* ii. 34–35, *Josh.* viii. 2, 27).

(ii.) In the conduct of the worship of Jehovah all use of material images (as has been seen) was forbidden; but this prohibition was not held to be inconsistent with an outward symbol of Jehovah's presence. This was the **Ark**[1] **of the Covenant** containing the two tables of the Decalogue. When it was carried in front of, or brought back to, the camp, Jehovah was thought to advance before, or return to, His people (*Num.* x. 35–36, cf. *2 Sam.* vi. 14–16); and under ordinary circumstances it accompanied the host to battle (*Num.* xiv. 44, cf. *1 Sam.* iv. 3 foll., and perhaps *2 Sam.* xi. 11).[2] It seems to have been a chest adorned with figures of *cherubim*, upon or between which Jehovah

[1] The same term is used of the chest or coffin in which the bones of Joseph were placed (*Gen.* l. 26), and of the box made to receive contributions for the repair of the Temple in the reign of Joash (*2 Kg.* xii. 10). The word employed for Noah's Ark is different.

[2] Similarly the Philistines took into battle the images of their gods (*1 Sam.* v. 21).

was believed to sit (*1 Sam.* iv. 4, *2 Sam.* vi. 2). Similar chest or coffers are said to have had a place in Babylonian worship and the cherubim (as has been previously pointed out) have their analogues in Babylonian sculptures.

The usual situation of the Ark was in a tent or tabernacle pitched outside the camp, in charge of Joshua, Moses' minister. To this tent Moses withdrew whenever he sought the presence of Jehovah; and hence it was termed the *Tent of Meeting* (*Ex.* xxxiii. 7–11). At its entrance the pillar of cloud,[1] which was believed to symbolise the visible descent of Jehovah to hold converse with His people, is related to have stood whenever God spake with Moses (*Ex.* xxxiii. 9, *Num.* xi. 25, xii. 5). It may therefore be presumed that near it sacrifice was offered during the period spent in the wilderness. But though on the march the place where the Tabernacle was successively pitched would naturally be the sole seat of worship for the encampment, the earliest direction regulating the place of worship (*Ex.* xx. 24) does not appear to restrict them to the successive sites of the Tabernacle. The words "In every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee" do not seem to have in view the movements of the Ark and its Tent, but such places as had become associated with Jehovah's name in consequence of some manifestation of Divine power. This view is confirmed by the subsequent history. In the books of *Joshua* and *Samuel* numerous localities are mentioned where altars were erected and worship conducted, in addition to that in which the Tabernacle was situated, and which was, no doubt, the principal centre of the nation's devotions.[2]

Altars were to be erected of earth, or, if stone were used, it was to be unhewn, and without steps. The first two conditions probably reflect ancient habits of thought. Earth or stone taken just as it was from the soil where the Deity had revealed His presence was not unnaturally counted most suitable to be used in His worship (cf. *2 Kg.* v. 17); whilst the prohibition of the

[1] In Ex. xiii. 21, *Num.* xiv. 14 the pillar of cloud is represented as going before the people on their march; in *Ex.* xl. 36, *Num.* ix. 15–23 (P) its resting upon, or removal from, the Tabernacle (regarded as in the middle of the camp) is the signal for ending or beginning a journey.

[2] See p. 281.

ıse of iron possibly goes back to the time when gods were ɔelieved to dwell in natural boulders, and might be injured or ɔffended if any tool were used to shape them (cf. *1 Kg.* vi. 7). The employment of steps as an approach to the altar was dis-llowed in order to prevent the exposure of the lower limbs of he officiating priest. Nothing is expressly stated respecting the awfulness or unlawfulness of *Asherim*, or pillars, beside Jehovah's ltars; but it may be concluded that they were not at this time llegitimate, since in *Ex.* xxiv. 4 it is related that pillars were rected near the altar built at the foot of Horeb by Moses imself.

In *Deut.* it is likewise directed that altars are to be built of unhewn stone xxvii. 5, 6), and it seems to be implied (xii. 8) that worship in the Wilderness vas unrestricted as regards locality (this probably reflecting the uniform usage rom the age of Moses to the writer's own time). But it is enjoined that s soon as Canaan is occupied, a single sanctuary alone is to be recognised, to vhich the whole nation is to resort (xii. 5), and at which all religious feasts re to be held and all offerings made (ver. 6–18, xiv. 22–26, xvi. 16). *Asherim* nd pillars are explicitly prohibited in the neighbourhood of Jehovah's altars xvi. 21, 22).

The Priestly code, however, professedly legislating for the *camp-life* of the eople, directs all sacrifice *during this period* to be offered at the Tent of Ieeting (*Lev.* xvii. 1–9), which is regarded as situated in the middle of the ncampment (*Num.* ii. 17). Of the structure and contents of the Tent he pattern of which is said to have been shown to Moses by God Himself, *Ex.* xxv. 9) a detailed description is furnished. It consisted of a Tabernacle he front of which faced eastward) made of acacia wood, 30 cubits long, robably 10 cubits broad, and 10 cubits high (*Ex* xxvi. 15–30), protected by) embroidered linen curtains, (2) above these, curtains of goats' hair, 3) over all, a covering of rams' skins (dyed red) and seals' skins (ver. 1–14). t was divided into a Most Holy Place (10 × 10 × 10 cubits) and a Holy Place 20 × 10 × 10 cubits), separated by a veil (xxvi. 31–33); and was surrounded y an uncovered court (100 × 50 cubits), the sides of which were formed y linen curtains hanging from brazen pillars 5 cubits high (xxvii. 9–19). The Iost Holy Place (which was only entered by the High Priest once a year),[1] ontained the Ark (described as made of acacia wood, overlaid with gold, ½ × 1½ × 1½ cubits; with a *mercy-seat*, or lid of pure gold, above which, and rming part of it, were the two golden cherubim, facing each other with xpanded wings) (xxv. 10–22). In the Holy Place were situated (1) a candle-ick or lamp-stand of gold, with six branches parting from a central shaft, ie seven lamps of which were continually lighted, (2) a table of acacia wood, verlaid with gold (2 × 1 × 1½ cubits), on which *Shewbread* was arranged very successive Sabbath (*Lev.* xxiv. 8), (3) an altar of acacia wood, like-ise overlaid with gold (1 × 1 × 2 cubits) for burning incense[2] (*Ex.* xxv. 23–40,

[1] See p. 149.

[2] The expression *before the ark* in *Ex.* xl. 5 must mean "before the veil" *Ex.* xxx. 6, xl. 26). The altar of incense is not mentioned among the ntents of the Holy Place in *Ex.* xxvi. 35.

xxx. 1–10). In the outer court were placed (1) an altar of acacia wood, case with brass (5 × 5 × 3 cubits), for burnt offerings,[1] (2) a brazen laver, for the us of the sacrificers (xxvii. 1–8, xxx. 17–21). From this account it will be see that the Priestly code recognised two altars, the materials of neither corr sponding to those mentioned in *Ex.* xx. 24, 25. The construction of th Tabernacle and all its belongings is related to have been committed to two me Bezalel of the tribe of Judah, and Aholiab of the tribe of Dan (xxxi. 1–11 the materials being furnished partly out of free-will offerings, and partly o of the proceeds of a tax of half a shekel levied on every man above th age of twenty.

The description of the Tabernacle here given is no doubt much exaggerate and in this respect unhistorical; but that costly materials may have bee employed on it and its furniture is not impossible in view of the possession b the Israelites of golden ornaments (*Ex.* xxxii. 3, xxxiii. 4–6) and othe valuables (*Ex.* xii. 35). Similar treasures were found amongst wanderin Ishmaelites at a subsequent period (*Jud.* viii. 24).

The charge of the Altar and its service was committed t **Priests.** The existence of priests is recognised in *Ex.* xix. 2 foll.; but in the earliest code there are no explicit direction as to the class from which they were to be chosen. When th covenant between Jehovah and Israel was made at the foo of Sinai, "young men of the children of Israel" indiscriminatel are related to have been sent by Moses to offer burnt offering and peace offerings (*Ex.* xxiv. 5); but it seems to be implied i *Ex.* xxxii. 26–29 (cf. *Deut.* x. 8, xxxiii. 9-10) that on th occasion of the idolatry of the Golden Calf shortly afterward the tribe of Levi won for itself special privileges in connectio with Jehovah's service.[2] Both Moses and Aaron were Levites at Sinai Moses took part in the sacrifice, alluded to abov (*Ex.* xxiv. 6–8); Aaron, and after him, his son Eleazar, ministere before the Ark (*Deut.* x. 6); and in the subsequent history no only are Levites generally found to be preferred for the pries hood (*Jud.* xvii. 7–13), but descendants of Aaron discharged th office at the principal sanctuaries. But the priesthood does no appear to have been at once restricted to Levites; and in an case there was no exclusion of non-Levites from the Tent o

[1] The altar was hollow within, and was perhaps intended to be fille with earth.

[2] On the other hand, in *1 Sam.* ii. 27–28, it seems to be implied that th selection of Levi for the priesthood goes back to the time of the sojourn i Egypt; and if the suggestion (mentioned on p. 284) be correct that th term *Levite* had come to be used in a merely professional sense as early the second generation after Moses (see *Jud.* xvii. 7, xviii. 30), the sacerdot character of the tribe must go back to a pre-Mosaic date.

Meeting, where Moses' constant attendant was Joshua, an Ephraimite (*Ex.* xxxiii. 11).

Of the earliest ceremonies connected with the consecration of priests, nothing is known. It has been argued from *Jud.* xvii. 10–12, xviii. 4 that the phrase "to consecrate," which is literally "to fill the hand," originally referred to the payment of money by which the priest's services were hired; but such an explanation does not suit cases of *self*-consecration (*Ex.* xxxii. 29, *1 Ch.* xxix. 5). The expression may possibly have arisen from the priest, at his initiation, receiving or taking into his hand certain of the objects associated with his office (cf. *Lev.* viii. 22, 27). The usual priestly robe was a linen ephod (cf. *1 Sam.* ii. 28, xxii. 18).

Attendance at the altar was not the only duty required of priests. Recourse was had to them for the settlement of judicial questions (Eli the high priest was Judge, *1 Sam.* iv. 18, cf. also *Deut.* xxxiii. 10 of the Levites), and for the ascertainment of the Divine will. For the latter purpose use was made of the *Urim* and *Thummim* (see *1 Sam.* xxviii. 6, cf. *Num.* xxvii. 21 (P)), the nature of which is obscure. The reading of the LXX. in *1 Sam.* xiv. 41 suggests that they were lots (perhaps precious stones) which were contained in a pocket of the ephod worn by the principal priest,[1] and that the response to inquiries varied according as one or other came to light when the pocket was shaken.

In *Deut.* x. 8, xxi. 5 (cf. xxxiii. 10) *the tribe of Levi* is expressly declared to have been separated from the rest of Israel to bear the Ark of the Covenant, to minister before Jehovah, to bless in His name, and to decide matters of controversy (cf. xvii. 9); and the priests throughout are identified with the Levites. But since *Deuteronomy* enjoins the establishment, when Israel should occupy Canaan, of a single sanctuary, it follows that in the view of the writer, the numerous Levites in the country districts, though potentially priests, could only properly exercise their functions when they visited the central seat of worship; see *Deut.* xviii. 6–8 and cf. *2 Kg.* xxiii. 9.

In the laws contained in *Leviticus* and *Numbers*, derived from P, the priesthood is explicitly confined to the *sons of Aaron*, who alone were to serve at the altar and within the veil of the Tabernacle (*Num.* xviii. 5, 7) and to bless the people (*Num.* vi. 23 foll.). Among them there was to be a High Priest, who was consecrated to his office by special rites and sacrifices (*Ex.* xxix. 1–37, *Lev.* viii., ix.), and anointed with specially prepared oil

[1] Unless, as some passages in the historical books suggest, the ephod used in consulting Jehovah was an image; see p. 282.

(*Ex.* xxx. 22–33, *Lev.* viii. 12). He was invested with holy garments—including linen drawers, a coat of chequer work (girt with a girdle), a robe of blue, an embroidered ephod (bearing a breast-plate, doubled so as to form a pocket, ornamented with twelve jewels, in which were put the *Urim* and *Thummim*), and a linen mitre or turban (upon which was a plate of gold, with the inscription *Holy to Jehovah*)—all being of beautiful workmanship and costly materials (*Ex.* xxviii.). He alone might enter the Most Holy Place, and that, only once a year (*Lev.* xvi. 2 foll.). The inferior priests were also anointed,[1] and wore a dress similar, but inferior, to that of the High Priest: they ministered in the Holy Place, but were not permitted to pass the veil into the Most Holy. Every one of the priestly race who was admitted to discharge the priestly office was required to be sound and perfect in body (*Lev.* xxi. 17–24). The *Levites*, as distinct from the family of Aaron, discharged subordinate functions, ministering to the priests (*Num.* iii. 6, 9, viii. 19, xviii. 6) and having the care of the furniture of the Tent, when covered up for removal (*Num.* iv. 4 foll., cf. iii. 8, 25 foll.), but being excluded from offering sacrifice (*Num.* xvi. 40, cf. xviii. 3). The limits of age within which they were required to serve are differently stated as 30–50 (*Num.* iv. 3 foll., cf. *1 Ch.* xxiii. 3) and 25–50 (*Num.* viii. 24–25), and eventually appear to have been 20–50 (*1 Ch.* xxiii. 24, *Ez.* iii. 8). The Levites, in being devoted to the service of Jehovah, are represented as substitutes for the firstborn of the people (*Num.* iii. 11 foll., cf. viii. 11, 16 foll.); and their consecration, in which anointing had no place, was accompanied by certain sacrificial ceremonies. They were divided into three families (named after the three sons of Levi, Gershon, Kohath and Merari), to each of which particular duties in connection with the Tabernacle were assigned.

Sacrifice among the Hebrews was intended to serve one of three purposes, (1) to pay honour to the Deity, (2) to bring about communion with Him, (3) to make atonement for sin: and in general the treatment of the offering varied according to the object contemplated.

(1) Offerings made to the Deity in acknowledgment of His goodness and bounty were both cereal (the produce of the corn-field and vineyard) and animal (taken from the flock or the herd). Among the former were the firstfruits which in *Ex.* xxiii. 19 (cf. xxii. 29) are directed to be brought into the house of Jehovah; and it was especially in connection with the three agricultural festivals named below that offerings indicative of homage were enjoined (*Ex.* xxiii. 15). An offering of a similar kind was the *Shewbread* which was placed before Jehovah,[2] doubtless in the Tent of Meeting (as described in *Ex.* xxv. 30

[1] So stated in *Ex.* xxx. 30, xl. 15, xxviii. 41 (cf. also *Lev.* vii. 36, *Num.* iii. 3), but *Lev.* vi. 22, xvi. 32, xxi. 10 imply that there was only one anointed priest.

[2] Cf. the *lectisternia* of the Romans; see also Hdt. i. 181, 183.

from P), and which, though not mentioned in *Ex.* xx.–xxiii., is proved by *1 Sam.* xxi. 6 to be an early institution in Israel. How these offerings were disposed of is not explicitly stated in the earliest code; but they were probably consumed by the priests (as the Divine representatives), or even by any person who was technically "clean" (see *1 Sam.* xxi. 4). In the case of animal sacrifices the whole victim was burnt (with the exception, perhaps, of the skin) and thereby conveyed in the form of smoke and savour to the Deity (*Num.* xxiii. 4, 6, *Jud.* vi. 26, xiii. 16, *1 Sam.* vii. 9, *1 Kg.* iii. 4). On the other hand, offerings of liquids (wine or water) were poured upon the earth (see *1 Sam.* vii. 6, *2 Sam.* xxiii. 16).

(2) Sacrifices offered for the purpose of effecting communion with the Deity were *meals* at which the Deity was believed to be present. Participation of the same food was a recognised bond amongst men (see *Josh.* ix. 14), the making of a covenant being often followed by a sacrificial feast (*Gen.* xxxi. 44–54); and the like principle obtained in the intercourse between man and God. Amongst the Hebrews the sharers of these sacrificial feasts were said to eat and drink *before Jehovah* (*Ex.* xviii. 12, cf. xxiv. 11); and the prevalent idea amongst the surrounding nations generally was that the Deity himself was a partaker with them in such covenant-meals (*Deut.* xxxii. 38).[1] The sacred meal consisted principally of flesh, accompanied perhaps by bread and wine. To form it the firstlings of all domestic animals that were clean were slaughtered (*Ex.* xxii. 30), substitutes being offered for such as were unclean (*Ex.* xiii. 13, xxxiv. 20). The blood was probably the portion consecrated to the Deity, the drinking of it being forbidden (as appears from *1 Sam.* xiv. 34);[2] and this doubtless lies behind the prohibition against eating flesh torn by beasts, from which the blood had not

[1] Cf. Hom. *Il.* ix. 535 *θεοὶ δαίνυθ' ἑκατόμβας.* It is possible that sacrifices of communion were originally connected with *totemism*, the flesh of the *totem* animal being shared by all his reputed kinsmen, who thereby renewed their union with their god. If so, the deity at first provided, rather than shared, the feast.

[2] The prohibition against drinking the blood, which is strongly emphasized both in *Deut.* and *Lev.*, was probably in part directed against heathen usages (see *Zech.* ix. 7). The connection in which it appears in *Lev.* xix. 26 suggests that blood was drunk by heathen diviners in order to become inspired (a practice followed at Argos and some other places in Greece, see Frazer,

been properly drained (*Ex.* xxii. 31). To this class of sacrifices (which are the Peace-offerings of *Ex.* xx. 24, xxiv. 5, xxxii. 6, cf. *Deut.* xxvii. 7) probably the Passover belonged.

(3) The early history of Atoning sacrifices is obscure. Offerings made for the purpose of atonement are mentioned in *1 Sam.* iii. 14, xxvi. 19; and it is probable that they consisted generally, though not exclusively, of animal victims, which were either burnt (*2 Sam.* xxiv. 25, cf. *Mic.* vi. 6–7, *Job* i. 5), or else left to the priests to consume. The passages just adduced seem to favour the belief that the idea underlying atoning sacrifices was the rendering of material satisfaction for the wrong done, or the mulcting of the offender in a fine (see especially *2 Sam.* xxiv. 24), rather than the substitution of a beast's life for a forfeited human life (but see below).

In the Priestly code the sacrificial system was very elaborate. The materials were (1) animal, (2) non-animal. Animal victims were required to be "clean,"[1] without blemish,[2] and usually of the male sex: in practice, they consisted of oxen, sheep, goats, and doves or pigeons. The non-animal materials used were meal (or flour), salt, oil, wine, and frankincense.

The sacrifices were of four kinds: (1) *Burnt-offerings*; (2) *Peace-offerings*[3] (which included thanksgiving, votive, and freewill offerings, see *Lev.* vii. 11–16); (3) *Sin-offerings*; (4) *Guilt-offerings*. Ordinarily these were animal sacrifices, the victim being slaughtered by the offerer (who was required to place his hands upon it), but the rest of the ritual acts being performed by the priest.[4] The method of disposing of the blood and the flesh varied in each class.

(1) In *Burnt-offerings*[5] the blood was dashed on the altar of burnt-offering, and the flesh entirely burnt (*Lev.* i., *Ex.* xxix. 15–18).

Golden Bough, i. p. 34). *Deut.* which, like *Ex.* xxii. 31, forbids flesh torn by beasts to be eaten by Hebrews, allows it to be given to a stranger or sold to a foreigner (*Deut.* xiv. 21). In *Lev.* xvii. 15 the chance eating of such flesh involves ceremonial uncleanness in the case of a Hebrew and a stranger alike; whilst according to ver. 10–12 he who drinks the blood, whether Hebrew or stranger, is to be cut off.

[1] "Clean" animals (which might be eaten) were (1) quadrupeds that parted the hoof and chewed the cud, (2) all birds, with certain specified exceptions (chiefly birds of prey and sea fowl), (3) fishes that possessed fins and scales, (4) certain insects like the locust and its congeners (*Lev.* xi. 2–23, *Deut.* xiv. 4–20).

[2] See *Deut.* xv. 21, xvii. 1, *Lev.* xx. 21–25 (for ver. 24 cf. Hom. *Il.* xxiii., 147 ἔνορχα . . . μῆλ' ἱερεύσειν).

[3] A Peace-offering was required whenever an animal was slaughtered (presumably) for food; see *Lev.* xvii. 1–7.

[4] A Carthaginian inscription of the 4th or 5th century B.C., preserved at Marseilles, contains certain parallels to the Hebrew sacrificial laws, including the terms *peace-offering* and *whole burnt-offering* (*1 Sam.* vii. 9).

[5] In the Priestly code, Burnt-offerings, besides being appointed for various

(2) In *Peace-offerings* the blood was dashed on the altar of burnt-offering, the fat, kidneys, caul of the liver, and fat tail were burnt, part of the flesh was given to the priests (see below, p. 151), and the rest eaten by the offerer and his friends.[1]

(3) In *Sin-offerings* (*a*) for an ordinary individual (whether a ruler or not), part of the blood was put upon the horns of the altar of burnt-offering, and part poured at its base, the fat was burnt, and the flesh given to the priests (*Lev.* iv. 22–31, vi. 26, 29); (*b*) for the High Priest or the whole congregation, part of the blood was sprinkled seven times before the veil, part put on the horns of the altar of incense,[2] and the rest poured at the base of the altar of burnt-offering, the fat and other portions named above were burnt on the altar, and the flesh was burnt without the camp (*Lev.* iv. 1–21, *Ex.* xxix. 10–14).

(4) In *Guilt-offerings*[3] part of the blood was sprinkled on the altar and part poured at its base, the fat and other portions were burnt, and the flesh became the property of the priests (*Lev.* vii. 1–7).

In the case of animal sacrifices neither the fat nor the blood might be eaten (see *Lev.* iii. 17, vii. 22–27, xvii. 10–14; cf. *Deut.* xii. 16, 23–25, xv. 23.

Offerings of meal and other non-animal materials were usually the accompaniments, in various proportions, of flesh sacrifices, especially Peace-offerings (see *Num.* xv. 1–16). When a meal-offering was made separately, a portion (unleavened and seasoned with salt) was burnt on the altar, and the rest given to the priests (*Lev.* c. ii., vi. 14–18). A meal-offering might serve as a sin-offering, if the offender was too poor to afford an animal victim (*Lev.* v. 11–13)—a fact which suggests that the sacrifice was not vicarial (a life for a life) but propitiatory (cf. *Num.* xvi. 46–47), though on the other hand see *Lev.* xvii. 11.

In the earliest code five **Sacred Days or Seasons** are directed to be observed, a weekly Sabbath and four or (since the first two were practically inseparable) three Annual feasts—Passover, Unleavened Bread, Harvest, and Ingathering. At each of these three festivals all males were required to appear *before Jehovah.*

(1) The institution of the *Sabbath* appears to go back to Babylonian times, and was presumably connected with the phases

special occasions, were required to be made regularly every day, morning and evening (*Ex.* xxix. 38–42, *Num.* xxviii. 1–8). This was a comparatively late usage, for in *2 Kg.* xvi. 15 the specific mention of the *morning burnt-offering* and the *evening meal-offering* indicates that in the time of Ahaz the evening burnt-offering had not yet been adopted.

[1] The flesh of Peace-offerings had to be eaten on the same day or on the morrow at the latest (*Lev.* xix. 5–6). If the Passover was a Peace-offering a similar rule was directed (in the earliest legislation) to be observed in regard to it (*Ex.* xxiii. 18, xxxiv. 25).

[2] In *Ex.* xxix. 12 the blood is put on the horns of the altar of burnt-offering (cf. *Lev.* ix. 9).

[3] Guilt-offerings were made when reparation for an injury was required, and were accompanied by a fine (a fifth) paid to the individual injured, or his kinsman, or failing these, to the priest.

of the moon, the week having arisen from the natural division of the lunar month into four quarters. Nothing is said in *Ex.* xx.–xxiii. respecting the manner of observing it, beyond the injunction to suspend all work upon it, the motive assigned for keeping it being purely humanitarian in *Ex.* xxiii. 12, though a religious reason is attached to the fourth "word" of the Decalogue in *Ex.* xx. 11.

(2) The feast of the *Passover* (*Ex.* xxxiv. 25) took place in the month *Abib* (March–April), and was a pastoral festival, the origin of which may go back to pre-Mosaic times. It was possibly the feast contemplated when the Israelites in Egypt first made their appeal to Pharaoh to be allowed to go and sacrifice to Jehovah (*Ex.* x. 9); but it subsequently became peculiarly associated with the memories of the Exodus (*Ex.* xii. 21–28).

The other feasts were agricultural in character, and were probably first kept in Canaan, where there existed parallel institutions among the native inhabitants.

(3) The feast of *Unleavened Bread*, which lasted seven days (*Ex.* xxiii. 15), marked the beginning of barley harvest, and derived its name from the fact that on it the new barley as it came from the field was made into bread without any admixture of leaven. It was celebrated in *Abib* (the month of corn ears), and followed immediately upon the Passover; and as this commemorated the deliverance from Egypt (*Ex.* xii. 21–27, xiii. 11–16), the same associations became attached to the succeeding feast (*Ex.* xxiii. 15 end, cf. xiii. 3, xxxiv. 18, *Deut.* xvi. 1–8), and the two were blended into one festival.

(4) The feast of *Harvest* (*i.e.* wheat harvest), which was also known as the feast of *Firstfruits* or *Weeks* (*Ex.* xxxiv. 22) was kept, according to *Deut.* xvi. 9, seven weeks from the time when the sickle was first put into the corn, and probably lasted one day.

(5) The feast of *Ingathering* (of grapes and other fruits) fell at the end of the agricultural year and lasted seven days (*Deut.* xvi. 13). It was also known as the feast of *Tabernacles* (*Deut.* xvi. 13), a name derived from the booths erected in vineyards by those engaged in gathering the grapes (cf. *Is.* i. 8);

and on it the people took up their abode in tents (see *Hos.* xii. 9, cf. also *Jud.* xxi. 19–21).

In *Deut.* the same four (or three) annual feasts are recognised, but they are required to be kept at the one sanctuary which that code regards as legitimate (see xvi. 1–17). They are thus transformed from local festivals into pilgrimages.

In the Priestly code the character of the Sacred Days and Seasons is further changed, and their number increased. The Sabbath is invested with an exclusively religious significance; whilst the mode of observing the agricultural festivals is very precisely regulated. Three additional holy-days are appointed; and on all of them special sacrifices are directed to be offered. The full list is as follows:—

1. The *Sabbath*, which is represented as a mark of distinction between Israel and other nations, and as holy unto Jehovah, death being the punishment for working upon it (*Ex.* xxxi. 12–17, xxxv. 2–3; cf. *Num.* xv. 32 f.).

2. The *New Moon*, marking the beginning of each month (*Num.* x. 10, xxviii. 11–15).

3. The *Passover* (*Ex.* xii. 43–49, *Lev.* xxiii. 5), kept on the fourteenth day of the First month. The Passover victim, which, according to *Deut.* xvi. 2, might be taken from the flock *or* the herd, and was to be *boiled* (ver. 7, marg.), is, in *Ex.* xii. 3–9, restricted to a lamb or a kid, and directed to be *roasted*. A supplementary Passover was appointed for the fourteenth day of the Second Month for those who had been prevented by ceremonial uncleanness, or absence, from attending at the ordinary time (*Num.* ix. 9 foll.).

4. The feast of *Unleavened Bread*, beginning on the morrow after the Passover, and lasting seven days (*Ex.* xiii. 3–10, Lev. xxiii. 6–8). On the morrow "after the Sabbath" (presumably the Sabbath falling within the seven days of the feast) a sheaf of the first fruits of the barley harvest was presented before Jehovah (*Lev.* xxiii. 11).

5. The feast of *Weeks*, kept seven weeks from the morrow "after the Sabbath," on which the sheaf of new barley was presented. On it two leavened loaves were offered to Jehovah, made from the new wheat (*Lev.* xxiii. 15–20).

6. The feast of *Trumpets*, on the first day of the Seventh month (which in earlier times was the First month). It obtained its name from the Silver Trumpets which, though blown to mark many religious occasions (see *Num.* x. 10), were on this day blown continuously (*Lev.* xxiii. 24).

7. The day of *Atonement* on the tenth day of the Seventh month, which differed from all the others in being a universal fast.[1] This was marked by two exceptional ceremonies. (i.) The High Priest, divested of his more splendid robes, and clad in linen garments, entered, for the only time in the year, into the Holy of Holies, where he offered incense before Jehovah. (ii.) Two goats were set apart, one for Jehovah and one for *Azazel*, the latter a supernatural power believed to haunt the desert.[2] The goat assigned for Jehovah was then sacrificed by the High Priest as a sin-offering for the

[1] The general fast and the public confession of sins, which are prescribed in connection with the day of Atonement, were characteristic of a late period in Jewish religious history; see for the former *2 Is.* lviii. 3, *Zech.* vii. 1–7, and for the latter *Neh.* ix. 2 foll.

[2] In the book of *Enoch*, Azazel is represented as the leader of the Angels who formed unions with the daughters of men (*Gen.* vi. 2–4), and for his

people, and the blood of this, together with the blood of a bullock, slain as a sin-offering for himself, he sprinkled *on* the Mercy Seat, as well as seven times *before* it. The object of this was to make atonement for the Most Holy Place; and in a similar manner atonement was next made for the Holy Place (probably by sprinkling the blood upon the altar of incense, cf. *Ex.* xxx. 10), and for the altar of burnt-offering (see *Lev.* xvi. 16–20). After this the second goat, over which a public confession of the people's sins was made, was sent away into the wilderness, to carry the people's iniquities into a solitary land.[1] After this, the High Priest resumed his gorgeous robes, and offered certain stated burnt-offerings for himself and the people.

8. The feast of *Tabernacles*, on the fifteenth day of the Seventh month. To the seven days previously observed, during which the people were expressly directed to dwell in booths, an eighth day was added, on which a solemn assembly was kept (*Lev.* xxiii. 36).

For the sacrifices offered at these various festivals see *Num.* xxviii. and xxix.

In *Ex.* xx.–xxiii. the **Priestly dues** from the sacrifices and offerings are nowhere definitely stated; but it is reasonable to suppose that the First-fruits were appropriated by the priests, and it is clear from *1 Sam.* ii. 13 foll. that they also had a share of the flesh offerings. About their other means of support the record in *Exodus* is equally silent.

In *Deut.* it is laid down that in the allotment of Canaanite territory the Levitical priests shall have no share, but shall dwell amongst the other tribes (xii. 12, xiv. 27), and receive, when discharging their priestly office, certain portions of the offerings (xviii. 1). These are (*a*) the firstfruits of corn, oil, wine, and wool; (*b*) the shoulder, the two cheeks, and the maw, of the animals sacrificed in Peace-offerings (xviii. 3–4). Apart from these perquisites, their only means of support was the provision made for the friendless and poor, viz., a triennial tithe of the produce of the field. For two out of every three years a tithe of the corn, wine, and oil, together with the firstlings of the flocks and herds (cf. xv. 19–20), was consumed by each householder at a religious feast, his servants and dependants (including the Levites within his gates) partaking of it with him (xiv. 22–27). But in the third year the whole of the tithe was stored for the support of the Levites and the poor (xiv. 28, 29; cf. xxvi. 12–13).

In the Priestly code, on the other hand, it is directed that out of the cities occupied by Israel in Canaan, forty-eight, with their respective suburbs or pasture-lands, are to be reserved for the Levites generally, thirteen of which are assigned to the Priests, the sons of Aaron (*Num.* xxxv., *Josh.* xxi.);[2] and to

wickedness was bound under rough and jagged rocks in the desert until the Judgment (see Driver in Hastings' *Dict. Bib.*, i. p. 207).

[1] Parallel practices embodying the belief that sins or moral impurities can be physically removed have existed at different times in various parts of the world. At Athens, for instance, on the occasion of the *Thargelia*, two victims were led out of the city as καθάρσια, one for the men and the other for the women.

[2] This provision does not seem to be contemplated in *Num.* xviii. 20

the Levites in addition there is granted regularly a tithe not only of the products of the soil, but also of all flocks and herds (*Num.* xviii. 21, *Lev.* xxvii. 30–33). But of this tithe the Priests, the sons of Aaron, are to have a tenth (*Num.* xviii. 26), and to receive, besides, the skin of burnt-offerings (*Lev.* vii. 8) the "wave" breast and "heave" thigh (or leg)[1] of the Peace-offerings (*Lev.* vii. 31–34, x. 14–15), such parts of other offerings (sin, guilt, and meal offerings) as were not burnt (*Lev.* vii. 6–7, x. 12–13, *Num.* xviii. 9), the shewbread (*Lev.* xxiv. 9), the firstfruits of the corn, wine, oil, and fruit, the firstlings of the cattle (*Num.* xviii. 12–13, 17–18), all "devoted" things (ver. 14), and the redemption money paid for each firstborn of men (5 shekels) and unclean beasts (ver. 15–16).

Temporary exclusion from social converse and *a fortiori* from participation in religious ceremonies or from contact with holy things was imposed upon all who were unclean. What communicated uncleanness is not stated in the earliest legislative code: but it may be concluded from incidental references elsewhere that such a condition was produced by disease (such as leprosy, *Num.* xii. 14), connubial intercourse (*Ex.* xix. 15, cf. *1 Sam.* xxi. 4), and probably child-birth, contact with a corpse, and some other circumstances. Nothing is known of the means employed for removing the uncleanness, beyond what may be inferred from the practice of later times.

In P elaborate directions are given for effecting purification after child-birth, leprosy, certain discharges, eating the carcase of beasts that have died or been torn, and contact with a human corpse or grave (see *Lev.* xi.–xv., *Num.* xix., xxxi. 19–24). In the case of leprosy, in addition to certain prescribed sacrifices, two birds were taken, with cedar-wood, scarlet, and hyssop; and after one bird had been slain over running water, the other, with the cedar wood, the scarlet, and the hyssop, was dipped in its blood and then allowed to depart, probably to carry the taint of the plague away.[2] The blood of the slain bird was also sprinkled seven times (probably with the hyssop)[3] on the man, who was required to bathe himself and shave all his hair (*Lev.* xiv.)

[1] The *wave breast* was so called because it was waved to and fro before the altar to symbolise its presentation to the Deity (*Lev.* vii. 30); but the *heave thigh* obtained its name from its being "lifted off" the rest of the carcase for a particular purpose, the term *heave offering* being applicable to anything taken from a larger mass and specially reserved, see *Ex.* xxv. 2 marg., *Num.* xxxi. 41 (cf. Driver and White, *Lev.* p. 69).

[2] Parallels to this rite (which bears an obvious resemblance to one of the ceremonies performed on the Day of Atonement) are found elsewhere. In Arabia a widow before re-marriage is said to let a bird fly away with the uncleanness of her widowhood; and among a certain tribe in the island of Sumatra "when a woman is childless, a sacrifice is offered, and a bird is set free with a prayer that the curse of barrenness may be upon the bird and fly away with it" (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii. p. 151).

[3] Cf. *Ex.* xii. 22, *Ps.* li. 7. A sprig of olive is used for a like lustration in Verg. *A.* vi. 23.

The pollution attaching to a person who had touched a corpse was removed by his being sprinkled with water with which the ashes of a red heifer, slain outside the camp, and burnt with cedar-wood, scarlet and hyssop, had been mingled (*Num.* c. xix.)

Regulations regarding vows have no place in the earliest code of the Pentateuch, though instances of vows occur in the history of the succeeding period (see *Jud.* xi. 30, *1 Sam.* i. 11).

In *Deut.* xxiii. 21–23 remissness in the performance of a vow is condemned, but the subject is not further dealt with.

In P a number of precise directions relating to vows are given; see *Lev.* vii. 16–17, xxii. 18 foll., xxvii. 1 foll., *Num.* vi. 1 foll., xxx. 1 foll. Those regulating the vow of a *Nazirite* (*Num.* vi.), which involved abstinence from (*a*) intoxicants, (*b*) shaving the head, and (*c*) contact with the dead, required, after the expiration of the period for which the vow was taken, the shaving and burning of the hair as an offering on the altar. The rules prohibiting, during the vow, the use of the razor, or contact with the dead, reflect the primitive beliefs that the hair (probably in consequence of its rapid growth) was in a special degree the seat of life, and that dead bodies were highly charged with supernatural influences; whilst the prohibition of the use of intoxicants or of the fruit of the vine was probably a survival of the opposition felt to vine-culture by those accustomed to a nomadic life. The Nazirites were thus at first men who clung to, and championed, the old religious convictions and customs of Israel in the face of innovations, especially such as were learnt from the Canaanites. The regulations of the Priestly code differ in some respects from the practice observed in the historic instances of Samson and Samuel, notably in the fact that in these two cases the vow was life-long, whereas temporary vows are contemplated in *Num* vi.[1]

II. The principal subjects which the laws regulating civil and social conduct have in view are (i.) Personal injuries; (ii.) Injuries to property; (iii.) Marriage; (iv.) Inheritance; (v.) the Tenure of Land; (vi.) Slavery.

(i.) The deliberate homicide was punishable by death, a money compensation not being permitted (*Ex.* xxi. 12, 23, cf. *Lev.* xxiv. 17, *Num.* xxxv. 31). But for the rash homicide the right of asylum which sanctuaries in general possessed in the ancient world[2] was available. The sanctity attaching to a holy place was believed to be communicated to anyone who came in contact with it; and the unintentional murderer was protected if he succeeded in escaping to Jehovah's altar (*Ex.* xxi. 13–14, cf. *1 Kg.* i. 50, ii. 28).

In both *Deuteronomy* and the Priestly code there is substituted, for the asylum offered by the altar of Jehovah, a certain number of cities of Refuge, the elders of which (according to *Josh.* xx. 4) decided whether the homicide

[1] See also p. 286.

[2] Cf. (for instance) Tac. *Ann.* iii. 60.

who had fled thither could justly claim protection. If he could, he was safe so long as he remained within the walls; but if caught outside his blood was on his own head. In *Deut.* iv. 41–43 three cities are appointed for this purpose by Moses on the E. of Jordan (Bezer, Ramoth Gilead, and Golan); and in xix. 1 foll. three cities are to be designated with the same object on the W. of Jordan, and a further triad is to be added in the event of an increase of territory (ver. 8–9). In *Num.* xxxv. 9 foll. (from P), the cities are to be six—three on either side of Jordan, included among the Levitical cities—and it is directed that the unintentional homicide shall stay in the city to which he has fled until the death of the High Priest, when he is to be free to return home. In *Josh.* xx. 7 the names of the cities of Refuge on the E. of Jordan are identical with those given in *Deuteronomy*, with the addition (on the W. of Jordan) of Kedesh, Shechem, and Kiriath-arba or Hebron, but all are (apparently) appointed by Joshua. The substitution of certain cities as places of Refuge instead of the altar of Jehovah would be first rendered necessary when the national worship was restricted to one spot.

In *Deut.* xxi. 1–9 it is directed that if the perpetrator of a murder cannot be detected, atonement for the guilt that has fallen on the land is to be made by the sacrifice of a heifer in an unploughed valley near a running stream, in the water of which the sacrificing priests are to wash their hands.

A master who in chastising a slave, caused his death, was only liable to punishment if the victim died under his hand: otherwise he went scatheless (*Ex.* xxi. 20–21).

If an ox, known to be dangerous, gored a free-man to death, the owner either forfeited his life or was allowed to redeem it by a money fine, according (presumably) as the judges might determine; but if the victim were a slave, he made good the loss by the payment of 30 shekels of silver (xxi. 28–32).

The kidnapping of a fellow-Hebrew for the purpose of selling him as a slave was punished by death (*Ex.* xxi. 16, cf. *Deut.* xxiv. 7). For minor injuries to the person the penalties imposed were based generally upon the principle of exact retaliation (*Ex.* xxi. 23–24, cf. *Lev.* xxiv. 19–20), though in some cases a money fine might be inflicted at the discretion of the judges (xxi. 22). A slave, if he suffered the loss of an eye or a tooth from his master's ill-treatment, thereby obtained his liberty (xxi. 26–27).

Injury or insult to a parent, such as smiting or cursing him, was punishable by death (see *Ex.* xxi. 15, 17, cf. *Deut.* xxvii. 16, *Lev.* xx. 9).

In *Deut.* xxi. 18–20 a son who is irredeemably stubborn and rebellious towards his parents is required to be stoned.

Special injunctions were directed against bearing false witness,

and taking up a false report (*Ex.* xx. 16, xxiii. 1); and according to *Deuteronomy* (xix. 16–21) a false witness was to be punished by the *lex talionis*, "ye shall do unto him as he thought to do unto his brother."

(ii.) Misappropriation of property seems generally to have been punished by restitution; and culpable damage was required to be made good (*Ex.* xxi. 33–34, xxii. 5–6, 14–15). In certain cases of theft the restitution exacted was considerably in excess of the loss sustained, but the precise amount varied. Thus if an ox was stolen and then killed, the restitution required was five-fold; if a sheep, it was four-fold; but if either was found alive in the thief's possession, he only paid the owner double. The slaying of a house-breaker at night did not involve blood-guiltiness, but did so if it occurred in the daytime (*Ex.* xxii. 1–4).

In *Deuteronomy* specific warnings are directed against the use of light weights and short measures, and the removal of a neighbour's land-mark (xxv. 13–16 (cf. *Lev.* xix. 35–36), xix. 14).

In *Lev.* vi. 1–7 theft is atoned for by restitution, together with one-fifth of the value of the property stolen.

(iii.) Marriages were generally arranged by the parents of the contracting parties (see *Jud.* xiv. 2). Children, especially females, being in a great measure regarded as the property of their fathers, a girl at marriage was to all intents and purposes bought by her husband, who gave for her to her parents gifts of value, like the Homeric ἕδνα[1] (*Gen.* xxiv. 53, xxxiv. 12, cf. *1 Sam.* xviii. 25). The practice of both pre-Mosaic and post-Mosaic times indicates that polygamy was usual, the desire of a family being deeply rooted among the Hebrews as among other Semitic races. From the usage of later times it may be concluded that there was for long no absolute bar to intermarriage between children of the same father by different mothers (see *2 Sam.* xiii. 13, and cf. *Gen.* xx. 12); but such unions came to be forbidden by the Levitical code (*Lev.* xviii. 6 foll.). Intermarriage between Hebrews and the inhabitants of Canaan was prohibited (*Ex.* xxxiv. 15–16, cf. *Deut.* vii. 3, 4), but the prohibition was not regarded (until quite late times) as applying to alliances with other neighbouring nations (cf. *Jud.* xiv. 3, *Ruth* i. 4, *Num.* xii. 1, *2 Sam.* iii. 3).

[1] Hom. *Od.* xi. 283, γῆμεν ἐὸν διὰ κάλλος, ἐπεὶ πόρε μυρία ἕδνα; cf. xvi. 390.

In *Deut.* marriage between persons intimately connected by kindred or affinity is forbidden (xxii. 30, xxvii. 20, 22), and *Lev.* xviii. 6–18 contains a table of relationships within which union is prohibited.

By the custom of *Levirate* marriage (a usage which prevails in many parts of the globe) if a man died childless, his brother married his widow, and the eldest child born of the union inherited the name and property of the deceased (see *Gen.* xxviii. 8, *Deut.* xxv. 5 f.).[1]

According to *Deut.* xxv. 5–10, if a man refused to undertake the duty of raising up seed to his dead brother, the widow, in the presence of the elders, was required to loose his shoe and spit in his face.[2]

For Adultery (explicitly prohibited in *Ex.* xx. 14) no penalty is assigned in *Ex.* xx.–xxiii., but it was no doubt that which is laid down in *Deut.* xxii. 22, *Lev.* xx. 10, viz. death, probably by stoning (cf. *Deut.* xxii. 24, *Ezek.* xvi. 38–40). The seduction of a betrothed free-woman was probably treated as adultery (cf. *Deut.* xxii. 23–24), but that of an unbetrothed girl could be compensated for by the payment to her father of the usual purchase-money[3] (*Ex.* xxii. 16–17).

According to *Num.* v. 11–31 a married woman suspected of unfaithfulness, might be subjected to an ordeal. Dust from the floor of the Tabernacle was mingled by the priest with water, and the woman was made to drink it, whilst a curse was imprecated on her, to which she was required to assent, if she had been false to her husband, which curse the water, in the event of her guilt, was believed to be the means of bringing about, causing her belly to swell and her thigh to fall away.[4]

It is probable that a husband possessed from early times the power to divorce his wife; but in *Deuteronomy* his power is restricted in two respects: (*a*) he is required to give his wife a bill of divorcement; (*b*) he is forbidden,

[1] The custom has been explained as arising in a state of society in which a wife passed, with the rest of a man's possessions, to his successor (cf. *2 Sam.* xii. 8, xvi. 21, *1 Kg.* ii. 22). The fiction that the offspring of a Levirate marriage was the son of the deceased brother was probably invented and maintained in consequence of a feeling in Israel against the disappearance of a name and a family from among the community (cf. *Num.* xxvii. 4).

[2] The transference of a shoe (which if cast upon a portion of land, marked possession, *Ps.* lx. 8) was the recognised form for effecting the cession of a right or of property (*Ruth* iv. 7); and the forcible removal of it in this case symbolised the withdrawal from the man of what should have been deemed an honourable privilege.

[3] Fixed in *Deut.* xxii. 29 at fifty pieces (shekels?) of silver. In *Lev.* xix. 20–22 the seduction of a *betrothed slave-girl* is not punishable with death.

[4] A similar ordeal by water was practised at Tyana, where the water of a neighbouring lake, if drunk by a perjurer, was believed to produce dropsy and wasting (Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, p. 180).

in the event of his wife having married again, and been again divorced, to take her back (xxiv. 1–4).

Bestiality was punished with death (*Ex.* xxii. 19, cf. *Deut.* xxvii. 21, *Lev.* xviii. 22–23).

(iv.) The law of Inheritance seems to have been based on the principle of equal division amongst the sons, except in the case of the eldest son. From very early times the eldest son possessed a certain birthright (*Gen.* xxv. 31); and in *Deut.* xxi. 17 this right is stated to be a double portion of the patrimony, *i.e.* a share twice as large as that which fell to each of his brothers.

It would appear that daughters did not share with their brothers; but their right to inherit in the absence of a male heir is laid down in *Num.* xxvii., and it is further directed, in order to prevent the property from passing at their marriage into another tribe, that they should be allowed to marry only within the limits of their own tribe (*Num.* xxxvi.).

(v.) The occupation of land by individuals was recognised; but the rights of the community were asserted at intervals by the requirement that the land should be left untilled and undressed every seventh year, in order that the poor of the people, together with the beast of the field, might have the produce (*Ex.* xxiii. 10–11).

In *Deut.* xv. 1–6 the exaction of all loans made to a fellow-Hebrew is likewise to be suspended every seventh year.

In *Lev.* xxv. 1–7 (P) the law requiring the land to be left fallow once in seven years has not only a philanthropic, but also a religious, aspect: the seventh year is "a sabbath of solemn rest for the land, a sabbath unto Jehovah." In the Priestly code (*Lev.* xxv. 8 foll.), in addition to the Sabbatical year, a *Jubilee* year at the expiration of every period of forty-nine years is commanded to be observed, during which not only are all fields to be left untilled, but all land, sold or mortgaged, is to return to its original possessor; so that it could not be parted with in perpetuity. On the other hand, if a house in a walled city was sold and not redeemed within a year, it became the permanent possession of the purchaser, and did not return to its original owner at the Jubilee. This exception, however, did not apply to the houses of the Levitical cities. These, if sold and not redeemed (ver. 33 marg.), returned to the Levites at the Jubilee.

(vi.) Slaves might be either foreigners (obtained by capture or purchase), or fellow-Hebrews, who had been sold by their parents, or had sold themselves, to meet a debt; but the treatment of these two classes was different. Foreign slaves were retained in absolute ownership, females frequently being concubines. Their condition, however, was far from intolerable; and to judge from the instances of Abraham's Damascene servant Eliezer, they

might even inherit their master's property, if he was otherwise without an heir (*Gen.* xv. 2–3). But a Hebrew man-slave was required to be manumitted after six years of service, unless he elected to remain with his master. If he did so, he was brought before the judges, his ear was bored through by his master, and his bondage became permanent. If he was married when he became a bondman, his wife went out with him; if he were given a wife in the course of his bondage, his wife and her children remained the property of her master. A Hebrew bondwoman, on the other hand, was only allowed to be manumitted in the event of her master espousing her either to himself or his son, and then failing to treat her as a wife or a daughter. At the same time, the power of her master to sell her was restricted; she could not be sold to a foreigner, but only redeemed by a kinsman (*Ex.* xxi. 2–11).

In *Deut.* xv. 12 foll. Hebrew bond-servants of both sexes are treated alike; it is further enjoined that a present shall be given to the liberated slave; and it is not demanded that the ceremony of boring the ear shall take place publicly.

In *Lev.* xxv. 39 foll. (P) Hebrew servants are emancipated in the year of Jubilee, but bondmen and bondwomen of foreign nationality may be bought on the same terms (presumably) as other chattels (ver. 44).

The legislation of *Ex.* xx.–xxiii. (as well as of the other codes) does not confine itself to precise legal enactments, but embraces exhortations to upright dealing and kindly conduct, under pain of the Divine displeasure. In the tenth "word" of the Decalogue covetous desires, the usual source of dishonest acts, are forbidden (xx. 17). Special stress is laid upon truth and equity in the administration of justice (xxiii. 1–3, 6–8) and upon mercy and compassion towards the needy and helpless. Usury in the case of loans to fellow-countrymen is prohibited; and if a garment is taken in pledge, it is to be returned before the evening (xxii. 25–27). Emphatic warnings are uttered against the oppression or ill-treatment of the widow, the fatherless, or the stranger (xxii. 21–24, xxiii. 9). Kindness is to be shown even to a personal enemy, whose ox or ass, if found straying, is to be brought back to him, or if lying under a burden, is to be relieved (xxxiii. 4–5, 8, *Deut.* xxii. 1–4). Even the offence caused to natural sentiment by seething a kid in its mother's

milk is disallowed (xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26)[1] (just as in *Lev.* xxii. 28, *Deut.* xxii. 6–7 it is forbidden to kill a cow (or ewe) and her young on the same day, or to take from a nest a bird and its young together.)

The history and legislation of the Mosaic period, as described in the preceding pages, show that there was much in Hebrew belief and Hebrew usage which belonged to a primitive stage of civilisation. Religion, for instance, was not yet monotheistic. The language of Miriam's song (*Ex.* xv. 11) implies, indeed, that there was no comparison between Jehovah and other gods, and the "holiness" there predicated of Him seems intended to express His unapproachable pre-eminence; but the existence of other gods appears to be taken for granted. With this agrees the tenor of the first "word" of the Decalogue, which requires exclusive devotion to Jehovah, but in its terms, at least, assumes that there were other deities to whom it was feared allegiance might be transferred. The subsequent history confirms the view that the people were not familiar, until a much later period, with the idea that the gods worshipped by their neighbours were unrealities; otherwise the continual desertion of Jehovah for them would be incomprehensible (cf. also *Ruth* i. 16, *1 Sam.* xxvi. 19). That sensuous conceptions entered into the idea which the Hebrews formed of their national God appears from the fact that His presence was believed to be manifested by such phenomena as flame and fire and cloud (*Ex.* iii. 2, xiii. 21, xxxiii. 9; cf. xvi. 10, xl. 34–38 P). From such a belief it resulted as a corollary that His activity was especially associated with particular localities; and places where tokens of His power were thought to have been displayed became subsequently centres of worship. By the Israelites when on the march Jehovah's guidance and protection were held to be intimately connected with the Ark, which was His seat and symbol; and it is possible that the peculiar sacredness attaching to it was in part due to the fact that the stones it contained came from Sinai, the mount of God. Jehovah had a claim upon the life of the firstborn of man as well as of animals

[1] But some scholars hold that the prohibition was occasioned by milk thus prepared being used as a superstitious charm for the purpose of rendering fields and trees fruitful.

(though in practice the former were redeemed (xxii. 29–30)); and upon His altar the blood of victims was sprinkled (*Ex.* xxiv. 6). No clear distinction was drawn between ethical and ceremonial requirements; and the purity demanded as a condition for approaching the Deity was physical rather than moral.[1] There was no effective consciousness amongst the Hebrews at this time of a future life (a fact which is in striking contrast to Egyptian habits of thought); and there is no indication of any advance upon the primitive conception of *Sheol*. The present world was believed to be the only sphere of moral government; and the rewards promised by Jehovah for faithfulness to His commands were specifically temporal (*Ex.* xxiii. 25–26; cf. xx. 12, xxii. 23–24, *Deut.* vii. 12 foll., xxviii. 8 foll., *Lev.* xxvi. 3 foll.). Equally defective with some of the prevalent religious ideas were certain of the principles regulating the civil life of the people. Wives and children were not considered to possess individual rights of their own, but to be the property of their husbands and parents, and hence were liable to be put to death for the offences of the latter (see *Josh.* vii. 24). A wrong done to a daughter might be expiated by a money payment to her father (*Ex.* xxii. 16–17). The solidarity thus assumed to exist between a man and his offspring entered into the belief entertained of the Divine judgment; and the fear of retribution falling upon the third and fourth generation is a motive to which appeal is made in the second "word" of the Decalogue (*Ex.* xx. 5–6). Slavery was an established institution; and the enslavement not of foreigners only but of fellow-Hebrews was permitted. The bondage of women-slaves was life-long. The administration of justice was of a very crude character. Voluntary and involuntary crimes were only imperfectly discriminated; the pains and penalties appointed in cases of wilful bodily injury were determined by the simple rule of exact retribution, "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth"; and in cases of homicide the barbarous custom of the blood-feud prosecuted by the kindred of the murdered man seems to have been recognised. It is thus apparent that the early Hebrews in

[1] This appears even in the (late) Priestly code, see *Lev.* vii. 20–21, xxii. 1–9.

many respects stood on the same plane of life and thought as their heathen neighbours; and the parallels adduced from Semitic and even Hellenic sources in connection with their customs, as described or implied in the Mosaic law, show that the resemblance between them and other nations extended even to details.

But the Decalogue and other parts of what has been taken to be the earliest of the Legislative codes comprised in the Pentateuch make it clear that the Mosaic religion contained the germs of spiritual and moral progress in a degree beyond the religions of the neighbouring peoples. Though Jehovah was represented not as the only existing God, but as the only God that Israel might worship, yet the ideas entertained of His nature and requirements, in spite of the crudities already noted, were such as in the long-run led to the recognition of His sole Godhead. His activity, though associated with some localities more than others, was not thought to be exclusively restricted to any particular region, and His power was as manifest in Egypt as by the holy mount of Sinai (cf. also *Gen.* xxviii. 15, xlvi. 3). Whatever may have been the origin of the sacredness attributed to the Ark and its contents, the earliest existing accounts of it bring it into connection with a series of religious and moral ordinances, one of which expressly forbids the worship of any image; and from the Mosaic period onwards the religious leaders of the people generally protested against the construction of any symbol of Jehovah for the purposes of adoration. This aversion to a visible representation of the national God was not, indeed, shared by the whole community; and even in Moses' lifetime, Aaron (according to one account) offered to his countrymen a Golden Calf[1] with the words "This is thy god, O Israel, that brought thee

[1] The reason which led to the choice of such an emblem has been disputed. The fact that a living bull was worshipped in Egypt as the embodiment of the god Osiris has suggested that the idea of the Golden Calf was derived from that country. It is difficult, however, to suppose that the Israelites at this time consciously borrowed from the Egyptians when they sought to represent visibly the God who delivered them from their hands. It is more probable that as a symbol of Jehovah a calf or young bull was chosen as being, to a people that did not yet possess horses, a natural emblem of strength and vigour (see *Deut.* xxxiii. 17). That the goddess *Ashtoreth* was likewise sometimes represented under an animal shape is suggested by the term *Ashtoreths of the flock*, used to describe the young of sheep (*Deut.* vii. 13, Heb.).

up out of the land of Egypt." But the anger with which the Calf was regarded by Moses supplements, if corroboration is needed, the evidence supplied by the Second commandment of the Decalogue that his own conception of religious worship did not include the use of images. Animal sacrifices, though probably originating in a very material conception of the Divine nature, could be, and no doubt were, made the medium of spiritual devotion. The sexual licence so prominent in the religion of Canaan received no countenance from that of Israel (cf. *Deut.* xxiii. 17). And though the Israelites, in common with other peoples, had the sanction of religion for the sanguinary extermination of their enemies, the corrupt character of the nations they destroyed gives them more justification at the bar of history than their rivals can command (cf. *Lev.* xviii. 24 foll., xx. 23, *Deut.* ix. 5). And as in the religious beliefs of the Mosaic period the *naif* ideas of a primitive age were refined and purified though not as yet outgrown, so in the social laws governing their internal relations rude and barbarous usages, without being altogether relinquished, were brought into closer conformity with the requirements of justice and mercy. The unintentional homicide was to some extent protected from the avengers of blood. The harshness of slavery was mitigated by the enactment which directed the liberation of the Hebrew man-slave after six years' service. The regulations respecting the Sabbath secured a time of rest and refreshment both for the labouring man and the labouring beast; whilst those relating to the Sabbatical year had in view the needs of the poor. Compassion and consideration were enjoined not only towards the unfortunate and helpless, but even towards personal enemies (*Ex.* xxiii. 4, 5). Religion in Israel was thus, in general, a humanising and civilising influence, promoting the development and progress of morality instead of lagging behind it, as was frequently the rule elsewhere. Jehovah was conceived to possess an ethical character which was lacking to the gods of Canaan, and which made ethical demands upon the nation that worshipped Him. Implicit in the "jealousy," with which He was represented as regarding any declension from the exclusive fidelity and obedience which He claimed from His people, was the indignation inspired by the abandonment of a higher, for a lower,

moral ideal. And whilst the standard of conduct was at first rudimentary enough, and was replaced by a more advanced one only in course of time, the growth of the ethical ideal of the Hebrews was wont to present itself in the form of a fuller apprehension of, and a deeper acquaintance with, the Divine nature. The Hebrew prophets arraigned and condemned men in the name of God; they never, like the Greek philosopher Xenophanes, arraigned Divinity in the name of offended human morals.

The religion of Jehovah doubtless had its roots in the prehistoric past which preceded the sojourn in Egypt. Moses, as has been related, appealed to his countrymen in the name of the God of their fathers; and the records of the patriarchal age, so far as they can be trusted, not only indicate that the Deity worshipped by the early ancestors of Israel bore that name, but suggest that some advance had already been made in the direction of a moral and spiritual faith. The period of enslavement in Egypt was not in itself likely to enlarge and develop such; but followed, as it was, by the deliverance of the Exodus, it indirectly contributed to mould Israel's conception of its God, and has left its mark upon the Sinaitic legislation. The repeated plagues which broke down the obstinacy of Pharaoh, and the signal discomfiture which his pursuing host sustained at the passage of the Red Sea were strikingly calculated to impress Israel with the greatness and power of Jehovah (cf. *Deut.* iv. 34); and in aftertimes the tie between Jehovah and Israel was actually dated from the Exodus (see *Hos.* xii. 9, xiii. 4). But the mere overthrow of the enemy could, for Israel as for other nations, only establish the superiority of its God over the gods of the baffled foe; and whilst giving to Jehovah a claim upon the gratitude of those whom He had aided, would not, of itself, have any further moral effect. It is in the triumph of the Exodus as the sequel of the cruel bondage previously endured in Egypt that the deepening of Israel's belief in Jehovah as a God of mercy and compassion must, at least in part, be sought. The connection between the oppression, from which they themselves had suffered and been saved, and the conduct which they were required to pursue towards others appears, for instance, in the appeal made for the considerate treatment of strangers, on the ground that they them-

selves had been strangers in the land of Egypt (*Ex.* xxii. 21, xxiii. 9). From the answer made to their cry under the pressure of evil they had learnt not only Jehovah's power, but His character; and the knowledge of it became the means of elevating their own. The history of the Wilderness had been a further revelation. They had been mutinous and unfaithful, and had come to understand the extent of the Divine patience, fidelity, and forgivingness (cf. *Ex.* xxxiv. 6–7). The graciousness which had been displayed to them they might therefore be expected to exhibit in turn; and what they had experienced prepared them to respond to the injunctions put forth in Jehovah's name.

But Israel's experiences alone scarcely account for all the facts that require to be explained. In all communities the general advance is mainly due to the initiative of individuals; and the religious and spiritual progress of Israel was principally the work of its prophets, of whom Moses was one of the chief (cf. *Hos.* xii. 13). The idea involved in the name *prophet* (practically, if not etymologically) was not that of foretelling the future, but of speaking on behalf of, or by the commission of, another; and the term could be applied to any person who acted as the spokesman of someone else, Aaron in *Ex.* vii. 1 being styled the prophet of Moses, just as in iv. 16 he is termed his mouth. It was, however, of the human interpreter of a Divine being that the word was, in strictness, used. The prophet was a mediator between God and mankind,[1] conveying the Divine mandates to the people (cf. *Jer.* xv. 19, *Am.* iii. 7, *Hag.* i. 13), and interceding for the people with the Deity (see *Gen.* xx. 7, *1 Sam.* xii. 23). And that in a pre-eminent sense Moses was such a mediator appears on the surface of the history. The knowledge of the moral and spiritual nature of God which, from his time onward, in spite of occasional aberrations, characterised Israel came not from any racial qualities (for the kindred peoples of Moab and Edom did not attain it), nor altogether from the impression made by events upon the nation as a whole (for the multitude is dull of perception), but through the intellectual insight and the moral

[1] So among the Greeks Teiresias and Apollo were represented as the prophets of Zeus (Pind. *Nem.* i. 91, Æsch. *Eum.* 19).

elevation of their first leader. With him God is represented to have communicated, not as with the rest of the prophets, through dreams and visions, but face to face, "as a man speaketh to his friend" (*Num.* xii. 8, *Ex.* xxxiii. 11, 17, cf. *Num.* vii. 89). Into the secret of such communings with the Deity it is, of course, impossible to penetrate. But the expression describes suggestively the principal feature of the Mosaic teaching, so far as it can be recovered—its precise and practical directness, and the lofty and pure spirit which animates it. Whatever the process by which Moses became possessed of the principles embodied in the Law, they may justly be regarded as derived from God if such a derivation can be claimed for anything. The best warrant for the Divine commission with which he professed to be invested is the character of the work which he accomplished.

CANAAN
After
THE CONQUEST
Scale of Miles
Surviving Pre-Israelite Population shown thus.... MOAB
35
36
33
32
31
Tyre
DAN
Dan
Beth-rehob
Beth-Anath
Lake Merom
Hazor
Ahlab
Achshaph
Acco
PHOENICIANS
ASHER
NAPHTALI
ZEBULON
Kitron
Lake Chinnereth
Shimron
Nahalol
ISSACHAR
R. Jarmuk
Beth-shemesh
R. Kishon
CANAANITES
Endor
Dor
Megiddo
Taanach
Ibleam
Beth-shan
Maharaim
Beth-shemesh
CANAANITES
MANASSEH
AMMON
R. Jordan
R. Jabbok
R. Kanah
Joppa
EPHRAIM
Shiloh
Bethel
Beeroth
Ai
BENJAMIN
Jericho
Gezer
Gibeon
Ekron
Shealbim
Aijalon
Chephirah
Gilgal
Heshbon
Ashdod
Makkedah
R. Jearim
JERUSALEM
Nebo
Ashkelon
Gath
Baal-meon
Ataroth
Eglon
Gaza
Hebron
Dibon
Aroer
Debir
R. Arnon
SIMEON
Beersheba
MOAB
Dead Sea
R. Zered
EDOM
PHILISTINE
JUDAH
REUBEN

Methuen & Co

CHAPTER VI

THE CONQUEST OF CANAAN

Sources—*Joshua*, *Jud.* i. 1–iii. 6, xvii.–xviii.

THE name *Canaan* in a general sense denotes the country which stretches from the Lebanons to the mountains of Edom and from the Mediterranean to the Syrian desert. But in a narrower signification the term is applied to the region W. of the Jordan, which, within the limits marked by the towns of Dan in the north and Beersheba in the south, was about 140 miles long, with an average breadth of less than 50,[1] its surface covering about 6,000 square miles.[2] As has been previously explained, Canaan proper consists, in the main, of a range of hills, dividing a long and narrow strip of flat coastland from the deep gorge of the Jordan. The range is cut by an irregular series of valleys, which in one place alone broaden into a comparatively extensive plain about nine miles broad (the Plain of *Jezreel* or *Esdraelon*). In the south, the western flanks of this central range in O.T. times received a distinct name, the *Shephelah* or Lowland. The country is poorly watered, for though springs are numerous (cf. *Deut.* viii. 7, xi. 11), there are scarcely any rivers of size, the most notable being the Kishon, flowing through the plain of Jezreel, and the Kanah, which enters the sea near Joppa, and is almost dry in summer. As may easily be inferred from what has been said, the physical features are very varied. The snow-clad peaks of Lebanon (nearly 10,000 feet above sea-level) contrast strikingly with the tropical heat of the

[1] The breadth at Beersheba is 90 miles, at Jerusalem 55, at the sea of Galilee 40, and at the extreme north, 25 (Henderson, *Palestine*, p. 13).

[2] With the district E. of the Jordan included, the area of Canaan would be about 10,000 sq. miles.

Jordan valley (which, at the Dead Sea, is almost 1,300 feet below the Mediterranean). The steep and stony hills of the centre, whose ledges and terraces at the period now under consideration afforded here and there room for vineyards and olive-yards, looked down upon the fertile corn lands of the maritime plain and Esdraelon. To the south the hills merged into a rolling pasture land (the *Negeb* or South),[1] and this again disappeared into the desert; whilst around the marge of the Dead Sea the shores were impregnated with salt and bitumen. The products of the country were equally diversified. The sides of Lebanon were covered with forests of cedars; numerous oaks, sycamores, and terebinths were found on the central hills and in the intervening valleys; whilst palms grew in the gorge of the Jordan. Grapes, olives, figs, and pomegranates were cultivated (*Deut.* viii. 8, cf. *Num.* xiii. 23); and rich harvests were obtainable in the plains. At the same time, the country was not, on the whole, a grain-producing land: the soil, except in a few places, was poor, and the water-supply scant; and in consequence, scarcity was by no means unknown (*2 Sam.* xxi. 1, *1 Kg.* xvii., xviii.). Among the wild animals that abounded were lions, bears, wolves, jackals, and serpents; and the vegetation frequently suffered from the attacks of locusts.

Hemmed in by sea, desert, and mountains, Canaan by the character of its frontiers was, in a measure, secluded from the world. But its geographical position prevented it from enjoying the tranquillity which might otherwise have been secured to it. It was situated upon the trade-routes between the great empires on the Euphrates and on the Nile, and between these and the cities of Phœnicia;[2] and the principal roads connecting them ran through it or along its borders. There were four trunk lines traversing the country from north to south. One from Egypt ran along the maritime plain across the ridge of Carmel to Acco, Tyre, and Phœnicia. A second passed through the centre of the country from Jerusalem to Esdraelon, where the preceding formed a junction with it by connections through Megiddo and Dothan, and whence, crossing the Jordan either at Bethshan or between the lakes of Chinnereth and Merom,

[1] Cf. *Gen.* xii. 9.

[2] Cf. *Ezek.* xxvi. 2.

it proceeded to Damascus and Hamath. A third kept along the Jordan from Jericho to Bethshan. Finally, a fourth, from Elath and the Red Sea, passed E. of the Dead Sea, through the territories of Moab and Ammon, and thence to Damascus. Of these the first and last were the most important, the other two crossing difficult ground, and serving a more limited area. In consequence of its situation Canaan was traversed not only by the caravans of merchantmen but by the armies of warring sovereigns; and the possession of it was coveted less on account of its intrinsic value than of its commanding position. But in spite of the facilities for communication thus afforded, the general features of the country tended to isolate from one another the various communities which occupied it. The trend of the valleys being from E. to W., and their outlets opening upon the sea or the Jordan, the inhabitants were divided by natural barriers into small bodies which did not readily unite to compose a nation. The sea which is so often a medium of intercourse did not in this case promote it, for the shores of Palestine are singularly destitute of harbours. The ports of Tyre and Sidon were outside the limits of Canaan proper, and the only haven within them seems to have been Joppa. By the physical character of Canaan the history of its peoples was largely moulded. The independence, the intractableness, the love of country, the political disunion, which marked the race of those who were its most notable possessors are qualities which a region of mountains, valleys, and rocky fastnesses has often produced alike in ancient and in modern times.

The varied experiences and chequered fortunes to which Canaan from its situation was inevitably exposed began early. As has been already related, during the period which the Patriarchal history professes to cover, the Elamites, following in the steps of the Babylonians, included Palestine within their dominions; and when the Elamite power was overthrown, Babylonian kings again claimed supremacy over the country. Babylonian influence in Palestine seems to have been something more than transitory; for in the 15th century B.C. correspondence between that country and its neighbours was conducted in the cuneiform character, which must have been introduced,

with other arts of civilisation, from Babylon. But Babylonian culture in this instance had survived Babylonian authority. From the 16th to the 13th centuries B.C. the dominant people in N. Syria were the Hittites; and these, advancing southward, threatened Canaan. But their progress was not undisputed; and the control of the latter country was stubbornly contested between them and the great southern power on the Nile. The expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt (about 1600) had been followed by repeated expeditions into Palestine on the part of Egyptian kings. The first who invaded the country was Aames (Amosis), with whom the 18th[1] dynasty began: but the most notable of his line was Thothmes III. (1503–1449, Sayce), who defeated the Hittites at Megiddo, and has left on the walls of Karnak a list of Palestinian towns which he had taken.[2] Under one of his successors, however, Amenhotep (Amenophis) IV. or Khunaten (*circ.* 1400 B.C.), the Egyptian hold upon Palestine became weakened, and the clay tablets recently found at Tell-el-Amarna, and largely written by vassal princes of Canaanite cities, contain appeals to him for help. This correspondence shows that there were intestine divisions and quarrels among the princes who owned allegiance to the Pharaoh, and that, in addition, Egyptian control over the land was endangered partly by the movements of the Hittites, and partly by a body of confederates called the *Khabiri*[3] who threatened first the cities of the Phœnician sea-board (such as Gebal and Simyra), and subsequently those of southern Canaan (including Gezer and Jerusalem). In the reign of Rameses II. of the 19th dynasty (1348–1281, Sayce) and his son Mernptah there was a temporary renewal of Egyptian authority in Canaan; whilst about 1230

[1] The Hyksos constituted, or were contemporary with, the 15th, 16th, and 17th dynasties.

[2] Among these are Megiddo, Laish, Shunem, Taanach, Ibleam, Hazor, Achshaph; see Sayce, *H. C. M.*, p. 336, *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 226, Driver in *Authority and Archæology*, p. 69.

[3] These have been identified by some scholars with the Hebrews, but the identification involves dating the Exodus much earlier (prior to 1400 B.C.) than is otherwise likely; and is rendered improbable by the fact that the Tell-el-Amarna tablets bring the earliest appearance of the Khabiri into connection with the plain of Damascus and the city of Ashtaroth (E. of Lake Chinnereth), whence they advanced into Phœnicia; see Petrie, *Syria and Egypt*, pp. 63, 65.

Rameses III. overran the district W. and S. of the Dead Sea. This last, however, was the latest invasion of Canaan by an Egyptian force until the time of the Israelite monarchy. It was about this period that the Philistines appear to have settled in S.W. Palestine. They came, as has been already indicated, from Caphtor which is usually identified with Crete; and in the reign of Rameses III. occupied the five towns of Gaza, Gath, Ashdod, Ashkelon and Ekron. These towns formed themselves into a confederacy, and eventually played no insignificant part in the history of the country, to which, indeed, they gave the name it now bears.

At the time of the Israelite invasion, the native inhabitants of Western Canaan, though often described collectively as Canaanites, Hittites, or Amorites indifferently (*Gen.* x. 19, *Josh.* i. 4, xxiv. 8, cf. also *Josh.* vii. 7 and 9),[1] were usually classified under two main heads, Canaanites and Amorites, who are distinguished territorially as the dwellers in the valleys and in the hills respectively (*Deut.* i. 7); but who were probably likewise distinct in origin. Of the other nations frequently associated with them, the Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, Jebusites and Girgashites (*Josh.* xi. 3, xxiv. 11), the first, already alluded to, seem to have belonged to quite a different race from either the Canaanites or the Amorites; but their dominion was outside the borders of Canaan proper, and if they really occupied any part of it, it was only through a few detached settlements. The rest of the communities mentioned above were probably merely subdivisions of the Amorites and Canaanites, owing their separate names to local or other peculiarities. These various peoples, at the period now to be considered, constituted a number of independent city-states. Some of the more important of these had others subject to them, such dependent towns having either sprung up under the shelter of the larger place (*Josh.* xv. 45, xvii. 11, marg.), or been subdued by force (cf. *Jud.* i. 7). For the most part, these city-states each had its own king (*Josh.* ii. 2, viii. 1, ix. 1, xii. 9 foll.); but in some instances a non-monarchical form of government prevailed, Gibeon with its allied cities Beeroth, Chephirah, and Kiriath-Jearim being ruled by

[1] See p. 69.

elders (*Josh.* ix. 11).[1] The political condition of the country made successful resistance to invasion difficult, as the various communities, even if not distracted by the mutual jealousies revealed by the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, could be beaten and subjugated in detail. As will appear in the narrative of the Israelite campaign, it was only on two occasions that any attempt was made at a combination of forces and concerted action. But though united efforts on the part of the Canaanites was to a great extent wanting, many individual cities were in a position to offer a stout defence. They were advantageously situated and strongly walled, so that their reduction was a task of considerable magnitude for a nomadic people (cf. *Num.* xiii. 28). In addition, the Canaanites were much superior to the Israelites in the art and appliances of war, in touch as they were with the chief seats of contemporary civilisation in Babylonia and Egypt. Those who occupied the more level districts, especially the vale of Esdraelon, possessed cavalry and iron chariots; and these formidable forces enabled the inhabitants of the coast and inland plains to withstand their invaders more successfully than the dwellers in the hill-country. It will be seen in the course of the history that where the Israelites first and most effectually established themselves was in the mountainous regions of the south and centre, and that their hold upon the rest of the country was for a long time neither extensive nor secure.

As has been said, Joshua, who had been chosen by Moses to succeed him, was appointed with a view to an immediate invasion of Canaan, and it was to this undertaking that the new leader after Moses' death at once addressed himself. From the headquarters at Shittim (*Num.* xxv. 1, xxxiii. 49) he determined to advance against Jericho on the opposite side of the Jordan. The town was situated at a spot where the hills retire from the river and form a plain from which several roads diverge into the mountainous country behind. It was thus one of the keys to the trans-Jordanic region, and its capture was an object of the utmost importance. Accordingly two spies were sent to examine its defences and the best means of attack. The men crossed the

[1] Similarly there seem to have been no kings in certain of the cities named in the Tell-el-Amarna correspondence; see Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

river by the fords in the neighbourhood of the city, were sheltered by a harlot[1] named Rahab, and though rumours of their arrival had reached the king, were enabled to escape detection by a device of the woman, who concealed them under a quantity of flax spread for drying on the roof of the house. The gates of the city had been closed to prevent their egress; but Rahab, whose dwelling was on the wall, lowered them to the ground through a window, having previously obtained from them a promise that the lives of herself and her kinsfolk should be spared when the city was captured.[2] The spies, after hiding for three days in the hills, returned safely to Joshua. Their report of the state of feeling in the town, which the approach of the Israelites had filled with dismay, induced Joshua to cross the river at once. The passage was effected; and the success with which it was accomplished was ever afterwards regarded as a special mark of Divine favour (cf. *Mic.* vi. 5). The host, which included a contingent from the tribes E. of the Jordan[3] (represented as amounting to the large figure of 40,000),[4] encamped in the plain of Jericho at Gilgal (a place a short distance to the E. of Jericho (iv. 19), identified with the modern *Tell Jiljulieh*, four miles from the Jordan), where a memorial of twelve stones taken from the bed of the river was set up. Here, too, the rite of circumcision was performed with knives of flint[5] on all those who had not yet received the sign of the nation's covenant with its God, a neighbouring height near the place where the rite was performed obtaining the name of the *Hill of the foreskins*.

In the book of *Joshua* c. iii.[6] the passage of the Jordan is represented as

[1] Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, 2) calls Rahab's dwelling an inn (καταγώγιον).

[2] The fact that in *Josh.* ii. 17–21 the two spies give their pledge to Rahab *after* they have been lowered from the window (ver. 15) is doubtless due to the discrepant verses being derived from different sources.

[3] *Josh.* i. 12 represents Manasseh as among the eastern tribes that sent their forces to join Joshua, but Manasseh had probably not yet obtained any settlement on the E. of Jordan (cf. p. 127).

[4] Even this large figure is small compared with the 84,230 attributed to Reuben and Gad alone in *Num.* xxvi. 7, 18. Josephus places the number of the contingent at 50,000.

[5] Cf. p. 103, note.

[6] There is some discrepancy between the various notes of time in *Josh.* i.–iii. In i. 11 the passage of the Jordan is to be effected in *three* days; but the *three days* spent by the spies in hiding (ii. 16) together with the *three days* repeated in iii. 1, 2 from i. 11 imply an interval of at least six.

being wrought by supernatural means. The priests bearing the Ark were directed to precede the host at the interval of 2,000 cubits (to prevent its profanation), and as soon as their feet touched the brink of the river, its waters were parted, those above the place of crossing being arrested near the city of Adam (at the confluence of the Jabbok and the Jordan) and those below consequently failing. The priests thus stood on dry ground in the midst of the river, until the whole nation passed over, when the waters resumed their course. The miracle is heightened by the event being placed at the time of barley-harvest[1] when the river overflows its banks (*1 Ch.* xii. 15, *Ecclus.* xxiv. 26), and spreads over the lowest of the series of terraces by which the channel of the stream is reached from the level of the Arabah. It does not, however, seem improbable that, as in the case of the passage of the Red Sea (cf. *Josh.* iv. 23), the crossing was really effected by ordinary means, but since it was of a difficult and perilous character, the story of its providential accomplishment has been magnified. The narrative itself indicates that the river was fordable by the spies just before. Possibly the transit of the host was facilitated by some fortunate occurrence which temporarily dammed the stream, such as a landslip on its upper reaches (an instance of which is related to have happened in 1267 A.D.).

As the narrative at present stands in *Josh.* iii. and iv., *two* memorials of the passage of the river were set up, one being the twelve stones placed at Gilgal on the W. bank, the other consisting of twelve stones erected where, according to the miraculous account, the feet of the priests stood still in the middle of the parted river. But the narrative is confused, and is probably compiled from two sources, containing variant traditions of a *single* memorial, though the LXX. in iv. 9 expressly distinguishes the two heaps of stones.

The account of the circumcision at Gilgal (v. 2–9) is rather inconsistent. The fact that the rite is described (ver. 9) as having "rolled away the reproach of Egypt," and so conferred upon Gilgal its name,[2] implies that the observance had been neglected during the sojourn in that country (cf. *Ex.* iv. 24–26), which would account for the uncircumcised condition of the children born in the wilderness. But in ver. 5 it is stated positively that the people who came out of Egypt *were* circumcised, in which case it is difficult to understand why they did not circumcise their children. The LXX. version of ver. 4–5 contradicts the Heb., and (like ver. 9) represents the bulk of those who came forth from Egypt as uncircumcised.

A short section (v. 10–12) derived from P adds to the account of the incidents at Gilgal the statement that the Passover was kept there on the fourteenth day of the month Nisan (only four days after the passage of the Jordan (iv. 19), and consequently less than that interval after the circumcision), on which occasion the people ate for the first time of the corn of the land, and the supply of manna ceased (cf. xvi. 35).

From Gilgal an advance was made upon Jericho. The terror which prevented the inhabitants from disputing the passage of the river was not likely to be diminished when the Israelites moved to the assault of the city; and though some resistance

[1] Barley harvest took place in the month *Abib* (cf. p. 148), which afterwards received the name of *Nisan*, and was reckoned as the first month (cf. iv. 19).

[2] From *galal* "to roll"; but the name was applied to more than one place in Canaan, and is supposed to be really derived from the existence of stone circles in the neighbourhood.

was offered (see *Josh.* xxiv. 11), it was feeble and ineffective, and the place fell at the first onset. The city was "devoted" to Jehovah; all the inhabitants (except the woman who protected the spies, together with her kinsfolk) were put indiscriminately to the sword, the vessels of gold and silver, brass and iron, were taken to the treasury of the sanctuary, the walls were burnt with fire, and a curse was pronounced upon the man who should rebuild it. Later generations saw in the calamities which befell the family of a certain Hiel the fulfilment of the curse (*1 Kg.* xvi. 34), but as mention is made of Jericho between the times of Joshua and Hiel (see *2 Sam.* x. 5), the re-building prohibited probably meant its fortification.

Before the capture of Jericho, it is related that there appeared to Joshua a celestial visitant who styled himself captain of the host of Jehovah, and bade the Israelite leader remove his shoes from off his feet, for the place whereon he was standing (which is not further described) was holy ground (*Josh.* v. 13–15). The section is without any proper conclusion; and the purpose of the visit is not explained unless the communication, recorded in vi. 2 foll., was made by the angel. According to this latter passage, which directs how Jericho was to be taken, the host was to march round the city in order, the procession being headed seemingly by the contingent from the tribes of Reuben and Gad (cf. vi. 7 with iv. 13), these being followed by the Ark and seven priests bearing and blowing trumpets of rams' horns, and the rest of the army bringing up the rear in silence. In this manner they were to compass the city daily for six days, and on the seventh day were to make the circuit seven times; whereupon the priests were to blow with the trumpets and the people were to shout. When these directions were duly carried out, the wall of the city is said to have fallen down flat, and the people went up into it, every man straight before him. This account is not easily reconciled with the espial of the place, recorded in c. ii. (which could only be preliminary to a military assault of the ordinary character, as was the case with Ai (*Josh.* vii. 2) and Bethel (*Jud.* i. 23–24), nor with the mention of the resistance offered by the citizens in *Josh.* xxiv. 11; and it is not improbable that it is a prosaic rendering of some poetical and figurative expression (like the Greek *αὐτοβοεὶ ἑλεῖν*). At the same time it is possible that the defences of Jericho were damaged by an earthquake or subsidence, to which the city, from its position near the Dead Sea, was probably liable.

After the capture of Jericho, the first movement of the Israelite host was an advance by the pass of Michmash (the *Wâdy Suweinit*) against Ai, a town a little to the east of Bethel. Spies were sent forward to reconnoitre the situation of the place; and a body of 3,000 men marched to assault it. But the attack was a failure; and the assailants were beaten off with loss. The cause of the disaster was declared to be the contamination of the host in consequence of one of its number

having appropriated, in the capture of Jericho, a part of the spoil which had been "devoted" to Jehovah. An appeal to the lot to detect the criminal[1] led to the offence being laid to the charge of Achan,[2] the son of Carmi, of the tribe of Judah. He confessed his sin, and was accordingly put to death,[3] together with his family; and thus (as was believed) the fierceness of Jehovah's anger was turned away from His people. The scene of Achan's punishment received the name of "the valley of Achor" (troubling); and has been identified with the *Wâdy Kelt*.

It was possibly in consequence of this incident that the Israelite forces now divided. Tribal feeling was still very strong;[4] and though policy may have suggested that it was expedient for the nation to separate, in order to conquer and occupy the country in detail, it is not unreasonable to assume that other motives likewise made themselves felt at this juncture. Religious fears would tend to deter both the disgraced tribe from seeking, and the rest of the community from conceding to it, further participation in the attack on Ai; and it must have relieved a difficult situation when a decision of the Divine oracle at the sanctuary, in response to a question respecting the prosecution of the war, sent Judah upon an independent campaign. Accordingly that tribe, accompanied by Simeon, and joined by a number of Kenites and Kenizzites,[5] left the main body (probably by the road which leads from the Arabah across the Kidron to Bethlehem) and advanced into Judæa (*Jud.* i. 16). There, at Bezek,[6] they defeated and captured Adonizedek,[7] king

[1] Cf. *1 Sam.* xiv. 41, *Jon.* i. 7.

[2] Called here by the LXX., by Josephus, and by the Heb. of *1 Ch.* ii. 7, *Achar*.

[3] There is some redundance in the account of his death in vii. 25. The LXX. only has ἐλιθοβόλησαν.

[4] As the subsequent feud respecting Gibeah further illustrates; see p. 191.

[5] *Kenaz* was an Edomite name (see *Gen.* xxxvi. 11), and Edomite names occur amongst Caleb's sons (cf. *1 Ch.* iv. 15 with *Gen.* xxxvi. 42, *1 Ch.* ii. 50 with *Gen.* xxxvi. 20); so that possibly Caleb was not of Judæan but Edomite ancestry (in spite of *1 Ch.* ii. 4, 5, 18).

[6] This must have been a place near Jerusalem, and quite distinct from the Bezek of *1 Sam.* xi. 8.

[7] In *Jud.* i. 5 the name is given as *Adoni-bezek*, which, in connection with the place-name Bezek, would seem to mean "lord of Bezek." But *adôn* is not generally used of ownership, and in *Josh.* x. 1 the name of the king of Jerusalem is *Adoni-zedek*, a name analogous to *Adonijah*, if *Zedek* can be assumed to be the appellation of a Canaanite divinity.

of Jerusalem, who had barbarously mutilated seventy kings that had fallen into his hands, and whom the victorious Israelites treated in like manner. But Jerusalem itself was too strong to be stormed,[1] and the invaders turned from it towards the south. Kiriath Arba (or Hebron), a city inhabited by certain Anakim, was taken; and its capture was followed by that of Kiriath Sepher[2] or Debir (twelve miles to the S.W. of Hebron). Zephath was likewise taken, and under the new name of Hormah,[3] fell to the lot of Simeon (*Jud.* i. 17, *Josh.* xix. 4). A descent may likewise have been made into the maritime plain; but if so the invaders could not establish a footing in it,[4] the open country being more adapted than the mountains for the manœuvring of chariots in which the defenders were strong. Of the successes just described a large share was due to Caleb and his younger brother (or nephew) Othniel. To the latter in particular the capture of Hebron[5] and Debir is attributed, and his prowess was rewarded by the hand of Caleb's daughter Achsah, to whom her father gave certain springs lying between the two cities.

This advance of Judah and Simeon is assigned in *Jud.* i. 1 to a date subsequent to the death of Joshua. But *Jud.* c. 1 is obviously in many respects an account of the Conquest parallel to certain parts of the book of *Joshua*, relating incidents which took place within the lifetime of Joshua. The opening statement therefore of *Jud.* c. i. must be a mistake as regards the contents of the chapter itself, though applicable to the book of *Judges* as a whole.

Whilst the tribes of Judah and Simeon were thus occupied, the main body of the nation, under Joshua in person, renewed the attack upon Ai with fresh hopes. The Israelites were

[1] The capture of Jerusalem by Judah is affirmed in *Jud.* i. 8, but denied in *Josh.* xv. 63, and the later history confirms the latter (see *2 Sam.* v. 6). The city was really in the territory of *Benjamin* (*Josh.* xviii. 28, cf. *Jud.* i. 21). Josephus (*Ant.* v. 2, 2) attempts to reconcile *Jud.* i. 8 with *Josh.* xv. 63 by supposing that the lower city was taken whilst the upper city defied capture; but in vii. 3, 1 attributes the capture both of the lower city and the citadel to David.

[2] It was also called *Kiriath Sannah* (*Josh.* xv. 49).

[3] Cf. *Num.* xxi. 2–3 (see p. 120), where *Hormah* is the name given not to Arad but to the scene of the Canaanite defeat (presumably Zephath).

[4] According to *Jud.* i. 18 Judah took Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ekron; but this is inconsistent with ver. 19, iii. 3, *Josh.* xiii. 3, and the LXX. reads *οὐκ ἐκληρονόμησεν Ιούδας τὴν Γάζαν* κτλ.

[5] According to *Josh.* xxi. 11–12 the *town* of Hebron was given to the Levites, and only the fields became the possession of Caleb. But the existence of Levitical cities at this period is more than questionable (see pp. 188–9).

ill-equipped for the assault of a strongly-defended fortress (cf. *Num.* xiii. 28), and recourse was had to stratagem. A force of 5,000 men (*Josh.* viii. 12)[1] was placed in ambush on the west of the city, between it and Bethel; whilst Joshua assailed it with the rest of the army from an opposite quarter.[2] The latter division, feigning defeat in the engagement that followed, fled in the direction of the wilderness leading to the Arabah, pursued by the inhabitants of Ai. The city was thus left open to the attack of the ambuscade, which seized the place and set it on fire. The rising smoke gave the signal to Joshua that his stratagem had succeeded, and he therefore turned upon his pursuers;[3] who, as the ambush issued from the burning city behind them, found themselves between two foes and were cut to pieces, to the number (it is said) of 12,000. The king of Ai was taken prisoner and subsequently hung, the remaining population was put to the sword, and the site of the city was made a desolation;[4] but its spoil, unlike that of Jericho, was allowed to be appropriated by the people. The neighbouring town of Bethel (or Luz)[5] was afterwards captured by the treachery of one of its own people (*Jud.* i. 22–29), and its inhabitants were massacred. The traitor, like Rahab at Jericho, was alone allowed to escape with his family, and is related to have retired to the land of the Hittites, where he built a city which he named after his old home, Luz.[6]

[1] In viii. 3 the number is given (presumably from a different source) as 30,000, which is out of all proportion; cf. vii. 3. The LXX. has the same figure, but omits the 5,000 of ver. 12.

[2] In *Josh.* viii. 11 the Heb. has *on the north side of Ai*, but the LXX. has ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν.

[3] In the account a discrepancy is observable between viii. 7–8, 21 and ver. 18–19, 26. In the former the ambush, by setting the city on fire, recalls Joshua from his pretended flight; in the second Joshua, whilst fleeing down the Arabah, gives, by stretching out his rod, the signal to the ambush to rise from its hiding-place.

[4] The name was reproduced in the later *Aiath* (*Is.* x. 28), but the locality of the new city may have been different.

[5] Bethel and Luz are distinguished in *Josh.* xvi. 2. According to viii. 17 the citizens of Bethel joined in the pursuit of Israel when the latter feigned flight before Ai; but as the ambush was placed between the two towns (ver. 12), it is difficult to understand how they could do this, and the name of Bethel is omitted by the LXX.

[6] Its site is very uncertain, but is by some identified with a place near Leshem (or Dan).

In dismay at these successes the inhabitants of four confederate cities, Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kiriath Jearim[1] (situated to the S. and S.W. of Bethel) sent an embassy to Joshua to obtain terms of peace. It is related that they pretended to be natives of a distant state, and supporting their pretence by the condition of their clothes and provisions, led the Israelites to believe that they lay outside the limits of the nations against whom they were directing their arms, and so induced them to make an alliance with them. That such an alliance was contracted seems indisputable, whether the account of the means adopted to secure it be so or not;[2] and it led to a counter coalition among the nearest Amorite peoples, with a view to punish the defection of the Gibeonites, and to repel the advance of Israel. The Gibeonites, as soon as they were threatened, sent for aid to Joshua. From Gilgal, which served as a permanent camp, the Israelite chief proceeded immediately to the relief of the menaced city, and a great battle was fought hard by it. The Amorites were defeated, and chased in part along the defile of Beth-horon towards Makkedah, and in part across the hills to Azekah;[3] and a terrible hailstorm, breaking over the flying host, increased their discomfiture.[4] Their kings are said to have taken refuge in a cave at Makkedah,[5] where they

[1] They are termed *Hivites* in *Josh.* xi. 19, but *Amorites* in *2 Sam.* xxi. 2.

[2] That terms were made by Israel with Gibeon and its confederate cities is rendered probable by the succeeding account of the battle of Beth-horon (based, seemingly, on the *Book of Jashar*); and is practically placed beyond doubt by the narrative of the expiation made in the reign of David for a great wrong done to them by Saul (*2 Sam.* c. xxi., cf. also iv. 2–3). But the representation, in *Josh.* ix. 21 foll., that for their deceit (as related in the text) they were reduced immediately to serfdom seems inconsistent with the isolated position of the tribe of Judah during the period of the Judges, which is only explicable on the assumption that the Gibeonite cities were independent, and, with Jerusalem and Gezer, formed a barrier between that tribe and the rest of the nation (cf. p. 184). The alleged enslavement of the Gibeonites is not quite consistently described. In ix. 15a, 22, 23 *Joshua* makes the treaty with them, and on discovering their duplicity, condemns them to be slaves to *the sanctuary*, whereas in 15b, 21 the *princes* contract the engagement, and afterwards make the Gibeonites servants of *the congregation*. In ver. 27 the two statements are partially fused together.

[3] Usually placed near the valley of Elah (*Wâdy es Sunt*), south of the valley of Aijalon, within which Beth-horon lay.

[4] For a hailstorm causing the discomfiture of a foe cf. *1 Sam.* vii. 10, *Ps.* xviii. 13–14.

[5] In the Lowland (*Shephelah*) of Judah (*Josh.* xv. 41).

were detected and hanged; but the names and number of them, and perhaps even the scene of their capture, can scarcely be correctly stated in the account that records their overthrow.

The names of the kings who attacked Gibeon and were defeated by Joshua are given in *Josh.* x. as Adonizedek[1] of Jerusalem, Hoham of Hebron, Piram of Jarmuth, Japhia of Lachish, and Debir of Eglon;[2] and their defeat is represented as being followed by the capture and overthrow of the cities of Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Gezer, Hebron, and Debir. But the first four of these cities were within, or on the edge of, the maritime plain, and therefore in a position to offer a successful resistance (cf. *Jud.* i. 19); Gezer is stated in *Jud.* i. 29 to have defied capture by the Ephraimites, and it did not become an Israelite possession until the time of Solomon (*1 Kg.* ix. 16); whilst Hebron and Debir are related to have been assailed by Judah independently of Joshua (*Jud.* i. 8–13). It therefore seems probable that the names both of the cities which formed the confederacy against Gibeon, and of those which were subsequently captured are inaccurately given. But the defeat of a number of Amorite kings is attested in *Josh.* xxiv. 12 (where the LXX., instead of *two*, reads *twelve*); whilst an account of a battle at Gibeon was contained in the early composition called *the Book of Jashar* (*Josh.* x. 12, 13): and the two events are probably connected.

In the *Book of Jashar* the sun and moon are represented poetically as standing still in their course at Joshua's prayer, to enable Israel to have sufficient light to complete the overthrow of their enemies.[3] The language is doubtless to be understood in the same figurative sense as the similar expression in the Song of Deborah (*Jud.* v. 20, cf. *Hab.* iii. 11). A real lengthening of the time of daylight is, under the circumstances, incredible; and even if it occurred, could scarcely have been measured by people whose sole chronometer was the sun itself. But the historian of *Joshua* has, in x. 13, 14, interpreted the poet's phraseology literally, and has been followed by the author of *Ecclus.* xlvi. 4.

The victory gained at Gibeon opened up the centre of the country, the remnant of the defeated enemy withdrawing to the shelter of their fenced cities (*Josh.* x. 20). The conquest and occupation of mount Ephraim, which was allotted to the tribe of Joseph, followed. No detailed account of it, however, survives, though some of the kings enumerated in *Josh.* xii. 7–24 must have been encountered in the course of the campaign, and the possession of the valley between Ebal and Gerizim is implied in the short (and misplaced) section, viii. 30–35.[4] As the land was

[1] LXX. *Adonibezek* (cf. *Jud.* i. 5); see p. 174, note.

[2] LXX. *Adullam.*

[3] Cf. the lengthening of the night by Athene in Hom. *Od.* xxiii. 241–246, and the shortening of the day by Hera in *Il.* xviii. 239–242.

[4] The succeeding verses ix. 1–2, describing a confederacy of all the kings of W. Palestine, is also out of keeping with the context. ix. 3 follows on viii. 29.

gradually secured, the head-quarters of the Israelite army, together with the sanctuary, were removed from Gilgal at first (apparently) to Bethel (*Jud.* ii. 5, LXX., cf. xx. 26–27), and finally to Shiloh.

The section viii. 30–35, which is isolated from its context, relates that Joshua erected an altar on Mt. Ebal, on which he first offered sacrifices; and then (apparently) inscribed upon it a copy of the law of Moses, which, together with its blessings and curses, he read in the audience of the tribes, who were placed six on Mt. Gerizim and six on Mt. Ebal.[1] The erection of the altar and the establishment of a sanctuary at Shechem in the valley between the two hills (cf. xxiv. 1) is sufficiently probable; but the presence there of all the twelve tribes is inconsistent with what is elsewhere recorded of the independent campaign of Judah and Simeon.

Before the territory in the north could be secured, another confederacy had to be faced. The king of Hazor[2] (whose appellation of *Jabin* is probably a title rather than a proper name[3]), supported by the kings of Madon, Shimron, and Achshaph,[4] with others who are described as the kings of the Arabah (south of the Sea of Chinnereth), of the hill-country (north of the Plain of Esdraelon), and of the Lowland (probably that part which is elsewhere called Sharon), met Joshua near the waters of Merom, with a large force of horses and chariots. Joshua took the enemy by surprise, and, in consequence, succeeded in defeating them with great loss. The chariots that were taken in the battle were burnt, and the horses houghed. This success secured for Israel a footing in the district. Many of the towns were captured, including Hazor (which was burnt), and the inhabitants were put to the sword. But the cities which stood on fortified mounds defied attack (*Josh.* xi. 13), and the subjugation of the country was only partial, the summaries of Joshua's conquests (e.g. *Josh.* xii.), which represent it as complete,

[1] The proceedings described are regarded as the execution of the command contained in *Deut.* xxvii. 2 foll., but there it is directed that (1) the law is to be inscribed not on the altar but on plastered stones, set up near the altar; and (2) certain curses (and not the whole law) are to be read to the people.

[2] Hazor was near Kedesh, in Naphtali, a little to the W. of Lake Merom.

[3] The same appellation is given to a king of Hazor in the time of the Judges (*Jud.* iv. 2).

[4] Shimron was near Nazareth, on the hills N.W. of Esdraelon, and subsequently included in Zebulun. Achshaph was near the port of Accho in the territory assigned to Asher. The position of Madon (for which the LXX. has Μάρρων, i.e. *Merom*) is uncertain, but is placed by some near Lake Merom, at the modern *Hattin*.

being contradicted by facts noticed elsewhere,[1] and describing a state of affairs which did not exist until a much later date. Nevertheless, sufficient had been achieved to allow of a partition of territory among the various Israelite tribes. Hitherto Judah, Simeon, and Joseph alone had received possessions on the W. of Jordan, but the time had now come for the others to have their share. Accordingly, a division of the land (presumably of a simple and tentative character) was then made, and the different parts allotted at the sanctuary at Shiloh, the several recipients, now that the strength of the Canaanites was broken, being left to establish themselves in their respective districts by their own prowess.

The account, in *Josh.* xviii. 2–10, of a survey of the country made by three men from each of the tribes that were awaiting their inheritance presumes a degree of tranquillity which can scarcely have prevailed as yet; whilst the statement that the tribes in question numbered seven is inconsistent with the fact that Simeon, which has to be included to make up the figure, had already occupied the southern district in conjunction with Judah (see p. 174).

Of the territories which in the division fell to the several tribes, the following is a brief summary, which includes for the sake of completeness the possessions of Reuben and Gad (who had received from Moses their portions on the E. of Jordan), of Judah and Simeon (who, as has been said, had established themselves in the south, apart from the main body of the nation), and of the tribe of Joseph. The description in *Josh.* xiii.–xix. is derived largely from the Priestly source, and doubtless represents conditions which were not actually realised until a period much later than the age of the Conquest. In the case of most of the tribes the borders are traced and the towns are enumerated more or less fully; but of Ephraim and Manasseh, the two branches of the house of Joseph, the borders only are given, whilst in the instances of Simeon and Dan nothing but a list of cities is furnished.

Reuben, according to *Josh.* xiii. 15–22, extended from the

[1] Of the thirty-one cities whose kings were smitten and their land appropriated by Joshua (according to *Josh.* xii. 7–24), Taanach, Megiddo, Dor, and Gezer are, in *Jud.* i. 27–29, expressly named as being places whose inhabitants were not dispossessed, whilst Jerusalem, Hebron, Debir and Zephath (Hormah) were attacked not by Joshua but by the tribe of Judah (cf. p. 175).

In *Josh.* xii. 23 the LXX. for *the king of Goiim in Gilgal,* reads βασιλέα Γεεὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας.

Arnon (which separated it from Moab) to the *Wâdy Heshbân*—a ravine running E. from the northern extremity of the Dead Sea. In *Num.* xxxii. 34–36, however, certain cities south of the *Wâdy Heshbân* are related to have been built by **Gad**, including Dibon, Ataroth,[1] Aroer, and Jazer, though others within the same district are attributed to Reuben, such as Heshbon,[2] Elealeh, Kiriathaim, Nebo, and Baal-meon. It seems probable, therefore, that in consequence of declining numbers, the Reubenites were replaced by Gadites, retaining only a portion of the region originally assigned to them.

Gad, according to the description of *Josh.* xvii. 24–28 (cf. *Deut.* iii. 17), extended along the E. bank of the Jordan from the northern end of the Dead Sea to the southern extremity of the Sea of Chinnereth, the eastern border touching the Ammonites at Aroer before Rabbah. It thus included all the country (Gilead) embraced between the Wâdy Heshbân and the Jarmuk, its territory taking in, among other towns, the city of Mahanaim. But it would appear that the country north of the Jabbok was eventually occupied by a division of **Manasseh**, who, though represented as receiving half Gilead, with Bashan, from Moses (*Josh.* xiii. 31, *Num.* xxxii. 40), probably crossed thither from the W. of Jordan at a much later period (cf. p. 205).

Judah had all the district W. of the Dead Sea, its southern border extending from the S. end of the Sea, along the ascent of Akrabbim (which separated it from Edom),[3] to the Brook of Egypt[4] (the *Wâdy el Arish*) and taking in Kadesh Barnea, whilst its northern border, starting from the mouth of the Jordan, followed the valley of Achor (the *Wâdy Kelt*) and the ascent of Adummim[5] to Jerusalem, and then keeping to the south of the city, passed down the valley of Rephaim, and turning westward, ran along the valley of Sorek (the *Wâdy Surar*) to Jabneel.

Simeon received a district within the territory of Judah, Beer-

[1] Cf. the Moabite Stone:—"The men of Gad had dwelt in the land of Ataroth from of old."

[2] In *Josh.* xxi. 39 Heshbon is regarded as belonging to Gad.

[3] In *Jud.* i. 36 for *Amorites* read *Edomites* (LXX. Α τοῦ Αμορραίου ὁ Ιδουμαῖος).

[4] The *Shihor* of *Josh.* xiii. 2.

[5] The "ascent of blood," between Jericho and Jerusalem; cf. *S. Luke* x. 30.

sheba, Hormah, and Ziklag being its most important towns. As is not unnatural, these places, with a number of others, which in *Josh.* xix. 1–9 (cf. *1 Ch.* iv. 28–31) are assigned to Simeon, are in *Josh.* xv. 20–63 included amongst the possessions of Judah.[1] The cities occupied by Simeon were principally in the pasture lands of the *Negeb* (the South).

Joseph (**Ephraim** and **Manasseh**) possessed the mountainous region of the centre, its southern border running from Jericho through Bethel to Beth-horon the nether, and down the valley of Aijalon, whilst its northern frontier reached as far as the southern edge of the plain of Esdraelon and the ridge of Carmel.[2] Between **Ephraim** and **Manasseh** the border passed from Jericho in a N.W. direction through Janoah and Michmethah (near Shechem), and thence to the brook of Kanah (south of Tappuah), the north bank of the brook belonging to Manasseh and the south to Ephraim.[3]

Benjamin lay between Judah and Joseph, and was bordered on the E. by the Jordan and on the W. by a line drawn from Beth-horon to Kiriath Jearim.

Dan lay to the W. of Benjamin, commanding the approaches to the valleys of Aijalon and Sorek, and at one time extended to the sea (*Jud.* v. 17).[4] But its people were hard pressed by the native population and by the Philistines on their borders, and a section of them eventually migrated to the district beyond Lake Merom (see below, pp. 183–4).

Issachar occupied the valley of Esdraelon, the triangular plain lying between Tabor and the hills of Nazareth, the range of Carmel, and the Jordan.

Zebulun lay to the north of Issachar, its eastern border extending from the hills of Nazareth (on the south) northwards past Gath-hepher as far as Hannathon, whence the northern frontier

[1] In *1 Sam.* xxvii. 6 Ziklag is stated to have come into the possession of Judah in the time of David, who received it from the Philistines.

[2] Probably *the hill country* of *Josh.* xvii. 18.

[3] The *land* of Tappuah belonged to Manasseh, the *town* of Tappuah to Ephraim; see *Josh.* xvii. 8.

[4] In *Josh.* xv. 33, 45 Eshtaol, Zorah, and Ekron are assigned to *Judah*, but in xix. 41, 43 are placed in the border of *Dan*. Ekron was really a Philistine city.

ran westward down the valley of Iphtah-el (the Wâdy *el Kurn*). Its western border is not given in *Josh.*, but according to *Gen.* xlix. 13 (cf. *Deut.* xxxiii. 18–19), it must at times have reached the sea.

Asher held the maritime plain stretching from Carmel in the direction of Tyre and Zidon. If Zebulun touched the sea, the S. border of Asher was probably the little stream Shihor-libnath (*Belus*), N. of Carmel; but if *Josh.* xvii. 11 means that Dor was in its territory, it must have extended S. of Carmel.

Naphtali was N. and E. of Zebulun and E. of Asher, reaching to the lake of Chinnereth (the *sea* of *Deut.* xxxiii. 23 marg.) and the Jordan.[1] On the N. its border is undetermined, but at one time it included the towns of Ijon and Dan (see *1 Kg.* xv. 20).

The above description, as has been said, is derived principally from the Priestly source of the Hexateuch, and is doubtless idealised. At any rate, the ground actually occupied at the Conquest was much less than is here implied. In the first place the Israelites quite failed to establish themselves securely in the maritime plain. In the south-west, Judah, as has been seen, found its advance checked by the five Philistine cities; whilst Ephraim could not expel the Canaanites from Gezer. On the actual seaboard Israel could make still less impression. In the north, Dor, Achzib, Acco, Ahlab, Helbah, Aphik and Rehob, though assigned to Asher, remained Canaanite in character (*Jud.* i. 31); and Tyre and Zidon, together with the region to the north of the latter, were quite untouched by the invasion. Dan, which, like Asher, is represented as having reached the sea,[2] was forced back from it at quite an early date by the Amorites, so that a detachment of them had to seek a new home; and a detailed account has been preserved of the expedition (*Jud.* xviii.). With the object of finding a suitable locality for a settlement, five men were

[1] The meaning of the statement in *Josh.* xix. 34 that the border of Naphtali reached *to Judah at Jordan* is uncertain. Some have taken the words to relate to the district E. of Jordan occupied by Jair and his descendants (*Jud.* x. 4, *Num.* xxxii. 41), Jair drawing his lineage on one side from Hezron of the tribe of Judah (*1 Ch.* ii. 18–22).

[2] The ports of Palestine were never permanently in the hands of Israel. Even Solomon was dependent upon the navy of Tyre; and when his successors sought an outlet to the sea, it was to Elath in Edom, and not to the harbours of Canaan that they turned their attention.

despatched to survey the country, and these while passing through the hill-country of Ephraim spent a night at the house of a certain Micah, who had made an image of Jehovah and an ephod (which was the usual medium for procuring Divine responses), and had also obtained a Levite, Jonathan, the grandson of Moses,[1] to act as priest. The spies, encouraged by the Levite with hopes of success, proceeded to the northern extremity of the land, and found that the city of Laish[2] or Leshem (*Josh.* xix. 47), a place whose inhabitants were traders like the Zidonians, was peaceful and isolated enough to offer an easy prey. In consequence of the report which they brought home, 600 men left to attack it. On their way they induced the Levite to accompany them, and he carried off with him Micah's graven image and ephod, which their owner was unable to recover. When arrived at Laish, they assaulted it, massacred the inhabitants, and burnt the city; and then settling on the spot, they called the new city which they built after the name of their ancestor Dan. With the help of the Levite, and what he had brought with him, a sanctuary was established there which was long frequented.[3] But in addition to instances like those just mentioned, in which the natives retained, or recovered, possession of the coast and the district adjoining, there were in two places groups of inland towns left in their hands, which isolated the Israelite tribes from one another, and seriously hindered the growth of national sentiment. On the frontiers of Judah the strong citadel of Jerusalem was still occupied by the Jebusites, and with the four Gibeonite towns and the fortresses of Aijalon, Shaalbim, and Gezer, so effectually cut off Judah from the rest of the nation that it hardly fills any place in the history of the period immediately succeeding the Conquest, and is not named among the tribes alluded to in the Song of Deborah (*Jud.* c. v.). Again,

[1] Another reading in the Heb., which also occurs in the LXX., is *Manasseh*—probably an intentional alteration.

[2] Situated a little N. of Lake Merom, near the base of Hermon—the modern *Tell el Kadi*, or according to others, *Banias*.

[3] The *captivity of the land* (*Jud.* xviii. 30) is probably that of Northern Galilee in 734 B.C. (*2 Kg.* xv. 29), or that of the Northern Kingdom in 722. In ver. 31, another limit of time is implied, viz. the destruction of the sanctuary at Shiloh by the Philistines in the time of Eli (see p. 211).

north of Manasseh in the plain of Esdraelon, the cities of Beth-shan, Ibleam, Endor, Taanach, and Megiddo formed a second Canaanite belt across the country, dividing the northern tribes from the central (*Jud.* i. 27, cf. *Josh.* xvii. 16). Moreover, the region in which the northern tribes settled was very incompletely subdued, and many of the towns in Zebulun and Naphtali (Kitron, Nahalol, Beth-shemesh, Beth-anath) as well as in Asher, remained in the occupation of the former inhabitants (*Jud.* i. 30–33). Indeed, the non-Israelite population in this district was so numerous that it came to be known as "the circle (Galilee) of the nations." Hazor, which had been taken and burnt (*Josh.* xi. 11), again became the seat of a powerful Canaanite kingdom, its authority at one time extending even to Esdraelon (*Jud.* c. iv.).

As has been already related, both at the outset of the invasion and after the decisive battle near Lake Merom, the choice of the regions to be reduced and appropriated by the several tribes was determined by lot. But fluctuations in the relative strength of the tribes, together with other causes, inevitably led to many places changing owners. Thus Jerusalem was first attacked by Judah, but afterwards, with the exception of the citadel, was included in Benjamin. The Canaanites of Shaalbim and Aijalon, whom the Danites had been unable to expel, were eventually reduced to the condition of tributaries by Ephraim (*Jud.* i. 34, 35). Ephraim also became possessed of certain cities in the territory of Manasseh (*Josh.* xvii. 8–9, cf. xvi. 9). In turn, Manasseh obtained the land in the immediate vicinity of the Canaanite towns in Esdraelon already mentioned, though this was originally allotted to Issachar and Asher (*Josh.* xvii. 11). The two tribes of Joseph were at this period and for some time afterwards the most powerful in Israel; and though, when they found the hill country too narrow for them, they professed to be unable to occupy the valleys because of the presence of the Canaanites there (*Josh.* xvii. 14–18), they really seem to have done so to some extent. But it is probable that the restrictions caused by the existence of the Canaanite towns in their neighbourhood led both Ephraim and Manasseh to send detachments of settlers across the Jordan. A section of Manasseh certainly came to be established on the E. of the river (*Num.* xxxii. 39),

and from the fact that the Gileadites could be tauntingly described as fugitives from Ephraim and Manasseh (*Jud.* xii. 4), and that a wood in Gilead was called "the forest of Ephraim" (*2 Sam.* xviii. 6), it may be concluded that a body of Ephraimites was also located there.

In *Num.* xxxii. 39–40 possessions in Gilead are represented as given to Machir, the son (=descendant) of Manasseh, by Moses. But in Deborah's time (*Jud.* v. 14) Machir was W. of the Jordan; and it seems probable that the migration of part of Manasseh to Gilead took place in the time of Jair, who judged Israel subsequently to Deborah (*Jud.* x. 4, cf. *Num.* xxxii. 41).

That the acquisition of Canaan W. of the Jordan was not accomplished solely by force may be inferred from some of the facts already indicated (in spite of the statement in *Josh.* xi. 19). Doubtless in many places which Israel carried at the point of the sword, the native inhabitants were entirely exterminated from motives alike of religion and expediency. But in districts where Israel was unable to assert an armed superiority, the only way to secure a settlement was by peaceable arrangement. Even in Shechem, in a neighbourhood where Israelite ascendency was assured, a considerable Canaanite population existed in the time of Gideon and his son Abimelech (*Jud.* c. ix).[1] Social relations must soon have arisen between the two peoples; and to the practice of intermarriage which began to prevail are ascribed, in the history of the subsequent period, the calamities which from time to time visited Israel (*Jud.* iii. 5–6). The unions between the two sons of the Judahite Elimelech and two women of Moab (*Ruth* c. i.), between Ruth (one of the latter) and Boaz, between Samson and a woman of the Philistines, were, no doubt, not exceptional. And in later times there must have been many in Israel who like Amasa (whose father was an Ishmaelite, *1 Ch.* ii. 17) and Hiram (whose father, according to one account, was a man of Tyre, *1 Kg.* vii. 14), were only half-Israelite in point of parentage. Such intermingling of the two races, if it had its pernicious side, had also more favourable consequences. Israel must have gained thereby not only in numbers but also in the arts of civilisation; and it was partly due to such a fusion

[1] Even in the time of Rehoboam a large native element still existed, for the faces carved by the Egyptian Shishak above the inscription celebrating his conquest over Judah (*1 Kg.* xiv. 25) are said to have the features of Amorites (Sayce, *Races of the O.T.*, p. 75).

that in the age of David it became far more than a match for its neighbours of Philistia, Moab, and Ammon.

But if the establishment of Israel in Canaan followed the lines described, it must have been a very protracted process.[1] The actual conquest of the E. of Jordan, and the other operations which preceded the occupation by Caleb of Hebron, covered seven years;[2] and the task of subjugating the W. of Jordan in general probably extended beyond the lifetime of Joshua. The work of the latter, indeed, was less the appropriation of the land of the Canaanites than the conduct of the initial campaign which rendered such appropriation possible. He succeeded in doing what had been attempted in vain in the previous generation, and by his skilful generalship at the outset the eventual mastery of the country was in consequence assured. In certain portions, indeed, of the book that bears his name, the part which he played at the beginning he is represented as sustaining throughout; and the conquest of Judæa is attributed to him equally with that of other parts of the country (*Josh.* x. 36–43). This, however, must be unhistorical; for after the abortive attack upon Ai, Judah and Simeon passed from under his personal direction. In the course of time his position must have undergone further change, as the several tribes moved off to secure the ground which his victories had opened up; and his direct authority, which at first had embraced the united people, would more and more become narrowed down to his own tribe of Ephraim. But though some of the achievements attributed to Joshua were not really accomplished by his personal exertions or even under his auspices, the chief credit of the Conquest none the less belongs to him; and he shares with Moses and David the glory of having acquired for Israel a place and name among the nations of the earth.

How long Joshua lived after the division of the land is uncertain. Of the incidents which are recorded of the closing years of his history some appear to be occurrences which should have happened (in the opinion of later times) rather than actually did happen, those which seem to be really historical being

[1] See *Josh.* xi. 18, and cf. *Ex.* xxiii. 29–30, *Deut.* vii. 22.

[2] See *Josh.* xiv. 7–10, *Deut.* ii. 14.

comparatively few. As soon as the strength of the Canaanite resistance was broken, the contingents of Reuben and Gad were dismissed to their homes; and on their way thither they built by the Jordan[1] an altar, the erection of which is asserted (rather improbably) to have nearly embroiled the Eastern and Western tribes in a fratricidal quarrel. Joshua, as he saw the end of his life approaching, assumed once more the character and functions of a national leader; and before his death he summoned to Shechem[2] the heads and officials of the tribes and delivered to them a parting address. In this he reviewed the past history of the nation, pointed out the signal triumphs which Jehovah had won for them, and exhorted them to serve Him, and Him alone. The people made a covenant to do this, and Joshua set up a stone under the oak near the sanctuary as a witness. He died shortly afterwards, and was buried in his inheritance at Timnath-Serah (called Timnath-heres in *Jud.* ii. 9), in mount Ephraim. His death was followed by that of Eleazar, who was buried at Gibeah of Phinehas (*Josh.* xxiv. 33 marg.), likewise in mount Ephraim. The bones of Joseph which had been brought out of Egypt were buried at Shechem, so that the tribes of Joseph became the possessors of the tomb of their ancestor.

In *Josh.* xx., xxi. it is related that after the land was divided between the tribes, Joshua determined what towns should be (*a*) assigned for the support of the Priests and Levites; (*b*) designated as Cities of Refuge (see *Num.* xxxv.) There were appointed (*a*) for the Priests and Levites forty-eight towns—thirteen in Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin for the Priests, the sons of Aaron, ten in Ephraim, Dan, and Western Manasseh for the rest of the Kohathites; thirteen in Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, and Eastern Manasseh for the Gershonites; and twelve in Reuben, Gad, and Zebulun for the Merarites: (*b*) as Cities of Refuge six towns—Kedesh in Naphtali, Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim, Kiriath-Arba (Hebron) in Judah, Bezer in Reuben, Ramoth Gilead in Gad, and Golan in E. Manasseh. The account comes from P, with insertions from D;[3] and the contents are improbable because (1) the distinction drawn between the sons of Aaron and the rest of the

[1] The site of the altar is uncertain. xxii. 10 places it on the W. of the Jordan, and the Heb. of ver. 11 seems to admit of this, but the LXX. of ver. 11 places it on the E., which is the most natural situation.

[2] The LXX. in xxiv. 1, 25 has *Shiloh*, adding in ver. 25, *ἐνώπιον τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰσραήλ*.

[3] Since *Deuteronomy* is generally regarded as earlier than the Priestly code (see *Introd.* p. 7), the insertion of passages from *Deut.* into this section must be the work of a late scribe; the passages in question do not occur in the earliest MS. of the LXX.

Levites seems, from indications in the historical books, to have been much later than Joshua's time; (2) Judah and Simeon were at this date separated from the rest of the tribes, and Manasseh had probably not yet crossed from the W. to the E. of Jordan; (3) many of the cities represented as assigned to the Levites were still in the hands of the Canaanites (*e.g.* Gezer, Taanach, Rehob, Nahalol, see *Jud.* i. 27-32). It is also noteworthy that Phinehas, who as a priest should have had a share in the cities allotted to the sons of Aaron in Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin (*Josh.* xxi. 4), is represented in *Josh.* xxiv. 33 (JE) as possessing Gibeah of Phinehas in Ephraim, which is not included among the cities in that tribe which were granted to the descendants of Levi.

The section (c. xx.) which contains the narrative of the altar erected by the two eastern tribes on going to their homes likewise appears, from its linguistic colouring and its spirit, to be derived from P. It represents that the altar in question was thought by the western tribes to be intended as another sanctuary instead of, or in addition to, Shiloh, and relates that Phinehas was sent by them to remonstrate before they proceeded to extremities. The eastern tribes explained that the altar was not meant as a place of sacrifice, but to witness (by its shape), in case the western tribes disallowed their claim to religious communion, that they were worshippers of Jehovah. The altar, in consequence, was called *Ed.*[1] The belief, however, implied by the narrative, that no altar could be used for sacrifice except the one before the Tabernacle is inconsistent alike with the practice of Joshua himself (*Josh.* viii. 30 foll.) and that of the ages immediately following his time. But it is not improbable that an altar was really erected, under the circumstances described, by the returning tribes, the existence of which seemed to later generations to require an explanation.

Of Joshua's last speech there seem to be two versions (*Josh.* xxiii. and xxiv.), of which the second has the best authority behind it, being derived from JE, whereas the first is composed in the style and spirit of *Deut.* Even in the version contained in c. xxiv. there appear to be insertions in the Deuteronomic manner (*e.g.* ver. 13, cf. *Deut.* vi. 10–11); and the statement that Joshua wrote the words of the covenant in the book of the Law (ver. 26) has likewise been suspected to be an interpolation, such a proceeding seeming to be out of keeping with the stage of thought and custom implied in the erection of a stone to serve as a witness. Yet cf. *Ex.* xvii. 14–16.

[1] In *Josh.* xxii. 34 there is a lacuna which requires some such insertion. The word means *witness.*

CHAPTER VII

THE JUDGES

Sources—*Jud.* iii. 7–xxi. 25, *1 Sam.* i. 1–vii. 1.

JOSHUA, as has been said, was one of the three men who made Israel a nation. Under his leadership, the wanderers of the desert, full of tribal jealousies, and hitherto little accustomed to concerted action, were compacted into a body sufficiently united and powerful to be more than a match for the forces of the Canaanites. But he left no successor to command the obedience of all Israel; nor, indeed, under the new conditions in which the people found itself, was its comprehension under a single head as yet feasible. Even during Joshua's lifetime certain of the tribes acted independently of him; and when he passed away, such combination as his military operations enforced tended to disappear as the different sections separated to appropriate their respective acquisitions, and gave place to a narrow and self-assertive tribal spirit. And this proneness to a self-regarding policy was aggravated in the case of some by the situation in which they were placed in consequence of the imperfect subjugation of the country. The nascent sentiment of nationalism drooped when the outlying tribes, on the one hand, saw themselves menaced by strong Canaanite fortresses, and on the other hand, felt themselves attracted by the luxurious Canaanite civilisation. Of the weakness which this partly inevitable partly self-chosen isolation produced the surrounding communities quickly took advantage, the vanquished Canaanites trying to regain the soil they had lost, and the Ammonites and Moabites, as well as the desert tribes (like Midian), seeking to share the territory which their Israelite

kindred had won. Nevertheless, in spite of heathen seduction and heathen assaults, neither the purer faith and morality inseparable from the religion of Jehovah, nor the consciousness of national claims due to a common ancestry, was altogether quenched. Though for a time submerged, they constantly reasserted themselves; and consequently the period that now comes under notice was one of alternate disaster and recovery, both moral and material; and the uninterrupted successes of the book of *Joshua* give place to the chequered history contained in *Judges*.

The complex character and temper of the age—the corruption of manners met by indignant protests, and the jealous tribal spirit brought into conflict with a nobler sense of national duty—finds illustration in an early incident which took place in connection with Gibeah, a town of Benjamin. A Levite, dwelling on the north of mount Ephraim, had gone to Bethlehem in Judah to recover his concubine, who had withdrawn to her home there; and on his returning to his own house (*Jud.* xix. 18 marg., cf. ver. 9) he found it necessary to pass the night at Gibeah (in preference to Jerusalem which was still in the hands of the Jebusites). There the woman was so grossly outraged that she died; and the Levite, when he reached his home, appealed to the nation at large to avenge the crime. But when a force was gathered and demanded the surrender of the criminals, the Benjamites refused to deliver them up; and a war ensued in which Benjamin eventually lost heavily. The narrative represents that the plight of the survivors of the offending tribe was rendered still worse by an oath, taken by the rest of the Israelites, that they would not give their daughters in marriage to Benjamin; but to avoid the extinction of the tribe, recourse was had to two devices. In the first place, Jabesh Gilead, a city which had not contributed any forces to the combined Israelite army, was captured and destroyed, and its unmarried women were bestowed on the Benjamites; whilst, secondly, all who were not thus provided, at the suggestion of the rest of the tribes, carried off the virgins of Shiloh when gathered together at a vintage festival.

The incident of Gibeah is referred to in *Hos.* ix. 9, x. 9, as a well-known event in the nation's history; and its early date is determined by the statement that Phinehas the grandson of Aaron was priest at the time (*Jud.* xx. 27). But the account of it in its present form appears from its phraseology to be late,[1] and though true in substance, has been idealised, especially in respect of the unanimity prevailing amongst the tribes in general, the position assigned to Judah (xx. 18), at this time isolated, and the enormous number of the forces engaged (400,000 foot from the eleven tribes, and 26,700 (or according to another reading, 25,700) from Benjamin).[2] It is also noteworthy that Jabesh Gilead, which is represented as totally destroyed, was a prominent city in the reign of Saul (*1 Sam.* xi.).

In the absence of any paramount authority in succession to Joshua, the government of the people must have rested solely with the heads of the various tribes and of the several families composing them (cf. *Josh.* xxiv. 1, *Jud.* ii. 7). And so long as the Israelites were left in the undisturbed possession of the territories which they had acquired, this tribal and patriarchal type of rule was doubtless sufficient for their needs. But as soon as external enemies began to assail them, and the Canaanites made attempts to recover their losses, the necessity of better organisation became urgent. But capacity for political organisation was a quality in which the Hebrews, seemingly in common with some other of the Semitic races, appear to have been deficient. Under pressure of danger they could form temporary confederations which fell asunder as soon as the danger was removed, but they were slow to enter into closer and more permanent combinations. In this respect the Israelites, who were just passing from the nomadic to the agricultural stage of society, were behind their kinsmen of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, all of whom had kings before them (see *Gen.* xxxvi. 31, *Jud.* iii. 12, xi. 12). Consequently, when an uprising of the Canaanites or an invasion on the part of nations outside Canaan, rendered it necessary to unite for the purpose of

[1] The expressions *congregation* and *wickedness* (or *lewdness*), both of which occur in c. xx., xxi. (see xx. 1, 6, xxi. 10, 13, 16), are especially characteristic of the Priestly code of the Hexateuch (see p. 5, note).

[2] In *Jud.* xx. there is considerable repetition, ver. 30–36a and 36b–46 being duplicates. If *twenty and six thousand* be the correct reading in ver. 15, the first of these two versions must have represented the survivors of Benjamin at 1600 (see ver. 35) instead of the 600 of the second version (ver. 47).

If the fighting force were one-eighth of the total population, the figures given would imply that the Israelites at this time numbered between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000; whereas even Wales had at the last census a population of not quite a million and three-quarters.

defence they were dependent for leadership upon the valour and conduct of those individuals whom native ability and good fortune brought to the front. The influence which these leaders exercised rested mainly upon their personal qualities and not upon any prescriptive rights or even public sanction; and must have varied both with their individual capacities and the conditions that evoked them. Those whom the exigencies of the times thus invested with power were designated by the already existing title of *judges* (see *Num.* xxv. 5), though the significance which now became attached to the name was that of deliverer rather than administrator of justice.

The authority of the Judges was naturally, from the circumstances of their origin, restricted and local in range and, in general, extended to just such parts of the nation as were prepared, for their own advantage, to submit to it. And it is not improbable that at first it was temporary in duration, and was laid down when the emergency which demanded it was brought to an end. But no doubt such authority, once assumed, was in many cases retained, and the Judges, from being asserters of their country's liberties, came to occupy a position more accurately corresponding to their title, and became magistrates as well as military chiefs. And later, there seem to have been Judges who owed their existence from the first to the popular need of some central authority to meet other requirements than that of direction in war. Of five of those named in the book of *Judges* no warlike exploits of a personal character are recorded, and the same is true of two others who are styled Judges, but whose history falls outside the book, namely Eli and Samuel;[1] whilst the description of Deborah (in *Jud.* iv. 5) implies that she also exercised some judicial functions prior to the warlike movement which she initiated in conjunction with Barak. Probably Judges of both types acquired their influence and authority insensibly by the spread of their reputation for the qualities most in requisition, though an instance is not lacking of a leader demanding and receiving a formal tender of obedience (*Jud.* xi. 9 foll.) They were in no sense *ordinary* elective officers

[1] But on the passages relating to Samuel see pp. 216–7.

like the Carthaginian *Suffetes*[1] (to whose name the Hebrew *Shophetim* (used to describe them) is presumably akin); and still less was their office hereditary, though doubtless they could transmit much of their actual influence to their children, if the latter could maintain it (cf. *Jud.* ix. 2, x. 4).

Most of the external troubles which gave occasion for the activity of the Judges, though represented by the compiler of the book of *Judges* as national conflicts, affected, so far as can be gathered from the details given, only a narrow area, and the extent of the region exposed to them determined, for the most part, the limit of the Judge's authority, outside of which he often encountered hostility from his own countrymen. When the Canaanites, headed by Jabin of Hazor, overran the territories of Zebulun and Naphtali, only a few of the other tribes aided the rising under Barak. Gideon, the Manassite leader against the Midianites, though assisted (if the existing account be correct)[2] by Ephraim in the pursuit of them, could only disarm the subsequent hostility of the other division of the house of Joseph by submissive flattery. Jephthah the Gileadite who defeated Ammon, was actually attacked by the Ephraimites, who were jealous of his independent action. To such instances of callous indifference and envious rivalry must be added others of actual betrayal of Israel's cause under the influence of selfish fears. The city of Meroz, though the nature of its offence is quite unknown, must have been sorely lacking in patriotism to provoke the bitter curse of Deborah (*Jud.* v. 23). The citizens of Succoth and Penuel refused to supply the wants of Gideon's army; and the tribe of Judah delivered the Danite Samson into the hands of the Philistines. Such instances make it clear that, whilst the attacks made upon Israel at this period were desultory and unsystematic, the resistance offered to them was in most cases equally lacking in coherence and combination. There was as yet absent from the Israelite tribes an adequate sense of the unity which was involved in their common kindred and their common faith. Almost the sole example of patriotism

[1] See Livy xxx. 7, *Suffetes, quod velut consulare imperium apud eos erat.* The title also occurs in an inscription (5th or 4th century B.C.) of Carthage, now preserved at Marseilles.

[2] See below, p. 203.

breathing the spirit of a larger national life is that of the prophetess Deborah, who, though dwelling in Ephraim, was the soul of the resistance made against the northern Canaanites, and who, in her Song, upbraided the tribes who stood aloof from helping their kinsmen in their need.

The chronology of the book of *Judges* is difficult to harmonise both with other statements made in the O.T. and with the probable facts of the case. The duration of the Oppressions and of the rule of the Judges is as follows:—

Cushan-rishathaim	8
Othniel	40
Eglon of Moab	18
Ehud	80
(Shamgar	—)
The Canaanites	20
Deborah	40
The Midianites	7
Gideon	40
Abimelech	3
Tola	23
Jair	22
The Ammonites	18
Jephthah	6
Ibzan	7
Elon	10
Abdon	8
The Philistines	40
Samson	20

The total number of years amounts to 410, which agrees approximately with the 300 years (strictly 319) which are represented as having elapsed prior to Jephthah (*Jud.* xi. 26), if the time occupied by the Conquest is ignored. But in *1 Kg.* vi. 1 the period between the Exodus and the building of Solomon's Temple is stated to be 480 years, whereas if to the figures in *Judges* there are added the forty years each of Moses, Eli, and David, and the four years of Solomon previous to the foundation of the Temple, the total amounts to 534, without any account being taken not only of the time covered by the Conquest but of that embraced by the predominance of Samuel and the reign of Saul. In reality, however, the period between the Exodus and the Temple was probably less than 300 years, if the former event be fixed approximately for 1250–1200, and the building of the Temple for 970–950; whilst it seems likely that the system of chronology followed by the writer of *1 Kg.* vi. is an artificial one. *Forty years* conventionally described a generation;[1] and the number 480 probably represents twelve generations, agreeably with the fact that the High Priest Azariah, who was contemporary with the erection of the Temple, was the twelfth from Aaron (*1 Ch.* vi. 4–9).[2] With

[1] See especially *Num.* xiv. 33.

[2] The parenthetical remark in *1 Ch.* vi. 10 refers to the *Azariah* of ver. 9, not to that of ver. 10; the son (Amariah) of the latter was contemporary with Jehoshaphat (*2 Ch.* xix. 11).

In *Ruth* iv. 20 David is only the fifth from Moses with whom his ancestor Nahshon was contemporary, but the genealogical table is doubtless defective.

regard to the time included within the book of *Judges*, if the figures giving the duration of the Oppressions and the rule of the Judges could be regarded as trustworthy, it would be absolutely necessary to assume that some of the events recounted were contemporaneous, in order to bring them within the 250 years which is the most that can be allowed for them. Even apart from this, such an assumption is probable in itself and favoured by the record; for in x. 7 the Philistines and Ammonites are represented as oppressing Israel together, though Jephthah only delivered the country from the latter, so that the Philistine domination of xiii. 1 may have been simultaneous with part of that of the Ammonites, whilst within the forty years of the Philistine rule Samson's judgeship of twenty years seems to be comprised (xv. 20). In point of fact, however, the figures in *Judges* are probably to a large extent conventional numbers, *forty* occurring four times, whilst its double *eighty* is found once and its half *twenty* twice, and accordingly afford no basis for exact calculations.

The uncertainty as to how far the incidents embraced within the book of *Judges* were successive detracts from the value of any attempt to arrange them in chronological order. It will therefore be convenient to recount them separately as they are related, without determining their actual historical sequence, though it is probable that the oppression by Moab is correctly placed among the earliest, as that of the Philistines in c. xiii. was certainly the latest, of the events covered by this period.

1. Oppression by Syrians of Mesopotamia[1] under Cushan-rishathaim: deliverance effected by Othniel, brother of Caleb, a Kenizzite (*Jud.* iii. 7–11).

A raid upon Judah, with whom the Kenizzites were united, by a body of Syrians marching along the maritime plain in the direction of Philistia and Egypt, is not impossible in view of what took place in the time of Hazael (*2 Kg.* xii. 17); and an army from Mesopotamia is said to have come into conflict with the Egyptians in the reign of Rameses III.[2] But the chronology of this period is too doubtful for any very plausible conclusions to be drawn respecting the connection of this with the invasion of Cushan-rishathaim; and an isolated attack upon the most southern tribe by a foe coming from the north is rather improbable. *Cushan* as a place-name occurs in *Hab.* iii. 7 in connection with Midian, a people in Mosaic times dwelling in the Sinaitic desert, a more likely quarter for a raid upon Judah, and *Syria* (Heb. *Aram*) may have arisen by corruption from *Edom*.

2. Oppression by Moab under Eglon: deliverance effected by Ehud (*Jud.* iii. 12–30).

The Moabites, who must have recovered from the losses inflicted upon them (according to *Josh.* xxiv. 9–10) in the

[1] Heb. *Aram Naharaim*, the district between the Euphrates and the Habor (Chaboras). [2] Sayce, *Early History of the Hebrews*, pp. 285–6.

time of Moses, were probably desirous of following in the track of Israel in order to share the conquest of the western side of the Jordan. They crossed the river in combination with a body of Ammonites and Amalekites, seized Jericho, "the city of palm trees" (*Deut.* xxxiv. 3), and imposed tribute upon the surrounding country of Benjamin. Possibly Gilgal was the seat of their rule; and thither Ehud, a Benjamite, who was left-handed,[1] was commissioned to convey the tribute to Eglon, the Moabite king. After presenting it, he dismissed his attendants, and then returning to the king, he obtained a private interview by claiming to be the bearer of an oracle meant for the king's ear alone. His left-handedness enabled him to carry a weapon with him without being suspected, and when Eglon rose from his seat out of respect for the pretended message, Ehud thrust his sword through the king's body. The assassin effected his escape,[2] and in answer to his summons, the Ephraimites seized the fords of the Jordan, where the Moabites, disheartened by the death of their sovereign, were attempting to cross the river, and cut them to pieces.

3. Oppression by the Philistines: deliverance effected by Shamgar (*Jud.* iii. 31).

This attack by the Philistines in the south seems to have been contemporaneous with that by the Canaanites in the north, described below (see *Jud.* v. 6). The Philistines, after repelling the attack upon Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ekron which had been made by Judah at the Conquest (p. 175), now began to retaliate. Advancing along the maritime plain, they penetrated into the hill country of Judah and Ephraim through the valleys of Elah, Sorek, and Aijalon; and wherever they established their authority they seem to have made it a practice to disarm the population (cf. *1 Sam.* xiii. 19, 22). But even under such conditions a successful rising was effected by Shamgar,

[1] Instances of men who were left-handed were relatively common in Benjamin; cf. *Jud.* xx. 16, *1 Ch.* xii. 2.

[2] The final words of *Jud.* iii. 22 are very obscure. The translation of the R.V. text involves a correction of the Heb.; whilst the marginal rendering comes from the LXX. (ἐξῆλθεν Ἀὼδ τὴν προστάδα), and anticipates what is described in the next verse.

though the only weapons possessed by him and his supporters were rustic implements (*Jud.* iii. 31).[1]

4. Oppression by the Canaanites: deliverance effected by Barak (*Jud.* iv., v.).

The outbreak of the Canaanites in the north was a renewal of the earlier struggle against Joshua (*Josh.* c. xi.). The city of Hazor had recovered from its ruin, and its king Jabin was now the head of a confederacy, the united forces of which were under the command of Sisera, whose home was at Harosheth, at the foot of Carmel, and who dominated the plain of Esdraelon. Possessing a powerful body of chariots, the number of which is placed at 900, and finding in the plain excellent facilities for their manœuvres, the Canaanites obtained the upper hand over the northern tribes; and Naphtali, Zebulun, and Issachar were subjected to severe treatment. The stimulus to revolt, however, came from outside, Deborah, a prophetess of Ephraim, instigating Barak[2] of Naphtali to organise resistance among the oppressed tribes. Sympathisers joined him from some of the other tribes such as Ephraim, Manasseh (Machir), and Benjamin; but the tribes on the E. of Jordan held aloof, as did also Dan and Asher. Of the latter Dan was perhaps struggling against the encroaching Philistines, whilst Asher was possibly too closely surrounded by the Canaanite populations to render much aid. Encouraged by Deborah, without whom he refused to move, Barak advanced southward from Kedesh in Naphtali (near Lake Merom), gathering on the march forces which ultimately reached 10,000 men; and took up a position on mount Tabor, at the N.E. angle of the plain of Esdraelon. As the Canaanites, approaching from Harosheth, along the banks of the Kishon, entered the plain, Barak charged down upon them from the slopes of Tabor. The onset of the Israelites was aided by a storm (*Jud.* v. 20, 21), which dismayed their foes; whilst

[1] *Jud.* iii. 31 most naturally means that Shamgar slew 600 with his own hand (cf. *2 Sam.* xxiii. 8); but the word *ox goad* may perhaps be used collectively, and imply that he and his followers were armed with these weapons, which were long staves, tipped with a spike.

[2] Possibly the *Bedan* named in *1 Sam.* xii. 11 is an error for *Barak* which the LXX. reads.

possibly (as has been suggested by some) the reinforcements from the southern tribes assailed the Canaanites from another quarter. Broken by the attack, the bulk of the enemy fled west to Harosheth, pursued by Israel. Others, with their captain Sisera, crossed the Kishon, in which many perished as the stream was swollen by the storm. Sisera himself escaped and sought refuge with a body of Kenites, who were encamped near Kedesh in Issachar,[1] and were on terms of amity with Jabin. There he was received by Jael, the wife of one of them named Heber, who invited him into her tent and professed her willingness to conceal him from the enemy; but whilst he slept, she killed him by hammering a tent-peg through his temples as he lay on the ground asleep. The victory was celebrated by Deborah in a song of triumph which has been preserved.[2] This reverse finally crushed the Canaanites, though isolated places, like the citadel of Jerusalem, still maintained their independence; and henceforward the enemies of Israel were foreign.

It has been held that serious discrepancies exist between the prose account (*Jud.* iv.) and the description of events given in the Song of Deborah (*Jud.* v.). In the first, (*a*) Sisera is merely the general of Jabin king of Hazor; (*b*) Barak comes from Naphtali; (*c*) the only tribe, besides Naphtali, that joins him is Zebulun; (*d*) Sisera is slain, when asleep, by a tent-peg driven through his head. In the second it is alleged that (*a*) Sisera is named to the exclusion of Jabin; (*b*) Barak is associated with the tribe of Issachar; (*c*) he is joined by Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh (Machir) as well as Zebulun; (*d*) Sisera is struck down by Jael with a hammer (of which the *nail* to which she is said to have put her hand (ver. 26) is taken to be the handle) as he stooped to drink the milk proffered him. But (*a*) Sisera may have been a vassal king or ally, whom the prose account equally with the song recognises as the commander of the Canaanite forces; (*b*) the conclusion that Barak belonged to Issachar is not really involved in the language of v. 15;

[1] See *1 Ch.* vi. 72. It was on the left of the Kishon, between Taanach and Megiddo. If Kedesh Naphtali near the waters of Merom be meant, Sisera must have fled northwards and passed Hazor in his flight, which is a little unnatural. There was also a Kedesh at the S.W. corner of Lake Chinnereth; and if this be intended, Sisera must have turned in a N.E. direction, his army perhaps being cut in two by Barak's charge. This Kedesh, like the preceding, was in Naphtali, and may have been the home of Barak, a view more consistent with the negotiations with Deborah (see iv. 6), for between the Kedesh N. of Hazor and Deborah's home in Ephraim, the Canaanites' dominion intervened.

[2] It is not quite certain that the song is by Deborah herself. Her authorship, indeed, seems implied in ver. 7; but the LXX. reads ἕως οὗ ἀνέστη Δεββωρα, and the Hebrew admits of being rendered *until thou, Deborah, didst arise* (Deborah being addressed as in ver. 12).

(*c*) the allusion to the support given by the various tribes named in v. 14 does not necessarily imply large reinforcements, and c. iv., which asserts Deborah's connection with Ephraim, thereby suggests that help was furnished by that tribe at least; (*d*) the description of Sisera's death in v. 27 can scarcely, in poetry, be regarded as flatly contradicting that contained in iv. 21, whilst the word rendered *nail* or *tent-peg* seems always to have that meaning except in *Deut.* xxiii. 13 (where it signifies a "pick" or "spade").

5. Oppression by Midian and other Eastern tribes: deliverance effected by Gideon (*Jud.* vi.–viii.).

The Midianites (called *Ishmaelites* in *Jud.* viii. 24, cf. *Gen.* xxxvii. 25–28), who at the time of the Exodus occupied part of the Sinaitic peninsula, are mentioned by one of the Pentateuchal sources in connection with Moab on the E. of Jordan; and it was from this direction that they now made an attack upon Israel. A body of them, accompanied by Amalekites and other Bedouin tribes of the desert, crossed the Jordan (perhaps at Bethbarah), and spread themselves in Esdraelon, penetrating (if the statement in vi. 4 can be trusted) along the maritime plain as far as Gaza. The distress they caused was most severe, the Israelite husbandmen having all the fruits of their labour snatched from them by the marauders (cf. vi. 3, 11). An attempt at resistance at length came from Gideon or Jerubbaal, a Manassite of Ophrah.[1] He was incited to action both by the desire to avenge his brothers, who had been slain by the Midianites (viii. 18), and by the belief that he was divinely commissioned to deliver his countrymen from the hand of their enemies. It is related that the angel of Jehovah appeared to him and declared that Jehovah was with him; and on his asking how that could be when such evil had befallen the people, he was bidden to go at the Divine command and save Israel. When he proceeded to plead the insignificance of his family and himself for so great an undertaking, he was reassured; and an offering which he presented being consumed by fire from the rock on which it was placed, he accepted the sign and built an altar there to Jehovah, which he called *Jehovah Shalom* (vi. 11–24). He accordingly organised a revolt amongst his own clansmen of Abiezer, and took up his position near the

[1] Its precise situation is unknown, but it is generally identified with a locality near Shechem.

spring of Harod at the foot of mount Gilboa,[1] the Midianite host lying in the valley around the base of an opposite eminence called the hill of Moreh. But his force only amounted to 300 men, and with these he saw that his best hope of victory lay in a surprise. To discover the chances of a successful night attack, Gideon, with an attendant, entered the Midianite camp, and overheard one man tell another a dream, in which a cake of barley bread tumbled into the camp and struck and overthrew a tent;[2] and this the Israelite chief took as a favourable omen. Returning to his own forces, he divided his small body of 300 men into three bands, and provided every man with a trumpet, and a pitcher concealing a torch within it, with directions to blow the trumpet and break the pitcher on drawing near the enemy. The noise and flashing lights suggested to the Midianites the approach of a large hostile army, and they fled in confusion. The success of Gideon's blow rallied to him the tribes of Manasseh, Naphtali, and Asher; and the enemy retiring in the direction of the Jordan were vigorously pursued. Nevertheless they effected their escape across the Jordan; and only Gideon with his 300 continued the chase on the farther side. In the course of it, he was refused provisions by the citizens of Succoth and Penuel, who, owing to their position, were perhaps afraid of the Midianite power;[3] but in spite of the distress which such refusal entailed upon his followers, he succeeded in overtaking the fugitives, whom he surprised at Karkor[4] and defeated with loss,[5] capturing their two leaders, named Zebah and Zalmunna. On his return he took vengeance[6] on the leading men of Succoth (numbering seventy-seven persons); and proceeding next to Penuel, pulled down its

[1] In *Jud.* vii. 3 *Gilboa* should be read for *Gilead.*

[2] The barley loaf, falling on the tent from above, may be taken to represent Gideon's peasant army, posted on the hill sides.

[3] Possibly at this time the Jordan was a serious barrier to the mutual sympathy of the eastern and western tribes: compare the dissensions between Jephthah and the Ephraimites.

[4] Its position is unknown. Jogbehah, on the road to it, was S. of the Jabbok, so that the pursuit passed towards the S.E.

[5] The number of Midianites represented as slain at Karkor is 120,000, which must be an enormously exaggerated figure.

[6] For the mode of torture implied in *Jud.* viii. 7 cf. Hdt. i. 92, *τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἀντιπρήσσοντα ἐπὶ κνάφου ἕλκων διέφθειρε.*

tower and killed its citizens. He then ordered his son to execute the two Midianite chiefs, but as the young man shrank from the task, he slew them with his own hand.

The successful conclusion to which Gideon brought the campaign led to its being proposed to create him king; but the offer of kingly authority was refused by him. He seems, however, to have assumed considerable state; for his wives were numerous enough to make him the father of seventy sons. He begged, moreover, for part of the booty procured from Midian; and with the gold and purple thus obtained he made an ephod, which he placed in Ophrah, his native city. The amount of gold used in connection with the ephod (1,700 shekels) suggests that, if the ephod was not an image,[1] but the priestly garment usually denoted by the word, there must have been attached to it some golden ornaments (answering to the "breast-plate of judgment" described in *Ex.* xxviii. 15 foll.). In any case, Gideon's object seems to have been to establish a substitute for the oracle at Shiloh. The possession of the oracle at Shiloh may have helped to give to Ephraim the prestige which at this time it appears to have enjoyed (cf. *Jud.* viii. 1, xii. 1); and the ephod at Ophrah was doubtless intended as a counterpoise.

The narrative of Gideon is in many respects exceedingly obscure, and appears to be derived from conflicting sources. In particular, there seem to be discrepant accounts of (*a*) Gideon's call to arms, (*b*) the mustering of his army, (*c*) the names and end of the Midianite leaders.

(*a*) In the section vi. 11–24 (followed in the text) Gideon shows no consciousness of national guilt on the part of Israel, and spontaneously builds an altar to Jehovah: whereas in ver. 7–10 the calamities of the people are ascribed to their apostasy, and in ver. 25–32 Gideon is accordingly directed to throw down the altar of Baal, and build one unto Jehovah instead, which he only dared to do by night. When his fellow-citizens in consequence sought to kill him, he was only saved by his father's intervention, who asked his adversaries why they should plead for Baal who, if a god, could plead for himself; and hence Gideon obtained the name of *Jerubbaal*.[2]

[1] See p. 282.

[2] The name *Jerubbaal* is explained to mean "Let Baal plead against him." But it is possible that at this time *Baal* was a title applied to Jehovah as well as to the various Canaanite deities (see p. 279), in which case the name must really mean "Baal (*i.e.* Jehovah) contends" (alluding to Jehovah's fighting for His people); cf. *Jehoiarib* (*1 Ch.* ix. 10). Some authorities, however, connect the former part of the word with a verb meaning "to found," and compare the name *Jeruel* (*2 Ch.* xx. 16). From the same motive which led to the substitution of *Ishbosheth* and *Mephibosheth* for *Eshbaal* and *Meribbaal*, the name appears as *Jerubbesheth* in *2 Sam.* xi. 21.

(*b*) In vii. 23 the tribes of Naphtali, Asher, and Manasseh join Gideon only in the pursuit of the Midianites; but in vi. 35 the same tribes, with the addition of Zebulun, join him before the battle, to the number of 32,000 (vii. 3). But this being too large a host for Jehovah to deliver Midian into its hands, lest Israel should vaunt itself, Gideon is directed to reduce his army to smaller proportions by (1) dismissing the timorous, (2) rejecting all who drank of the water of the spring Harod in a particular fashion.[1]

(*c*) In viii. 4–21 the Midian chiefs (described as *kings*) are named *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, and are captured on the E. of Jordan by Gideon; whereas in the section vii. 24–viii. 3 (where they are called *princes*), they are named *Oreb* and *Zeeb*, and are taken at the fords of Jordan by the Ephraimites, whom Gideon had urged to cut off their retreat. After the termination of the war, the Ephraimites are represented as being inclined to pick a quarrel with Gideon for not having summoned them to share the battle as well as the pursuit; but are pacified by Gideon depreciating his own exploit in comparison with their destruction of the enemy's leaders.

If the view that the narrative has been compiled from two variant versions be correct, the fusion is too complete to allow of their being distinguished with any great confidence; and the discrepancy noted under (*c*) admits of being reconciled by the supposition that Ephraim destroyed one section of the Midianites, with its two leaders, and Gideon another.

6. Usurpation of Abimelech (*Jud.* ix.).

The sovereignty which Gideon declined was seized by one of his sons, Abimelech by name. This man was borne to Gideon by a Canaanite woman of Shechem, and by working upon the feelings of kinship which united him to the Shechemites, he induced the latter to support him. By means of a sum of money taken from the temple of Baal-berith and placed at his disposal he hired a band of ruffians; and by their aid he slew his seventy brethren (one, named Jotham, alone excepted) at Ophrah. The inhabitants of Shechem and Beth-millo (the latter probably a neighbouring fortress) then made Abimelech king. Jotham, who had escaped the slaughter of his brothers, on hearing of this, took his stand on Mount Gerizim, and from thence reproached the Shechemites for their ingratitude in an apologue;[2] and afterwards took to flight. The blood of

[1] The nature of the test in *Jud.* vii. 5–6 is obscure. From ver. 6 it seems that those were selected who, stooping, just dipped their hand in the water and put it to their mouth, thereby showing their wariness in the presence of the enemy (though Josephus, *Ant.* v. 6, 3, heightens the wonder of the subsequent victory by explaining that these were actuated by fear); whilst those were rejected who carelessly knelt down to drink. Ver. 5, describing beforehand those to be rejected, also adds the still more reckless men who threw themselves upon their faces and drank like dogs.

[2] The application of Jotham's apologue (*Jud.* ix. 7–20) to the circumstances

Gideon's family was not long left unavenged. A breach ensued between the native Shechemites and Abimelech; and a revolt against the latter, who had retired to the neighbouring town of Arumah, was incited by an immigrant named Gaal, the son of Ebed,[1] who at a vintage festival urged the native Shechemites to rebel against the half-breed Abimelech. The governor whom the latter had appointed over the city, one Zebul, was unable himself to quell the mutiny, but informed Abimelech, who approached the place with an armed force; and Gaal, being induced by Zebul's taunts to meet him, was defeated with loss. A number of his supporters were slain, and he himself with his brethren was shut out of the city by Zebul, nothing being related about his ultimate fate (ix. 26–41). The Shechemites, who had taken to brigandage (ver. 25) and robbed all who passed along the high road which ran between Ebal and Gerizim, were waylaid in turn by Abimelech who had been made acquainted with their proceedings.[2] The city was then attacked and taken, its inhabitants slaughtered, its walls razed, and its site sown with salt, though it seems to have been afterwards rebuilt (see *1 Kg.* xii. 1). The garrison of the tower of Shechem (possibly a fort outside the city) took refuge in the temple of El-berith (or Baal-berith), which was burnt over their heads, 1,000 persons, it is said, perishing in the flames (ver. 42–49). Subsequently Abimelech attacked a place called Thebez which he took, but in an assault upon a stronghold within the city, he was injured

is not very close. The thistle (representing the worthless Abimelech), after accepting the sovereignty of the trees, which the nobler olive and vine had refused, debates the sincerity of the trees (which represent the Shechemites) in choosing it to rule over them (ver. 15); but it was not the Shechemites' sincerity towards Abimelech which was in question, but their gratitude towards Gideon (Jerubbaal) whose family they had suffered Abimelech to slay (18–19).

[1] The LXX. B has Ιωβηλ, which, if the true reading, points to Gaal being an Israelite, not a Shechemite.

[2] In *Jud.* ix. the narrative relating to Gaal and the destruction of the Shechemites seems to be in some disorder, ver. 42 being connected with ver. 25. Though a fairly consistent account may be constructed from the narrative as it stands, it is not improbable that the section ver. 26–41 is an alternative version of ver. 22–25, 42–49. According to the former, the punishment that befell the ungrateful Shechemites (see ver. 57) was limited to the slaughter before the gates (ver. 40), according to the latter, it involved the total destruction both of the city and its population.

by a woman who broke his skull with a millstone cast from the wall: and to avoid the humiliation of having it said that he perished by a woman's hand,[1] he bade his armour-bearer thrust him through.

7. Two Minor Judges, Tola and Jair (*Jud.* x. 1–5).

Tola, the son of Puah,[2] was a native of Issachar, but dwelt at Shamir, in mount Ephraim, a fact that seems to indicate that his authority extended beyond the limits of his native tribe.

Jair is described as a Gileadite. His name is associated with certain cities (called *Havvoth Jair*) on the E. of Jordan, which were in the possession of his sons. These were perhaps the settlements made by immigrants from Manasseh already referred to (see *Num.* xxxii. 39–41, and cf. p. 127), their number and situation being variously stated.

In *Jud.* x. 4 the number of these cities is given as 30 (LXX. 32), but in *1 Ch.* ii. 22, as 23, both authorities locating them in *Gilead*. In *Josh.* xiii. 30, *Deut.* iii. 14, and *1 Ch.* ii. 23,[3] they are confused with a group of 60 cities in *Bashan* (see *1 Kg.* iv. 13). The region in Bashan peculiarly associated with them, named Argob, has been by some identified with a district of curious volcanic formation, now called the *Leja*, which lies south of Damascus. Others place it further west, on the borders of Maacah (in the neighbourhood of the Sea of Chinnereth).

8. Oppression by the Ammonites; deliverance effected by Jephthah (*Jud.* x. 6–xii. 7).

The locality which suffered from the attacks of the Ammonites was Gilead, E. of the Jordan. The inhabitants in their distress had recourse to Jephthah (whose name is probably shortened from Jephthah-el), an outlaw, who, as the son of a harlot (probably a woman of non-Israelite extraction), had been driven from his country, and had taken refuge in the land of Tob, a district bordering on Maacah and Syria, where he became the leader of a band of freebooters. On condition of having the rule over Gilead solemnly assured to him at the sanctuary of Jehovah

[1] His fear was justified; see *2 Sam.* xi. 21.

[2] The LXX. makes Puah the uncle (πατράδελφος) of Abimelech, and consequently brother of Gideon; but the latter belonged to Manasseh, not to Issachar.

[3] According to *1 Ch.* ii. 23 the towns of Jair, with Kenath, were taken from Israel by the Geshurites and Syrians, probably in the wars waged with the Syrian kings Benhadad and Hazael (see pp. 343, 348).

(probably at Mizpah, in Gilead), in the event of a successful issue, he responded to the appeal of his fellow-countrymen. He first applied for help to the Ephraimites on the W. of Jordan (xii. 2); but as they turned a deaf ear, he determined to assail the Ammonites with such resources as he could command from his own tribesmen. After sending a remonstrance to the Ammonite king for his wanton invasion of a country taken by Israel not from them or from Moab but from the Amorites, Jephthah assumed the offensive, and defeated and pursued the enemy from Aroer, on the east of Rabbah (*Josh.* xiii. 25), to Minnith and Abel-cheramim (unknown localities in Ammonite territory). Having, before setting out, vowed to sacrifice to Jehovah that which first came forth from the doors of his house[1] to meet him on his return, he found his triumph marred by his daughter being the one to do so. The maiden heroically submitted to the fate which her father's rash utterance entailed upon her; and after allowing her two months' respite to bewail her untimely death, he did to her according to his vow.[2] It afterwards became a custom in Israel to lament the daughter of Jephthah four times a year.[3]

As has been seen, there is reason to think that by this time part of the region E. of the Jordan had been occupied by detachments from the tribes of Joseph who were settled on the other side of the river; and the western Ephraimites were now indignant that they had had no share in the overthrow inflicted on Ammon by Jephthah and his Gileadites, whom they arrogantly termed runaways[4] from Ephraim and Manasseh. They accordingly crossed

[1] These words certainly suggest that Jephthah contemplated a human sacrifice when he made his vow.

[2] The Heb. text of *Jud.* xi. 39 gives no countenance to the view that the execution of Jephthah's vow consisted in consigning his daughter to perpetual virginity. He doubtless actually did what Saul subsequently was fully prepared to do (*1 Sam.* xiv. 44).

[3] A story similar to that of Jephthah is related by Servius (quoted by Conington on Verg. *A.* iii. 122) of the Greek Idomeneus. Being caught in a storm, he vowed to the gods of the sea that if preserved he would sacrifice to them the first creature that met him on landing, which proved to be his son. He duly performed his vow; but a plague visiting Crete in consequence, he was expelled by the inhabitants, and had to seek a new home.

[4] This rendering, however, is contrary to the usual sense of the word, which generally means *survivors*, and is so employed in xii. 5.

the Jordan to Zaphon (xii. 1 marg.), a town of Gad in the Jordan valley (*Josh.* xiii. 27), and took Jephthah to task for his independent action just as (according to one account, see p. 203) they had previously done with the Manassite Gideon; and as Jephthah and his countrymen replied in the same spirit, a conflict followed in which Ephraim was worsted. After the engagement the Gileadites seized the fords of Jordan to intercept the fugitives as they returned across the river; and detecting them by a peculiarity of speech (the word *Shibboleth*, "stream," being pronounced *Sibboleth*)[1] they put numbers of them to the sword.

In *Jud.* x. 9 the assertion is made that the Ammonites crossed the Jordan and invaded Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim; but the statement, in view of the situation of Judah and the subsequent conduct of Ephraim, is highly improbable. The section x. 6–16 belongs in the main to the "framework" of the book (see *Introd.* p. 9).

In xi. 2–3 Jephthah is represented as a bastard expelled from his home by the legitimate children of his father Gilead. But Gilead is obviously a local, not a personal, name; and ver. 9 implies that Jephthah's banishment was the work of the "elders" of Gilead.

The narrative of xi. 12–28 is not free from difficulties, for in it Jephthah, whilst addressing the king of the *Ammonites*, refers to the conquest of *Moab* from the Amorites as related in *Num.* xxi. Moreover, it is of Moab that *Chemosh* is elsewhere described as the god (*Num.* xxi. 29, *Jer.* xlviii. 46), the Ammonite deity being *Molech* or *Milcom* (*1 Kg.* xi. 5, *2 Kg.* xxiii. 13). But the two nations were closely allied, and Chemosh may have been worshipped by both, *Milcom* being possibly, and *Molech* being certainly, a title, and not a personal appellation.

9. Three Minor Judges, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon (*Jud.* xii.8–15).

Ibzan, probably of Bethlehem in Zebulun[2] (*Josh.* xix. 15), is said to have had thirty sons and thirty daughters. At his death, he was buried in his own city.

Elon was a native of Zebulun, of whom nothing is recorded except the name of his burial place, Aijalon in Zebulun.

Abdon, the son of Hillel of Pirathon in Ephraim, is related to have had forty sons and thirty grandsons, his importance and dignity being further indicated by the statement that his

[1] A parallel incident has been adduced (see Moore *ad loc.*) from mediæval history. In 1282 at Palermo a massacre of all the French in the city took place in consequence of an outrage upon one of the inhabitants; and the nationality of many was discovered by their pronunciation of the words *ceci e ciceri*.

[2] Josephus (*Ant.* v. 7, 13) makes Ibzan a native of Bethlehem in Judah.

numerous offspring rode on seventy ass colts (since the ass at this time was the animal usually ridden by persons of rank and opulence; see v. 10, x. 4).

10. Oppression by the Philistines: Samson and Eli (*Jud.* x. 7, xiii.–xvi., *1 Sam.* i.–vii. 1).

The attacks of Moab, Midian and Ammon had not been of much more than local importance; but those now initiated by the Philistines really threatened the subjugation of the country at large. The power of this people seems to have increased more rapidly than that of their neighbours, perhaps in consequence of better organisation, their five leading cities being united in a confederation. The extension of their authority had almost extinguished Simeon as a tribe and even overawed Judah (*Jud.* xv. 9–13). The latter tribe had long been sundered from the main body of Israel, and in it patriotic spirit seems to have sunk to an exceedingly low ebb; so that little opposition was offered to the Philistine aggressions. The only efforts at resistance during the early stages of their advance were made by a hero of the tribe of Dan, named Samson, a native of Zorah. Of his wonderful strength and caustic humour numerous stories are told; but the character of many of them makes it difficult to place implicit confidence in the record as a whole, though it can scarcely be questioned that it has an historic basis. In the account as it stands, Samson's right to the title of Judge rests upon nothing but his slaughter of a number of his country's enemies to avenge his private wrongs.

According to the narrative Samson was the son of a man named Manoah, whose wife had been long barren. To her the angel of Jehovah appeared and foretold that she should bear a son, at the same time directing her to refrain, before the child's birth, from strong drink and everything unclean, and declaring that the child should be a *Nazirite* (on whose head no razor might come), and should save Israel from the Philistines. On a second visit, at which Manoah, who was present, offered a burnt-offering and a meal-offering, the angel ascended in the flame that consumed the sacrifice. The woman subsequently bore a child, who was called Samson.

When Samson grew to manhood, he sought in marriage a Philistine woman, despite the protests of his father and mother. On the way to Timnah,[1] where

[1] In *Jud.* xiv. 5 foll. there are some slight inconsistencies; for whereas ver. 5 represents Samson's parents as accompanying him to Timnah, ver. 6 implies that he was alone when he killed the lion.

the woman lived, he killed a young lion, in whose carcase bees afterwards swarmed,[1] and the incident suggested to him a riddle which he propounded to the thirty Philistines appointed to be his companions at the marriage feast, staking a wager that they would not solve it within the seven days that the feast lasted. Failing to discover the answer by the fourth day (so LXX. in xiv. 15), they induced his bride, by means of threats, to extract it from him; and Samson, to pay the wager which he thus lost, smote thirty men of Ashkelon and took their spoil. He then left the Philistines in anger; and when he subsequently returned to claim his wife, he found that she had been given to another man. In revenge, he caught 300 foxes and tying them in pairs by the tails, with lighted fire-brands between them, he turned them loose among the standing corn. The Philistines retaliated by burning his wife and her father, whom Samson avenged with a great slaughter; after which he retired to the rock of Etam (in Judah). There he allowed himself to be bound by the men of Judah in order to be delivered to the Philistines; but when he met the latter at a place called Lehi, he burst his bonds, and seizing the jaw-bone of an ass, he smote a thousand men. After casting away the jaw-bone (the place receiving in consequence the name of *Ramath Lehi*),[2] he was athirst, and in answer to his cry God clave the hollow place in Lehi, whence there came forth water to revive him. The spring thus opened was accordingly called *En hakkore*.[3]

A visit which Samson paid to a harlot at Gaza led to the city gates being watched during the night with a view to his capture in the morning; but at midnight he arose, and plucking up the gate-posts, carried them, with the doors and bar, to the top of a mountain east of Hebron, a distance of forty miles.

After this, love for another woman called Delilah, who lived in the valley of Sorek, again led him into danger. Delilah was bribed by the lords of the Philistines to draw from him the secret of his great strength, and after he had thrice deceived her, he revealed to her that his strength would leave him if his head were shorn. She accordingly had the locks of his hair shorn while he was asleep; and when he was thus weakened, he was overpowered by the Philistines, blinded, and imprisoned at Gaza. But in the course of time his hair grew again; and when the Philistines, on the occasion of a festival held in honour of their god Dagon, brought him from prison to make sport for them, he seized the pillars upon which the roof of the house, crowded with sight-seers, was supported, and bowing himself with all his might, he broke the pillars, so that the house fell and destroyed both himself and his enemies, the latter numbering 3,000 men and women. He was buried by his friends in the burying place of his father Manoah, between Zorah and Eshtaol.

The account of Samson has been explained by some as a solar myth. The name *Samson* (Heb. *Shimshon*) is connected with the word *shemesh* "sun"; and the hero's adventure with the lion, and his death in the temple of Dagon (who is regarded as a fish-god[4]) have been taken to represent the entrance of the sun into the Zodiacal constellations *Leo* (in summer) and *Pisces* (in winter);

[1] For the swarming of bees in the carcase of a dead animal cf. the story of Aristæus in Verg. *G.* iv. 548–558.

[2] The name probably means "the height of Lehi" (or the Jaw), but is taken to mean "the casting away of the jaw."

[3] The name may really mean "Partridge Spring," but is taken by the historian to signify "the spring of him that called."

[4] By some authorities, however, Dagon is regarded as a corn-god; see p. 212, note.

whilst the destruction of the Philistines' corn is interpreted to denote the effect of drought and blight. By others Samson's career has been compared with that of Hercules (which itself is sometimes explained as a solar myth), both heroes being characterised by courage in regard to men and weakness in regard to women. But the introduction of mythological elements into connection with events so late as the war immediately preceding the institution of monarchy in Israel is highly improbable; and the narrative doubtless contains a nucleus of fact, which tradition has amplified and exaggerated. Many of the details probably had their origin in current phrases, poetical expressions, and local names (such as those quoted or mentioned in xiv. 14, 18, xv. 16, 17, 19) of which an explanation, when demanded, was supplied by popular fancy.

But the Philistines were too powerful an enemy for their inroads to be stayed effectually by the exploits of individuals, however brilliant and daring; and Israel had not yet found a leader to organise successfully the collective forces of the nation. And foreign invasion was accompanied by internal corruption. What central authority existed was in the hands of the High Priest Eli at Shiloh (*1 Sam.* iv. 18), a descendant of Aaron in the line of Ithamar,[1] whose two sons Hophni and Phinehas, taking advantage of their father's great age, acted so rapaciously (if not licentiously)[2] that (according to the existing narrative) the death of both of them by violence, and the downfall of their father's house were predicted.[3] Nevertheless, the advance of the Philistines into the heart of the country was not accomplished without a struggle. Entering the territory of Israel by one of the southern passes, they were met by the Israelite forces at Ebenezer near Aphek,[4] where a battle was fought in which the Israelites were defeated and had to retire to their camp with a loss of 4,000 men. The heads of the several contingents engaged determined as a last resource to fetch the Ark from Shiloh, that it might be with them in the next encounter.[5] Accordingly

[1] This is a conclusion derived from a comparison of *1 Sam.* xxii. 20, xiv. 3, and *1 Ch.* xxiv. 3, if *Ahimelech son of Ahitub* and *Ahijah son of Ahitub* can be regarded as identical. Eli's descent from Ithamar is also affirmed by Josephus (*Ant.* v. 11, 5).

[2] On *1 Sam.* ii. 22, see p. 286, note.

[3] The section *1 Sam.* ii. 27–36 reflects the conditions of the monarchy (see ver. 35) and the actual displacement of Eli's descendant Abiathar by Zadok in the reign of Solomon (*1 Kg.* ii. 27).

[4] Its situation is unknown. Some authorities place Ebenezer in the valley of Sorek; if this is correct the Aphek of iv. 1. cannot be the Aphek of *1 Sam.* xxix. 1.

[5] Cf. *Num.* x. 35, *2 Sam.* xi. 11.

it was brought from the sanctuary by the priests Hophni and Phinehas, and enthusiastically welcomed by the Israelite host, whilst tidings of its arrival created proportionate dismay amongst the Philistines.[1] The battle that followed, however, was even more disastrous to Israel than the previous one had been. The army was routed with great slaughter,[2] the Ark itself captured, and the two priests slain. The calamitous news was carried to Eli, who did not survive the shock;[3] whilst it also proved fatal to the wife of Phinehas, who was then pregnant. To the child of which she was prematurely delivered, she gave, before dying, the name of Ichabod ("Glory has departed"). From the absence of any subsequent mention of a sanctuary at Shiloh, and the fact that the main body of priests was afterwards established at Nob, it may be concluded that Shiloh[4] was assaulted and ravaged, and the tabernacle destroyed (cf. *Jer.* vii. 12–14, xxvi. 6, 9, *Ps.* lxxviii. 60–61).

The captured Ark was carried in triumph to Ashdod and placed in the temple of the god Dagon. But on successive mornings the image of Dagon was found (it is said) prostrate and mutilated before the Ark of Jehovah; whilst the population of the city was attacked by a plague, of which painful boils were a symptom. The Ark, in consequence, was taken, first to Gath, and then to Ekron; but as the plague that afflicted Ashdod extended to these cities also, the people came to regard the presence of the Ark as fatal, and after it had been only seven months in Philistia, determined to send it back to Israel. It was placed, for removal from Ekron, in a cart drawn by kine, and was accompanied by a guilt-offering in the form of five golden plague-boils and five golden mice, a mouse being an emblem

[1] In *1 Sam.* iv. 8 the Philistine allusion to the smiting of the Egyptians by plagues *in the wilderness* is probably due to an erroneous reading: the passage should run *that smote the Egyptians with all manner of plagues and with pestilence.* The alteration in the Heb. is slight (see Driver or H. P. Smith *ad loc.*).

[2] According to *1 Sam.* iv. 10 there fell 30,000 foot-men.

[3] The Hebrew of *1 Sam.* iv. 13 represents Eli as seated by the wayside, in which case he would presumably have heard the tidings before they reached the city (contrary to ver. 14). But the LXX. reads *ἰδοὺ Ἠλὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δίφρου παρὰ τὴν πύλην* (*i.e.* of the Sanctuary), with which ver. 18 agrees.

[4] Shiloh, as a city, is mentioned subsequently in *1 Kg.* xiv. 2, 4.

of disease or pestilence.[1] The conclusion that the God of Israel was the author of their calamities was regarded as certain when the kine drawing the cart turned, of themselves, up the valley of Sorek in the direction of the Israelite frontiers. The Ark was received by the inhabitants of Bethshemesh; but a plague (attributed to their having looked into it)[2] broke out amongst them also, and destroyed seventy persons.[3] It was consequently transferred to Kiriath Jearim (or Kiriath Baal, *Josh.* xv. 60), one of the Gibeonite cities (*Josh.* ix. 17), situated further up the valley, which, as being a sanctuary,[4] was considered to be a more fitting resting-place for the emblem of so holy and powerful a God; and there it was bestowed in the house of one Abinadab, whose son Eleazar was sanctified to take charge of it.

[1] But the LXX. of vi. 1 (followed by Josephus, *Ant.* vi. 1, 1) implies that the golden mice had relation to a plague of field-mice which devastated the country (cf. also the Heb. of ver. 5). Dagon, whose name resembles the Hebrew word for "corn" as well as the word for "fish," may have been a god of agriculture, and the destruction of the corn of the Philistines by the mice would indicate his inferiority to Jehovah.

[2] In the LXX. the plague is ascribed to the failure of the sons of a certain Jeconiah to rejoice with the rest of the people.

[3] In the text of *1 Sam.* vi. 19 by some error 50,000 is added to the 70. Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 1, 4) shows no acquaintance with the larger figure.

[4] This is suggested by the name *Kiriath* (city of) *Baal.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE RISE OF THE MONARCHY

Sources—*1 Sam.* i.–iii., vii. 2–xxxi. 13, *1 Ch.* x.

THE success of the Philistines at Ebenezer enabled them to tighten and extend their hold upon southern Israel, a trophy[1] being erected at Gibeah in Benjamin (*1 Sam.* x. 5), and a garrison placed in its neighbourhood to command the defile, which, at this point, connected the maritime plain with the Jordan valley (see xiv. 4–6): and an attempt, not seemingly quite successful, was made to disarm the population (xiii. 19 foll.).[2] But Israel in its extremity at length found the leader so long desired. The selection of the man destined to be the first to beat back the Philistines from Israelitish soil was due, under Providence, to the penetration of a seer or prophet named **Samuel**, son of Elkanah, of Ramah[3] in Ephraim. Samuel in virtue of his reputation as a seer had doubtless obtained some influence amongst his countrymen; and his efforts were now directed towards the deliverance of his native land. He knew well that the only hope of Israel in the face of so powerful a foe lay on the one hand in a revival of devotion towards the nation's God, and on the other hand in the acquisition, as the national leader, of a man who could inspire enthusiasm by exceptional qualities of person and disposition, and who under the style

[1] The word here taken in the sense of *a pillar*, erected as a trophy, also means *an officer;* and Jonathan's exploit (xiii. 3, see p. 218) may have been the slaughter of such an individual.

[2] Cf. *Jud.* v. 8.

[3] In *1 Sam.* i. 1 the description of Elkanah as of *Ramathaim Zophim*-which grammatically is difficult, should probably be altered to *of the Ramathites, a Zuphite.* That his home was at Ramah appears from ver. 19, ii. 11, and that this was in the land of Zuph is implied in ix. 5–6.

of *king* (as contrasted with that of *judge*) might transmit his authority to a successor (cf. *Jud.* viii. 22), and so establish a permanent government. To these objects he accordingly devoted himself. The measures he adopted for the promotion of the first can only be conjectured; of the circumstances attending his selection of a leader more information is forthcoming. His choice fell upon **Saul**, a Benjamite. Saul was a man of mature age[1] and commanding presence, and endowed, as his history shows, both with courage and generosity: but his tribe was the smallest in Israel, and though his father was a man of wealth,[2] his clan was insignificant. Samuel, however, had presumably sounded the feeling of the army (x. 26), and had assured himself of Saul's fitness for the position to which he was to be preferred. To Saul Samuel appears to have been personally unknown; but in seeking for some she-asses which his father[3] had lost, he was brought by his servant, after a vain search elsewhere, into Samuel's presence at Ramah (probably the city alluded to in ix. 6), in the hope that he would guide them in their quest. It chanced to be a religious festival at a neighbouring "high-place," and Samuel was expected to be present to bless the sacrifice. When Saul came to Samuel, his questions relative to his father's loss were anticipated, and the prophet, in no obscure terms, announced that all that was desirable in Israel[4] awaited him. Saul protested his unworthiness; but Samuel, taking him to the feast, set him in the seat of honour, and placed before him a reserved portion, the leg and the fat tail.[5] After the meal was over, the prophet and Saul left the "high-place"; and Saul passed the night on a couch prepared for him on the roof of one of the city's houses (ix. 25 marg.).[6] Both of them departed from the city in the morning; but on the way Saul was anointed by Samuel[7] in the

[1] His age at this time is not given either by the Heb. or the LXX.; but he had a son, Jonathan, who, quite early in his father's reign, was already a warrior (cf. p. 218).

[2] For *1 Sam.* ix. 1 marg. see *2 Kg.* xv. 20.

[3] In *1 Sam.* x. 14–16 it seems to be implied that it was his uncle whose asses were lost.

[4] In *1 Sam.* ix. 20 the LXX has τὰ ὡραῖα τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

[5] In *1 Sam.* ix. 24 a plausible conjecture has substituted this for the words *that which was upon it* (the leg).

[6] Cf. *2 Sam.* xvi. 22.

[7] For the anointing of a king by a prophet cf. (besides *1 Sam.* xvi. 13) *2 Kg.* ix. 4–6.

name of Jehovah to be prince over Israel. Three signs were indicated, the occurrence of which might confirm his faith in the prophet's authority; and he was directed to seize the first opportunity of vindicating his right to rule. He was told (1) that at the sepulchre of his ancestress Rachel[1] he would meet three men, who would tell him that the asses lost by his father had been found: (2) that at the terebinth of Tabor,[2] three other men taking offerings to the sanctuary of Bethel would give a share of them to him in token of homage (cf. x. 27, xvi. 20): (3) that at Gibeah of God (probably a sanctuary) he would meet a band of prophets with instruments of music, whose enthusiasm would infect himself, so that he also would prophesy. The signs described duly came to pass; and the prophet's communications and their sequel did not fail to produce a deep impression upon Saul so that, for a time at least, he became a changed man. To those previously acquainted with him, his participation, in particular, in the ecstatic fervour of the prophets seemed so strange that it gave rise to a proverb, "Is Saul also among the prophets?"[3]

In the army, the newly-appointed prince did not lack support. But he had still to make good his position with a section of the nation, which continued to refuse him the customary marks of allegiance. The opportunity of silencing these malcontents came about a month (xi. 1, LXX.) after Samuel had anointed him, when Jabesh, a city of Gilead, was attacked by the Ammonite king Nahash, who, taking advantage of the distress inflicted by the Philistines on the west of Jordan, had renewed the raids which Gilead had suffered in the time of Jephthah. Nahash refused to spare the citizens except on condition that they each submitted to the loss of the right eye;[4] and the leaders of the town

[1] In *1 Sam.* x. 2 Rachel's tomb is placed within the borders of Benjamin, and in *Jer.* xxxi. 15 it is implied that it was near Ramah; but in *Gen.* xxxv. 16, 19 it is placed near Bethlehem, south of Jerusalem.

[2] An unknown locality between Bethel (x. 3) and Gibeah (ver. 5 marg.)

[3] The question in *1 Sam.* x. 12, *And who is their father?* expresses further surprise. The prophets to whom Saul joined himself were attached to no prominent or well-known leader (*father* being correlative to *son* in the common phrase *sons of the prophets*.

[4] Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 5, 1) explains that in battle the left eye was covered by the shield, so that the loss of the right would render the man quite useless for war.

had undertaken to capitulate within seven days, if help did not come. Messengers from the beleaguered city reached Gibeah,[1] where Saul, who had returned to his farm (xi. 5), was living; and on learning their communication, he rose to the occasion, assumed the position of prince, and hewing a yoke of oxen in pieces, sent them throughout the land (after the manner of the fiery cross of the Scottish clans). The summons was answered, and a force (the size of which, 300,000 Israelites and 30,000 men of Judah, must, especially in view of the fact that the land was still largely under the domination of the Philistines, be grossly exaggerated)[2] gathered in Bezek[3] and was led by Saul to the rescue of Jabesh. A successful attack in the early morning was made on the Ammonite camp; and the besieging army was completely dispersed. The victory at once rendered Saul so popular that a clamour was raised for the punishment of those who had refused allegiance; but Saul magnanimously declined to mar his triumph by any act of revenge (*1 Sam.* ix. 1–x. 16, x. 26–xi. 15).

In the account of Samuel and the part he took in Saul's accession to the throne which is contained in *1 Sam.*, there are numerous passages which are more or less inconsistent with the description given above. Thus (1) in c. i.–iii., Samuel instead of being a comparatively undistinguished seer, to whom application is made for help to find some strayed asses for a trifling fee, and who is unknown to Saul, is represented in altogether a different light. His birth was in response to the prayer of his mother Hannah, who had long been barren, and who, according to her vow that, if a son were granted her, he should be a Nazirite, dedicated him from his cradle to the service of Jehovah.[4] He was accordingly named Samuel[5] and brought up at Shiloh under the High Priest Eli, to be minister in the sanctuary there. Whilst yet a child he received a revelation from Jehovah, intimating that punishment would fall upon Eli for his neglect to restrain his sons; and subsequently he become known as a prophet throughout all Israel. (2) In

[1] The existence of ties of sympathy between Jabesh Gilead and the people of Benjamin is implied in *Jud.* xxi. 8 foll.

[2] The LXX. increases them to 600,000 (Josephus 700,000) and 70,000 respectively.

[3] Almost opposite Jabesh, on the road from the south to the fords of Bethshan.

[4] Hannah's song (*1 Sam.* ii. 1–10) in its present form is not in keeping with the circumstances of the time, since ver. 10 implies the existence of the monarchy. In ver. 2, instead of *there is none beside thee*, the LXX. reads *οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιος ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν*.

[5] From the explanation of the name (put into the mouth of Hannah in *1 Sam.* i. 20), *Because I have asked him of Jehovah*, the etymology is presumably taken to be *God hath heard*; but in reality it is *name of God*.

vii. 3–14 Samuel at Mizpah[1] promises to the people, on their turning from strange gods to Jehovah, an immediate deliverance from the Philistines, who, instead of continuing to render by their oppressions the need of a king increasingly urgent, are described as being defeated in a battle at Ebenezer[2] (the scene of the Israelite disaster in c. iv.) in which their discomfiture is aided by a violent thunderstorm, and as being driven beyond the borders of Israel and losing some of their own cities. (3) In vii. 15–viii. 22 Samuel is represented as a Judge, going on circuit to administer justice, and visiting in turn Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah, whence he returned to his home at Ramah. In old age, he deputes his sons Joel and Abijah to discharge his duties at a distant locality like Beersheba; and it is in consequence of their corruption that the people desire the appointment of a king (which instead of being divinely directed as a means for delivering the country from its invaders, is regarded as contrary to the Divine will) and persist in their demand in spite of a highly-coloured picture of regal rapacity drawn by Samuel. (4) In x. 17–25, xii., Saul, instead of being nominated and privately anointed king by Samuel at Ramah, is elected by lot at a general assembly of the people at Mizpah, the prophet in a subsequent address reproaching the people for their ingratitude to Jehovah, whose anger is indicated by a storm of thunder and rain in the time of wheat harvest.

These discrepancies point to the existence of two divergent narratives respecting Samuel and his earliest relations with Saul, which are only partially reconciled in the small section xi. 14–15, in which the kingdom is said to be "renewed" at Gilgal,[3] where Saul was made king. That the representation adopted in the text is superior to the other in historical accuracy is probable on two grounds. (1) It contains a term (*seer*) which, to the final editor of the book seemed to require an explanation (ix. 9), and is therefore presumably old. (2) The relations between Israel and the Philistines implied in it, as compared with the complete overthrow of the latter described in the variant narrative, is in closer agreement with the aggression of the Philistines and the dismay produced by them amongst the Israelites in the reign of Saul (see xiii. 3 foll., xiv. 21). Moreover the protest against monarchy, put into the mouth of Samuel in viii. 11–18, corresponds rather suspiciously to the painful experiences gained in the reign of Solomon; and the prophet's speech in c. xii., besides being remarkable for the inclusion of his own name in an enumeration of judges and deliverers, has points of resemblance in thought and diction with writings of a comparatively late date.[4]

x. 8 is out of place in its present context. It forms part of the incident related in xiii. 8–14.

The reputation for courage and conduct which Saul thus won enabled him to enter upon the task for which he had been raised to the throne, namely, the deliverance of the land from the

[1] In Benjamin, a short distance N.E. of Jerusalem.

[2] The name *Ebenezer* ("the stone of help") is here accounted for by the erection by Samuel of a stone, with the words *hitherto hath Jehovah helped us*.

[3] Presumably the Gilgal in the Jordan valley (*Josh.* iv. 19), not the Gilgal in mount Ephraim (*2 Kg.* ii. 1).

[4] Cf. xii. 21 (*things which cannot profit*) with *Jer.* ii. 8, 11, xvi. 19, Hab. ii. 18, *2 Is.* xliv. 9, 10; and ver. 22 (*for His great name's sake*) with *Ezek.* xx. 9, *2 Is.* xlviii. 9, and cf. p. 455. But see also *Josh.* vii. 9.

Philistines. The time and occasion had to be carefully chosen: consequently no general levy of the people was yet made, but a body of 3,000 men was stationed under the command of the king and his son Jonathan at such posts of observation as Michmash, Bethel, and Gibeah (or Geba).[1] The signal for the rising was given by the destruction by Jonathan of the trophy set up by the Philistines at Gibeah; on the report of which the people flocked to arms. The Philistines on their part were not slow to answer the challenge, and took the field with a large force,[2] which included a body of Israelites who served, no doubt, under compulsion. Saul fell back before their advance; and abandoning the post at Michmash, which the enemy occupied (xiii. 16), retired to Gibeah. But the demoralisation produced by the long years of Philistine domination was such that the approach of the Philistine forces struck dismay into the hearts of the Israelite levies. Some of the population had already withdrawn across the Jordan into Gad and Gilead; and numbers now began to desert the king, concealing themselves in caves, thickets, and other places of shelter.

Saul's army ultimately melted away to 600 men; but with these he held his ground at Gibeah. Here they were close by the Philistine position at Michmash, separated from it only by a deep ravine: and saw the marauding bands of the enemy depart on pillaging expeditions north, west, and east.[3] The adventurous spirit of Jonathan led him, accompanied only by his armour-bearer, to cross the defile and to show himself to the enemy. Taking the challenge to advance further, which was thrown at them by the Philistine soldiers, as an indication that Jehovah had delivered the foe into their hands, they climbed up the cliff; and their daring attack, in which Jonathan and his comrade slew twenty men, struck a panic among the defenders, which gradually

[1] In *1 Sam.* xiii. xiv. the names *Gibeah* and *Geba* are frequently interchanged, though probably one and the same place is intended. The localities are distinguished in *Josh.* xviii. 24, 28, *Is.* x. 29, but were doubtless near each other. There is a like confusion in *Jud.* xx. (cf. ver. 9 with 10 marg.).

[2] In *1 Sam.* xiii. 5 stated at 30,000 chariots and 6,000 horsemen; but the number of chariots is enormous, and quite out of proportion to the number usually employed (contrast *Jud.* iv. 3).

[3] The *Ophrah* of xiii. 17 is almost directly north of Michmash. The position of *Zeboim* is unknown.

spread to the whole camp, the dismay being heightened, seemingly, by a shock of earthquake. The disorder being observed by Saul and his followers, the king's first impulse was to consult the will of Jehovah by means of the ephod,[1] which was in the care of Ahijah, great-grandson of Eli, to learn whether he should go to Jonathan's help. But as the tumult in the camp of the Philistines increased, he could not control his impatience, and bidding the priest desist before the enquiry was complete, he directed an advance to be made. The Philistines, in their confusion, turned their arms against one another, and their discomfiture was increased by the contingent of Hebrews amongst them joining their countrymen. The pursuit was taken up by numbers of Israelites who had sought refuge among the hills of Ephraim; and the broken foe fled in the direction of Beth-aven, and thence down the valley of Aijalon. But the effectiveness of the pursuit was impaired by a rash utterance of Saul's, who, flushed with success, had imprecated a curse upon anyone who touched food until the evening brought with it a cessation of the battle. At nightfall the hungry soldiers threw themselves upon the spoil, and in their haste broke the religious ordinance which forbade the eating of flesh until the blood had been offered to the Deity. The king, on learning what was being done, extemporised an altar out of a great stone, and directed that the people should slaughter the animals there, and so avoid the guilt that would otherwise attach to them.

Saul, intent upon following up the victory, proposed to make a night attack upon the discomfited enemy, and accordingly consulted the priestly oracle. To his dismay no answer was vouchsafed; and the displeasure of Jehovah, thus believed to be indicated, was at once attributed to some undetected sin either of the king and his son, or of the people. Appeal was made to the arbitrament of the sacred lot, the *Urim* and *Thummim;* and it was declared that the guilt lay between the king and Jonathan.[2]

[1] In *1 Sam.* xiv. 18 the LXX. B has προσάγαγε τὸ ἐφούδ· ὅτι αὐτὸς ἦρεν τὸ ἐφοὺδ ἐν τῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐνώπιον Ἰσραήλ.

[2] In *1 Sam.* xiv. 41 the LXX. reads ἢ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐν Ιωναθὰν τῷ υἱῷ μου ἡ ἀδικία; Κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ισραήλ, δὸς δήλους (*Urim*). καὶ ἐὰν τάδε εἴπῃ, δὸς δὴ τῷ λαῷ σου Ισραὴλ, δὸς δὴ ὁσιότητα (*Thummim*).

A further appeal resulted in Jonathan being named; and the young warrior confessed that he had incurred the curse which the king had pronounced in the course of the pursuit. Coming worn and spent to a place where honey was dropping from the trees, he had tasted it, ignorant of the peril to which his act exposed him. The stern king directed the execution of his son. But the soldiery, mindful that it was Jonathan's heroism that first inspired the panic of the Philistine host, intervened to save from death the man whom Jehovah had so signally aided; and so Jonathan's life was preserved. The delay that occurred prevented the Israelites from following up their advantage; and the king desisted from further pursuit.

The continuation of the Philistine war is unfortunately left in almost complete obscurity, though there are indications that hostilities between the two nations were protracted. The existing records of Saul's reign furnish equally little information respecting his relations with other neighbouring nations. Besides the war with the Ammonites[1] (with whom the Moabites were probably allied), mention is made (xiv. 47–48) of wars with Edom, Zobah (a Syrian state E. of the Lebanons), and the Amalekites. Neither the cause nor the course of these wars is described; and it is impossible to determine whether Edom and Zobah took advantage of the Philistines' inroads to assume the offensive towards Israel, or whether Saul anticipated his successor by invading these countries, though the former is the more probable alternative. It seems safe to conclude that hostilities with Amalek were provoked by raids on the part of these restless Bedouin, such as are recorded in connection with a later date (xxx. 1).

In his foreign wars Saul won distinction both for himself and his country (xiv. 47 end). Internally, the course of events was less happy for him. With a view to consolidating his kingdom, and especially to uniting Judah more closely with the northern tribes, he appears to have made an attempt to put an end to the independent position still enjoyed by the Gibeonite cities. It has been supposed that they were suspected of facilitating the aggres-

[1] Probably the struggles of the Gadites and Reubenites with the Hagrites in the time of Saul, related in *1 Ch.* v. 10, 18–22, belong to this war, though the Hagrites were presumably descendants of Ishmael, not (like Ammon) of Lot (see *Gen.* xxv. 13–15).

sions of the Philistines, which their situation would enable them to do: and in any case their continued existence interfered with the union, if it did not endanger the security, of the newly-established kingdom. Saul adopted harsh measures towards them, part of the population being put to the sword, whilst the rest (the citizens of Beeroth are expressly named) were expelled and took refuge elsewhere. But the policy was regarded as a breach of the ancient pledge given by Israel in the days of Joshua; and, as will be seen, was thought at a later time to have brought a curse upon the country (*2 Sam.* xxi. 1–14). Moreover, a serious division took place between him and the prophet Samuel, to whom, in the first instance, he owed his elevation. The history of the rupture between them is, like so much else, obscure; for neither of the two conflicting accounts preserved is free from difficulty. But both imply that Saul was wanting in the scrupulous obedience expected to be rendered to one who claimed, and was generally recognised, to be the interpreter of the Divine will. Between the prophet who was invested with such high spiritual authority, and the king who was the representative of temporal power, friction was almost inevitable, unless the latter was a man who was prevailingly actuated by religious motives. And such a man Saul manifestly was not. That he was not naturally responsive to religious impressions and influences is implied by the popular saying already quoted, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" whilst more than one incident in his career indicates that he was by temperament impulsive and headstrong. Consequently, it is not surprising that the king and the prophet became in course of time estranged, or that Samuel, conscious that Israel's mission, as a nation, was inseparably bound up with loyalty to Jehovah, began to seek a successor for one who so deeply disappointed his hopes.

According to one account (xiii. 4–15),[1] the occasion of the quarrel between them was the Philistine war. Samuel had directed Saul to await his presence at Gilgal before advancing to the attack. The time appointed,

[1] This passage, which represents Saul at Gilgal (ver. 4, 7), is inconsistent with its context, for in the verses immediately preceding and following, Saul is at Michmash or Geba (Gibeah) (see ver. 2, 16), without any indication of a movement to Gilgal having intervened. The LXX. supplies a clause relating that the people went up after Saul from Gilgal to Gibeah, but does not explain

however, arrived, and Samuel did not appear; so Saul, fearing, perhaps, that if he delayed further he would be a general without an army (for his troops were deserting), himself offered the sacrifice customary before taking the field. Samuel, who came immediately after he had done this, rebuked him for disobedience to the command of Jehovah, and declared that the throne to which he had been promoted should not remain in the possession of his house. If it is meant that Saul, by offering sacrifice, assumed a function which it was not lawful for him to discharge, the implication conflicts with the conclusions drawn from passages like *1 Sam.* xiv. 35, *2 Sam.* vi. 17, and others. More probably, it is implied that Saul by hastening to offer sacrifice as soon as the term set by Samuel had expired, instead of obeying strictly the prophet's injunction to await his arrival, misconceived the relative value of obedience and sacrifice; so that the moral of the narrative is the same as that of the variant account in c. xv. (see ver. 22).

This second account makes the war with Amalek the occasion of Samuel's breach with Saul, and the consequent downfall of the latter's dynasty. In it Samuel, inspired by religious zeal and the memory of ancient national wrongs (see *Ex.* xvii. 8–16, cf. Deut. xxv. 17–19), desired Saul to exterminate the offending tribes. The Amalekites, against whom the attack was directed, were those who were settled in the south of Judah (*Num.* xiii. 29); and accordingly Saul mustered an army (the numbers, 210,000 in all, are again exaggerated[1]) in Telaim (probably the Telem of *Josh.* xv. 24), and after bidding the Kenites who were settled in the district (*Jud.* i. 16) depart from the country, proceeded to put the Amalekites to the sword. But the king, instead of consigning to indiscriminate destruction everything animate pertaining to the enemy, spared their king Agag and the chief of the spoil. On Saul's return through Carmel (a city in Judah south of Hebron, cf. xxv. 2) to Gilgal, Samuel rebuked him for disobedience to the Divine command, declared that Jehovah rejected him from being king, and himself executed Agag at the sanctuary[2] at Gilgal. This narrative shows no acquaintance with the earlier rejection recorded in x. 8, xiii. 8–14, of which, as has been said, it appears to be a doublet. The wholesale extermination of Amalek which it describes is inconsistent with the subsequent mention of this people in xxvii. 8, xxx. 1, cf. also *2 Sam.* i. 8; whilst the statement that Samuel did not again see Saul (xv. 35) is seemingly contradicted by xix. 22–24.

The rupture between Samuel and Saul did not lead the former to attempt the dethronement of the king. What the prophet believed to be required by the Divine will was the transference of the crown at Saul's death to another family; and with a view to this, he took steps similar to those which he adopted in the case of Saul himself. It was clearly necessary to look for a successor to Saul outside the tribe of Benjamin to which Saul belonged; and under such circumstances the prophet might have been expected to turn to his own tribe of Ephraim. But

how Saul and his followers came to be at Gilgal, which was in the Jordan valley, after having previously occupied a commanding situation at Michmash or Gibeah.

[1] The LXX. increases them to 430,000.

[2] For the phrase *before Jehovah* in this connection see *2 Sam.* xxi. 9.

Ephraim, which had been so powerful in the age of the Judges, had not recovered from the disaster of Ebenezer. It was therefore in Benjamin's southern neighbour Judah that Samuel sought for a successor to Saul; and his choice fell upon a member of the family of Jesse, a Bethlehemite. Jesse was partly of Moabite ancestry, his father Obed being the son of Boaz, a native of Bethlehem, and Ruth, a Moabitess. Ruth had previously been the wife of a nephew of Boaz, called Mahlon; and on her husband's death, she had refused to leave her mother-in-law Naomi, and returned with her to the land of Israel. There, whilst gleaning, she became known to Boaz, who, attracted by her goodness, obtained the right, which a nearer relation relinquished, of redeeming the property of the dead Mahlon and of marrying his widow in order to raise up an heir to his name.[1] It was a descendant of this union, **David**, the youngest son of Jesse, that Samuel now proceeded to designate as the future king. Going to Bethlehem ostensibly to offer a sacrifice, he summoned the sons of Jesse to attend it. The six eldest,[2] one after another, passed before the prophet, and were successively rejected by Samuel in the name of Jehovah: but when the youngest, David, was brought from the flocks at the bidding of the prophet, who refused to proceed with the sacrificial feast until he came, he was declared by Samuel to be Jehovah's choice, and was by the prophet anointed in the midst of his brethren. The anointing by Samuel had the same inspiriting influence upon David as it had previously had upon Saul (cf. xvi. 13 with x. 6), and doubtless led him, like the latter, to withdraw to some extent from the peaceful life of his home, and to enter upon a more active career.

The historical character of this account has been questioned, partly owing to the ignorance shown of David's prospects by Eliab, one of his brothers, in xvii. 28; but the latter chapter is itself suspicious (see below).

[1] The marriage of Boaz with Ruth does not accord with the law of Levirate unions as described in *Deut.* xxv. 5–10, for not only was Boaz the brother of *Elimelech* (not of Mahlon), but the son (Obed) borne to him by Ruth was apparently counted as his own (and not as the child of Ruth's first husband).

[2] The names of Jesse's sons are given in *1 Ch.* ii. 13–15 as Eliab (Elihu), Abinadab, Shimea (Shammah), Nethanel, Raddai, Ozem, and David (the last named appearing as the *seventh* son, not the eighth, as implied in *1 Sam.* xvi. 10–11). Their sisters were Zeruiah and Abigail.

Of the acts and exploits which first won for David distinction, no fully trustworthy record remains. But they were sufficient to secure for him a reputation which quickly led to promotion. Saul, doubtless embittered and disappointed in consequence of his breach with Samuel and the announcement by the prophet of his rejection by heaven, became subject to fits of melancholy. It was believed by his servants that his malady could be banished or lightened by music, and they were accordingly directed by their master to procure a skilful player on the harp. David's name by this time had reached even court circles, the king being known to desire the services of every able soldier (*1 Sam.* xiv. 52), and it was acknowledged that, besides being distinguished for valour and prudence, he was endowed with the gift of music. Accordingly, mention was made of him to the king; and he was summoned to his presence. He had not yet altogether abandoned his shepherd's life; and it was from the sheep that he was brought to Saul. He won the royal favour at once, and the king attached him to his person. His skill with the harp had the desired effect (xvi. 14–23); and his skill in arms made Saul appoint him his armour-bearer. His position gave him opportunities which he speedily turned to account. Details of his achievements in war are again unfortunately wanting. But it is clear that they were great enough to overshadow in popular estimation even those of the king himself. The Philistines were still the chief foes of Israel, and on one occasion, when, after a successful engagement (in which probably David had slain a Philistine of gigantic size named Goliath), a procession of women went forth with dance and song to meet him, they sang one to another and said:—

"Saul hath slain his thousands,
And David his ten thousands."

Another narrative of David's introduction to Saul (c. xvii.) gives quite a different account from the above. According to this, David, while still a youth, whose exploits had hitherto been confined to protecting his flocks against the attacks of wild beasts,[1] happened to be sent by his father to the camp (where three of his brothers were serving with the king) just at the time when the Israelites were confronting a Philistine army near Ephes-

[1] The incidents related in *1 Sam.* xvii. 34, 35 occurred (as the Hebrew tenses indicate) more than once.

dammim in the valley of Elah. A Philistine of great stature, called Goliath, proposed to determine the quarrel between the two nations by an appeal to single combat, it being agreed that the people whose representative was vanquished should serve the other; but none of the Israelite warriors was courageous enough to accept the challenge, though the king offered to bestow on the champion who should succeed in killing Goliath great wealth and the hand of his daughter. The challenge being repeated when David was in the camp, he undertook to fight with the Philistine, in spite of his brothers' sneers at his youthfulness; and after putting off the armour with which Saul clad him (since he found it burdened him to walk in it),[1] he went to the combat armed with his shepherd's club and sling only; and smiting Goliath with a stone from the sling, finally cut off his head with his own sword. The Philistines, seeing their champion fallen, fled, and were pursued by the Israelites from Shaaraim[2] as far as Gath (so LXX.) and Ekron. The head of Goliath David brought to Jerusalem, whilst his armour he placed in his own tent. Saul, on seeing David advance against the giant, had enquired of Abner, the captain of the host, who he was. Abner denied all knowledge of him; but after his victory, he brought him to Saul, who learnt his parentage, and then took him into his service, setting him over his men of war.

In representing David, on his first appearance before Saul, as a youth unskilled in the use of arms (xvii. 33, 39) and quite unknown to the captain of the host (xvii. 55), the account is inconsistent with the version adopted in the text, ver. 15 being probably an intentional, and certainly an unsuccessful, attempt to harmonise the general tenor of the chapter with the statements relating to David's connection with Saul in xvi. 19 foll. Moreover the tone in which David is addressed by his brothers agrees ill with their knowledge of his anointing by Samuel (xvi. 1–13); the subsequent description of David's marriage with Saul's daughter (xviii. 20 foll.) shows no acquaintance with the promise here recorded; and as there is no trace in the later history of the terms of Goliath's challenge being kept, the historical value of this account seems inferior. The allusion to David's tent in ver. 54 is strangely out of keeping with the rest of the chapter.[3] One of the chief MSS. of the LXX. omits xvii. 12–31 and xvii. 55-xviii. 5, and so renders the narrative more consistent with what is related in c. xvi. (end); but the discrepancy caused by xvii. 33 foll. is not removed.

Yet in spite of the difficulty in accepting the statements of this section, it is probable (as has been already observed) that David slew a Philistine giant called Goliath, for allusions to such an exploit occur in xix. 5, xxi. 9; and a passage relating the incident may have been omitted in favour of the (less trustworthy) account given in c. xvii. Reference is also made in *1 Ch.* xi. 12–14 (cf. *2 Sam.* xxiii. 9–10) to a signal victory gained over the Philistines in Ephes-dammim (Pas-dammim) by David, accompanied by Dodo the Ahohite, though Goliath is not there mentioned. In *2 Sam.* xxi. 19, where a victory over a Goliath is related, it is attributed to a warrior named El-hanan.[4]

[1] In *1 Sam.* xvii. 39 for *he essayed to go* the LXX. has ἐκοπίασε περιπατήσας ἅπαξ καὶ δίς. [2] Cf. *Josh.* xv. 36.

[3] Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 9, 5) represents that David after his encounter with Goliath, placed the Philistine's head in his tent and dedicated his sword to God (presumably at a sanctuary), and according to *1 Sam.* xxi. 9 the sword was really preserved at Nob.

[4] *1 Ch.* xx. 5, probably for harmonistic reasons, calls El-hanan's victim *Lahmi the brother of Goliath;* see p. 251, note.

The popularity which David thus acquired excited the king's jealousy, and he accordingly removed him from attending upon his person, and made him captain over a "thousand." In this capacity David conducted himself with increasing credit; and became a favourite, not only with his own tribesmen, but with the nation generally. Even members of Saul's own family grew attached to him. Jonathan, the king's eldest son, became his devoted and loyal friend (xix. 1, cf. xviii. 3–4), whilst Michal, Saul's daughter, lost her heart to him. The affection of the latter for David reached the king's ears; and he determined to propose to marry her to him, with the intention of making the match a dangerous honour. In accordance with Hebrew usage,[1] the suitor was expected to give a present to the father of the bride-to-be; and Saul, with seeming magnanimity, instead of exacting a costly gift, which David, a poor man, might have found it difficult to afford, demanded that he should bring him the foreskins of a hundred Philistines. The king's hope was that David might lose his life in the endeavour to accomplish the task. But his expectation was disappointed. David and his men succeeded in slaying the number of foes required,[2] and brought the strange trophies to the king, who consequently had to fulfil his promise. Saul's hostility was naturally not lessened by this failure. The exploit increased David's reputation with the people; but only intensified the king's bitterness.

Here the LXX. B (which omits xviii. 10–11, 12b, 17–19, 21b, 30) has been in the main followed (as also by Josephus). The Hebrew text relates in addition (1) an attempt made upon David's life by Saul, who cast his spear at him, as he played before him (though the similar narrative in xix. 9–10 has no reference to any previous attempt, and the fact, before the less invidious expedient of ver. 25 had been tried, is unlikely); and (2) a proposal by Saul, prior to that relative to Michal, that David should marry his eldest daughter Merab, who was subsequently given to Adriel the Meholathite[3] (which seems inconsistent with David's language in xviii. 23, betraying, as it does, no sense of an alliance with the royal house having been previously proposed).

As David had escaped the swords of the Philistines, Saul

[1] See p. 154.

[2] The Heb. of *1 Sam.* xviii. 27 represents David as bringing 200, but the LXX. has 100, and the same figure is given by the Hebrew of *2 Sam.* iii 14. Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 10, 2) substitutes 600 *heads*.

[3] *2 Sam.* xxi. 8 (Heb.) implies that it was *Michal* who was given to Adriel, but see *1 Sam.* xviii. 19.

gave directions to his own servants to slay David. But the design became known to Jonathan, who, after warning David, pleaded his cause with the king, and succeeded by his remonstrances, in softening his father's resentment, and obtaining from him a promise not to put David to death. He even brought about David's return to the court. Fresh successes, however, achieved by David once more excited the king's passionate and jealous spirit; and he actually attempted to murder him with his own hands. As David was playing in his presence, he sought to smite him to the wall with his spear; but David, avoiding the weapon, made his escape and went to his own house. Over the house Saul set a watch with the purpose of slaying him in the morning. But Michal, David's wife, let her husband down through a window during the night, whilst she placed the *teraphim* (which must have been an image) in the bed to represent him, and told the messengers sent to take him that he was ill. On the king demanding that the sick man should be brought to him in his bed, the fraud was discovered; and Michal, to screen herself, represented that her husband had driven her to it by threatening her life (xix. 8–17).

After escaping from his house, David went to Samuel at Ramah (where he had gathered together a company of prophets) and related to him all that had happened. From Ramah the two went to Naioth, a place near Ramah, where possibly the prophets lived together. Saul heard of David's presence at Naioth, and again sent messengers to take him. But when there, the messengers became infected with the prophetic frenzy, and prophesied; and the same thing happened to others who were despatched after them. Finally, the king appeared in person, but could as little withstand the influence of his surroundings, and accordingly prophesied like the rest. It would seem that after this, another reconciliation must have been effected between him and the king, for (according to the account of *1 Sam.* c. xx.), he again appeared at the court (probably at Gibeah, see xxii. 6); but once more he was in peril from Saul's hostility. Under such circumstances, he proposed to hide himself in the neighbourhood for three days, during which time his friend Jonathan was to sound the king's feelings towards him.

After inventing an excuse for his absence, in case it was remarked, and being informed of a spot whither he was to come to receive intelligence,[1] and of a device whereby Jonathan proposed to communicate the results of his discoveries without being detected by possible spies of the king, he withdrew, whilst Saul's son, after exacting an oath from David that, in the event of succeeding to the throne, he would not cut off his predecessor's posterity in the usual fashion of Eastern monarchs, attended his father to await developments. The day being the feast of the New Moon, at which David was expected to be present, his vacant seat was observed by Saul; but the king did not comment upon it until the day following. In answer to his father's enquiries in the course of the meal, Jonathan, who sat opposite to Saul,[2] gave the excuse devised, namely, that David had been summoned to a yearly sacrifice of his family at Bethlehem. In an outburst of anger, Saul upbraided his son for aiding the man who, if he lived, would supplant him, and hurled his spear at him. Jonathan, from this, knew that Saul was bent on destroying David, and accordingly conveyed the information to him at the place and by the plan agreed upon. But on finding the coast clear, the two friends met for a final farewell; and then Jonathan returned to the city, whilst David departed into voluntary exile.

The connection of events in cc. xix.–xx. is far from clear; and it is not improbable that the thread of the narrative is composed of more than one strand. It has been suggested that the section xix. 11–17 is the continuation of xviii. 27 (or 29), the words *that night* (ver. 10, but in the LXX. attached to ver. 11) referring to David's marriage night. The fact that apprehension of the danger is shown by Michal, and not David (which, after what is related in ver. 10, is not quite natural), is, on this supposition, intelligible enough, Michal being aware of her father's hostility. If this analysis is correct, xix. 10 is continued in xix. 18, and xix. 17 in xxi. 1 (where David appears at Nob without either food or weapons). Exception has been taken to the account of David's visit to Ramah on the ground that this was north of Gibeah, and not south of it (the direction of his home); and that the action of Saul in prophesying in company with Samuel's followers is here represented as the source of the proverb "Is Saul also among the prophets?" which in x. 11–12 is assigned to a different origin. C. xx. harmonises badly with the preceding chapters, for David's presence at the court implies a reconciliation between him and Saul of which there is no account; and

[1] In *1 Sam.* xx. 19, 41 the LXX. reading is to be preferred, see marg.

[2] In *1 Sam.* xx. 25 the LXX. for *stood up* reads προέφθασεν, representing a Hebrew word *to come* (or *be*) *in front*.

Jonathan's ignorance of his father's hostility to David (ver. 2) is surprising. It presents, besides, some internal difficulties; *e.g.* the expedient arranged by Jonathan for conveying information to David which is described in ver. 20–22, 35–40, seems rather unnecessary, if the two could meet as related in 41–42.

David naturally turned southward towards his native land of Judæa, and directed his steps to Nob, to which place the tabernacle, the ephod, and other equipments of the sanctuary, after the destruction of Shiloh, had perhaps been conveyed,[1] and where they were now in the charge of the priest Ahimelech. The suspicions which had been roused by his being unattended he removed by alleging that he was engaged on a secret mission from the king, and that he had bidden his attendants await him at a rendezvous. He then procured from Ahimelech provisions for his journey[2] (though the only bread obtainable was the Shewbread), and the sword of Goliath, together with a response from the Divine oracle (xxii. 13). From Nob he proceeded to Gath, to take refuge with Achish the king there. But David was recognised by the Philistines as the hero whose prowess, in the war between themselves and Israel, had become so celebrated in song; and in alarm he feigned himself mad.[3] The half-respect with which madmen are regarded in the East saved him until he put himself out of danger by escaping to the cave of Adullam.[4]

At Adullam there gathered round him, first of all, his own kindred, and then a band of outlaws amounting to 400 men, some being of non-Israelite origin (*1 Sam.* xxvi. 6). But the insecurity of his position rendered him anxious for the safety of his parents; and he therefore proceeded to Moab, a country

[1] The existence of the *tabernacle* at Nob is perhaps questionable. It is not improbable that it perished when Shiloh was destroyed (see p. 211), especially in view of the fact that when David brought up the Ark from Kiriath Jearim, it was put, not in the tabernacle (the most fitting resting-place, if it existed), but in a tent which David pitched for it (*2 Sam.* vi. 17).

[2] David's reply to Ahimelech that the vessels of his young men were holy (xxi. 5) is probably to be explained by the fact that all who were engaged on a warlike mission (as David may have pretended that he was) were regarded as consecrated; cf. "*Is.*" xiii. 3, *Jer.* vi. 4 (marg.).

[3] In *1 Sam.* xxi. 13 for *scrabbled on the doors* the LXX. has ἐτυμπάνιζεν ἐπὶ ταῖς θυραῖς.

[4] The city of Adullam was in the Lowland (*Shephelah*) of Judah, near the valley of Elah (*Josh.* xv. 35), and the cave was probably in its neighbourhood.

where he expected to find an asylum for them on account both of the hostility between Israel and Moab (xiv. 47), and of the fact that Ruth, an ancestress of his, was a native of the latter country. The king of Moab received them; whilst David himself took up his quarters at Mizpah. But by the direction of the prophet Gad, he did not stay there long, but returned again into the land of Judah, to the forest of Hareth (the precise position of which is unknown).

The hospitality shown to David by Ahimelech at Nob brought upon the latter and his fellow-priests the vengeance of Saul. Information of David's reception there was brought to Saul, at Gibeah, by an Edomite,[1] called Doeg, who had perhaps been taken captive in the Edomite war, and was now the chief of Saul's herdmen. The king accordingly summoned the priests, eighty-five,[2] in all, before him; and after charging them with treason, directed their execution. The royal guards refused to lay hands upon the consecrated priests; and it was left to the foreigner Doeg to carry out the king's command. The city of Nob was destroyed and all its inhabitants exterminated, Abiathar, one of the sons of Ahimelech, alone escaping and joining David.

News now reached David that the Philistines had attacked Keilah, a city of Judah (*Josh.* xv. 44); and as Abiathar had brought with him the ephod whereby oracular responses were obtained, it was at once consulted. David's followers, who had already reason to fear the hostility of their own countrymen, were still more afraid of the Philistines; but a renewed assurance of victory which the oracle gave, induced them to make an attempt to relieve the city, which fully succeeded. Tidings, however, had come to Saul that David was at Keilah, and he determined to besiege him there. The inhabitants showed little gratitude to David for their recent deliverance, and having the fate of Nob before their eyes, were prepared to surrender him: but he was warned by the priestly oracle in time (Abiathar having accompanied David to Keilah), and left the city before Saul descended to attack it. Seeking safety in flight, he retired

[1] The LXX. calls him a *Syrian*.

[2] The LXX., with characteristic exaggeration, makes them 305, and Josephus 385.

with his followers (now amounting to 600 men) to the wilderness which stretched from the centre of Judæa to the Dead Sea, and different parts of which received the names of Ziph and Maon. Here he maintained himself and his followers by protecting the sheep-masters of the neighbourhood against the depredations of the Amalekites and other Bedouin tribes, and exacting in return support for his band. Such support many, no doubt, were willing enough to give. It happened, however, that the demand was refused by a wealthy sheep-master, belonging to the clan of Caleb and living near Carmel (in Judah), called Nabal; and David, incensed at his churlishness, at once meditated summary vengeance. But Nabal's wife, Abigail, hearing what had occurred, and being informed by one of the servants that David's claim was not unreasonable, went to meet him without the knowledge of her husband, and disarmed his hostility by an effective appeal, coupled with a timely present. On her return home, she found her husband drinking himself drunk, and refrained from telling him of the danger to which he had exposed himself until the morning after the debauch. The announcement produced a shock from which he died ten days afterwards; and David, who had been impressed alike by Abigail's beauty and her discretion, married her. Another wife whom he espoused about this time was Ahinoam of Jezreel (a place in Judah, *Josh.* xv. 56), Michal the daughter of Saul having been taken from him and given to a certain Paltiel (or Palti).

But in his desert retreat he was not long left unmolested by the king. Information of his whereabouts was sent to Saul by some of the natives of the district, and he at once went in pursuit of him. In the course of the pursuit, Saul's life on one or two occasions was at David's mercy; but the fugitive magnanimously refrained from taking the advantage offered him, and a temporary reconciliation was, in consequence, effected between them.

Of David's meeting with Saul whilst a wanderer in the wilderness of Judæa, and his generous conduct in sparing the life of his enemy, there are apparently two accounts, one contained in xxiii. 19–xxiv. 22, the other in xxvi. 1–25: cf. xxiii. 19 (the speech of the Ziphites) with xxvi. 1; xxiii. 23 (*of a certainty*) with xxvi. 4; xxiv. 2 (3,000 men) with xxvi. 2; xxiv. 4 (the suggestions made by David's followers) with xxvi. 8; xxiv. 14 (*a flea*) with

xxvi. 20;[1] xxiv. 16 (Saul's address to David) with xxvi. 17. One of these narratives which is preceded by a brief account (xxiii. 16–18) of an interview between David and Jonathan, in which the latter encouraged the fugitive, represents David as hiding first in the hill of Hachilah,[2] and then proceeding to the wilderness of Maon, whither Saul pursued him. Withdrawn for a while from the pursuit by a raid of the Philistines, Saul returned and learnt that David was at Engedi (on the west shore of the Dead Sea), where he had concealed himself in a cave. Saul chanced to enter the cave, ignorant of David's presence; and in the obscurity, the latter was enabled to approach sufficiently near the king to cut off the skirt of his robe, but resisted the suggestion of his followers that they should take Saul's life. After the king left the cave, David followed and discovered himself to him, earnestly deprecating Saul's animosity towards him. The king acknowledged David's magnanimity in sparing his life when it was at his mercy; and before parting from him made him swear that he would not destroy his persecutor's offspring.

According to the other narrative, the encounter took place near Hachilah.[3] David approached Saul's camp at night and got inside the lines, in company with one of his followers, and reached the sleeping king. His comrade (Abishai, the son of his sister Zeruiah) was eager to take the opportunity of assassinating the monarch with his own spear, which was stuck in the ground at his head; but David restrained him, and confined himself to carrying off the spear and a cruse of water placed near Saul. Then withdrawing to the top of a neighbouring hill, he shouted[4] and awoke the guards, taunting their captain with sleeping at his post; and being recognised by the king, remonstrated with him for his pursuit of him. Saul confessed his error, and bade David return to him; but David, ignoring the invitation, contented himself with bidding the king send someone to recover his spear. If the view be correct that they are duplicate versions of the same incident, the second is the more plausible; and xxvi. 17 suits its context better than xxiv. 16.

But in spite of Saul's expression of repentance, David prudently declined to put himself into the king's power by returning home. On the contrary, the treachery of the Ziphites made it clear that the border-land was no longer safe for him; and he therefore once more determined to seek protection with the Philistines. His circumstances now were very different from what they had been on the occasion of his former flight to Gath. Instead of being a solitary fugitive, he was at the head of a body of 600 men. The relations between him and Saul could have been no secret to any of the inhabitants of the Philistine cities; and now that his fidelity seemed guaranteed by his fear of the Israelite king, the memory of his former triumphs over themselves would only make the Philistines set a higher value upon his services.

[1] But the LXX. here, for *a flea*, reads *my life*.

[2] Described in xxiii. 19 (marg.) as south of Jeshimon.

[3] Described in xxvi. 1 (marg.) as *before* (*i.e.* east of) Jeshimon.

[4] Cf. *Jud.* ix. 7.

He was therefore welcomed by Achish the king of Gath; but at his own request was not detained at Gath itself, but had the city of Ziklag[1] assigned to him as a place of residence both for himself and his men: and there he appears to have been reinforced by fresh forces drawn not only from Judah, but also from Benjamin, Manasseh, and Gad (see *1 Ch.* xii. 1–22). In thus obtaining for himself a home at a distance from the court of Achish, David was enabled to pursue without remark a policy of duplicity. Pretending to attack, in the service of his adopted country, the land of his birth, he, in reality, turned his arms against the Amalekites, the Geshurites[2] and the Gizrites,[3] tribes that occupied the region between Telaim and the border of Egypt. By ruthlessly slaying the whole population indiscriminately, and sparing neither sex nor age, he prevented all information of the truth from reaching Achish; and thus was able to convince the Philistines of the impossibility of any subsequent reconciliation with his countrymen, whilst at the same time substantially benefiting the latter by prosecuting an exterminating war with peoples whose raids were a continual source of annoyance.

Samuel, by this time, had passed away, and was buried in his native city of Ramah (*1 Sam.* xxviii. 3; cf. xxv. 1). Too little information is furnished about his life and character for these to be appraised at length; and even his public services can only be estimated in general terms. As has been seen from the comparison already instituted between the various passages relating to him, the actual position and authority enjoyed by him seem to have been magnified in one of the historical sources upon which the writer of *1 Samuel* draws; and it appears certain that the extensive successes over the Philistines which are represented as achieved by Israel in his days, and under his auspices, can have had little existence in fact. But it seems equally certain that it was largely owing to his acute apprehension of his country's needs, and his ability and promptitude in taking steps to meet them, that the ultimate triumph of Israel over its enemies was

[1] In *Josh.* xv. 31 and xix. 5 allotted diversely to Judah and Simeon.

[2] For *Geshurites* in this district cf. *Josh.* xiii. 2. But the LXX. omits the word, which may be merely a corruption of the following name.

[3] Or *Gizrites*, *i.e.* the inhabitants of Gezer, which remained in the hands of the native population until the time of Solomon (*1 Kg.* ix. 16).

due. He perceived that the institution of monarchy was essential to weld Israel into a nation, and give it cohesion and confidence in the face of its assailants; and though he was not altogether fortunate in the person he chose to be the first king, his belief in the kingship was thoroughly justified. And his insight into character was, in truth, little inferior to his statesmanship; for if his choice of Saul was not quite happy, his later selection of David was most judicious. Samuel may, in consequence, be justly regarded as having, in a large measure, influenced the fortunes and moulded the destinies of Israel during the subsequent centuries; and the place he fills in the pages of the history that bears his name does not exaggerate his real importance.

After Samuel's death no prophet arose in his room to aid the counsels of the king. The Philistines were now making preparations for another invasion of Israel, weakened as it was by the withdrawal of David and a number of its best fighting-men, The successes gained by Saul in the earlier part of his reign had enabled him to secure the passes which led from the Lowland directly into Benjamin and Ephraim. The direction of the present Philistine advance was consequently along the vale of Sharon, through the pass of Megiddo, into the valley of Esdraelon (where the invaders may have had sympathisers among the Canaanite cities, see p. 185), the object being to obtain command of the great high road from the East (as appears from the capture of Bethshan), and to threaten the centre of the kingdom from the north. The host mustered at Aphek,[1] and David was called upon by Achish to accompany him. He gave him an ambiguous answer (xxviii. 2); but being appointed commander of the royal body-guard, proceeded to the rendezvous with him, where he was joined by certain Manassites (*1 Ch.* xii. 19). The other Philistine princes, however, distrusted the Hebrew soldier, and protested against his being allowed to march against his countrymen, lest he should reconcile himself to his king by changing sides in the coming battle. Achish had unwillingly to yield; and with many professions of goodwill, dismissed David, who returned to

[1] Identified by some with the Aphek of *Josh.* xii. 18 (which was probably in the plain of Sharon). Others place it in Esdraelon; but this must have been more than three days' march from Ziklag (*1 Sam.* xxx. 1). The Apheks of *1 Sam.* iv. 1, *Josh.* xiii. 4 (xix. 30), and *1 Kg.* xx. 26 are all distinct.

Philistia. Meantime Saul, along the hills, had followed the Philistines in the maritime plain; and took up a position, first at the fountain in Jezreel (perhaps the spring of Harod), to guard the pass of Dothan leading into Ephraim, and then on mount Gilboa (at the S.E. corner of the plain of Esdraelon), where he awaited attack.

The death of Samuel and the absence of the priest Abiathar, who had joined David, left Saul destitute of the ordinary means of enquiring of Jehovah; and in his anxiety about the issue of the coming engagement, he is related to have had recourse to a woman of the Canaanite town of Endor who claimed to have a familiar spirit,[1] in spite of the fact that he had previously expelled all such from the land of Israel. He visited her in disguise (the Philistine camp being between him and the town of Endor), and after reassuring her (for she feared that, when he bade her bring up whomsoever he named, he was seeking to entrap her) he directed her to summon Samuel. It is said that Samuel appeared; and the relations which had existed between Samuel and Saul led the woman to infer that her visitor was the king. To Saul's enquiry what he was to do, the dead prophet declared that Jehovah had become his adversary, and announced that on the morrow the king and his sons should be with him, and that Israel should be delivered into the hands of the Philistines.

The episode is narrated in a section (c. xxviii.) which does not fit accurately into its present context. In xxix. 1 the Israelites are at Jezreel, towards which place the Philistines advance from Aphek (ver. 1, 11), the forces of Israel presumably retiring, in consequence, to Gilboa, the scene of the subsequent battle; whereas in xxviii. 4 they are represented as already at Gilboa. The allusions in xxviii. 17–18 to c. xv. suggest that, in the original sources from which the history is derived, it stood in some relation to the latter narrative.

The next day the Philistines attacked, and the battle went against Israel. The three eldest sons of Saul fell; and their father, unwilling to survive the loss of his children, his army, and his honour, bade his armour-bearer thrust him through, and when the latter refused, he fell upon his own sword. The result of the engagement placed the valley of Esdraelon at the mercy of the enemy, and cut off the whole of the region to the north of it. On the walls of one of the towns that passed into their hands, the Canaanite Bethshan near the Jordan (*Jud.* i. 27), the body of the dead king was hung; whilst his head was fastened

[1] A familiar spirit is generally supposed to have been a spiritual agency believed to animate the person who claimed to possess it (cf. *Lev.* xx. 27 Heb.); but some have thought (from the terms used in *2 Kg.* xxi. 6, marg.) that it was a material object. The LXX. renders it by *ἐγγαστρίμυθος*, and one of the devices employed in connection with it was doubtless ventriloquism, the familiar spirit appearing to speak from the ground (*Is.* xxix. 4) as from the world of the dead (cf. p. 89).

in the temple of Dagon (*1 Ch.* x. 10), and his arms placed as a trophy in the temples of the Ashtaroth. The panic inspired by the success of the invaders extended even to the opposite bank of the Jordan. The cities were abandoned by their inhabitants, who took to flight, and the enemy at once proceeded to occupy them. It is probable, however, that the Philistines did not succeed in establishing themselves in Gilead; for not only was the town of Jabesh untouched, but Mahanaim, on the death of Saul, became the capital of his son Eshbaal.

The body of Saul did not long remain exposed on the walls of Bethshan. The citizens of Jabesh, in gratitude for the service done to them at the beginning of his reign, went by night and removed it, and bringing it to Jabesh, burnt it there. The bones were afterwards buried in the neighbourhood; whence at a later period they were removed to the family tomb at Zelah (*2 Sam.* xxi. 14).

The length of Saul's reign is uncertain. The only passage in the O.T. which affords information on the point (xiii. 1) states that he reigned two years, which is far too short a period for the events recorded to have taken place in it; and the verse (which is omitted by the LXX.) is clearly defective. In *Acts* xiii. 21 his reign is reckoned at 40 years. Of his children, three sons, Jonathan, Abinadab, and Melchi-shua, perished with their father at Gilboa. A fourth, Eshbaal or Ish-bosheth, who is probably identical with the Ishvi named in *1 Sam.* xiv. 49, succeeded to a part of his father's dominions. Two others are alluded to in *2 Sam.* xxi. 8; and he had at least two daughters, Merab and Michal.

Saul's achievements, and possibly his character, have suffered at the hands of the writer of *1 Samuel*, whose interest centred chiefly in David. Of his public career little is really known; for with the exception of the campaigns with which his reign opened and closed, the record is mainly concerned with his unhappy animosity towards David. Of the chapters dealing with his wars, those which are fullest of detail show him to have been a capable and gallant, though not always a fortunate, soldier: but there are not lacking indications elsewhere which prove him to have possessed many kingly qualities as well as those more

especially characteristic of the warrior. It is clear that he must have re-united to the rest of Israel the tribe of Judah, which, all through the period of the Judges, had been more or less severed from its fellow-tribes: for not only did his rule embrace Bethlehem, the home of David (xvi. 19), but the campaign against the Amalekites (xiv. 48) was manifestly intended to protect the southern frontier of Judah. It was probably to amalgamate the southern tribe more closely with the rest of his subjects that he destroyed the Gibeonites, in spite of the ancient covenant between them and Israel, an act for which atonement had subsequently to be made (*2 Sam.* xxi. 1–14). In the course of extending his kingdom towards the south he appears to have engaged in hostilities with Edom, and was thus perhaps the first to make an effort to bring Israel into contact with the Red Sea littoral. East of Jordan, his early attack upon Nahash the Ammonite was followed by a war with Moab; and his authority was so firmly secured over Gilead that Mahanaim became the refuge and capital of his son Eshbaal (*2 Sam.* ii. 8). He even pushed his arms as far north as the territory of Zobah. In the internal politics of his kingdom, the fact that he lost the confidence of Samuel, who had first designated him for the throne, must be counted against him; for at this period, as at others, the prophetic order was a most powerful factor making for the unity, security, and moral well-being of Israel. But though he broke with the prophets, he appears to have been scrupulous in the observance of the externals of religion (see xiv. 34–35, xxviii. 9). His private life was marked by simplicity; and his elevation to the throne was not followed by the adoption of the luxurious habits common among Eastern sovereigns. His character, no doubt, deteriorated under the influence of jealousy; and at times he was betrayed by his passion into acts of merciless savagery (xix. 10 foll., xxii. 17 foll.). But the vindictiveness which he displayed in later life, which was perhaps not wholly unnatural under any circumstances, was probably in part the result of mental disease. And without any stress being laid upon the language of David's panegyric (*2 Sam.* i. 23), it is plain from the conduct of the men of Jabesh Gilead after Gilboa, that he retained the gratitude of those whom he had first served; and in spite of his misfortunes,

he was able to transmit a large part of his authority to his son Eshbaal. On the whole, Saul seems to have been rather hardly treated by his historian. He accomplished more for his country than he has generally received credit for; and though his reign can scarcely be pronounced a successful one, he undoubtedly in some measure prepared the way for the success achieved by David.

Yet it must be confessed that Saul was himself largely responsible for the ruin of his career. He failed to make the most of his opportunities. It was a period when Israel, recovered from the strain and exhaustion of the Conquest, and having secured practical supremacy over the Canaanites in whose country it had established itself, was beginning to recognise its own strength and was prepared to make a combined stand against the inroads of the Philistine immigrants. Of this national upheaval the numerous prophets, who now made their appearance in companies, were at once a cause and a symptom. Fired themselves with religious enthusiasm amounting even to frenzy, they were calculated to fan throughout the land the flame of patriotism, and to encourage their people to struggle desperately for the sake of their country and their God. Had Saul known how to avail himself of all the fervour and moral force which were thus generated, the issue, both for himself and his house, might have been far other than what it proved to be. As it was, he was out of touch with the prophetic movement; and though it is impossible to trace with certainty the circumstances which produced the alienation, it is clear that a breach finally occurred between him and Samuel, the leader of the prophets. Stubborn of disposition, narrow in his sympathies, and lacking a statesmanlike grasp of the situation, he refused to the prophet the submission which the latter, as the representative of Jehovah, demanded; and so threw away what should have been his greatest source of confidence and therefore of strength. The tide that is in the affairs of men Saul took at the flood, and it bore him on to fortune; but eventually, in place of guiding his bark dexterously along the stream, he obstinately set it athwart the current, and so made shipwreck. His rival and successor pursued a very different course, and reached, in consequence, a very different result.

CHAPTER IX

THE REIGN OF DAVID

Sources—*1 Sam.* xxx., *2 Sam.* i. 1–*1 Kg.* ii. 11, *1 Ch.* xi.–xxix.

AT the battle of Gilboa, David (as has been related) was not present. After his dismissal by Achish at the instance of the Philistine chiefs, he returned to Ziklag, only to find it destroyed. A body of Amalekites had made a raid upon the southern frontier of the Philistine Cherethites, the Calibbites, and the people of Judah, had attacked Ziklag, taken captive its inhabitants (including David's wives), and set fire to the place. David's followers, on discovering that their homes were ruined, vented their rage upon their leader, whom they talked of stoning. The latter, on consulting the priestly oracle in the hands of Abiathar, was told that if he pursued the enemy he would overtake them and recover the spoil; and accordingly he at once set out, his march being so rapid that 200 out of his 600 men had to be left behind at the brook of Besor.[1] An Egyptian servant belonging to one of the Amalekites, who had been abandoned by his master because he was sick, was found, and undertook to guide David to the band he sought. He fulfilled his word; and the Israelites were enabled to surprise the enemy in the midst of a feast. The Amalekites were almost completely destroyed, 400 alone escaping. David, in spite of the protests of certain of his followers, insisted upon dividing the spoil fairly between those who had taken part in the battle and those who had been left behind at Besor; and his ruling became a recognised practice in later times.[2] He likewise sent a portion of the booty as a present to the leading men amongst the Judæans, the Kenites,

[1] Not identified.

[2] Cf. *Num.* xxxi. 27, and see p. 129.

and the Jerahmeelites, with a view, no doubt, of securing their sympathy and support when he should attempt to succeed to the throne at Saul's death. His designs in this direction must also have been aided by his marriage with Abigail and Ahinoam, both of whom belonged to Judah (*1 Sam.* xxv. 40–43).

It was two days after David's return to Ziklag from the overthrow of the band which had raided it that information of the defeat at Gilboa first reached him. It was brought by an Amalekite sojourner, who had been on the battle-field, and, anticipating the Philistines, had despoiled the dead Saul of his crown and bracelets, and now offered them to his rival in hope of reward. But claiming (seemingly falsely) to have killed the king while still unwounded, in answer to a despairing appeal from him, he received, as his only recompense, immediate execution for having, on his own testimony, raised his hand against Jehovah's anointed. In memory of Saul and his son Jonathan David composed an elegy, which, from an expression occurring in it, afterwards came to be known as the "Song of the Bow."[1]

The success of the Philistines at Gilboa destroyed for a time Israel's recently acquired unity. Tribal feeling was still sufficiently strong to lead Judah to act independently of the rest of the nation; and when David, by the direction of the priestly oracle (of which Abiathar had charge), advanced with all his company to Hebron, he reaped the fruit of his judicious courtesies and prudent marriage-alliances, and was, without opposition, anointed king over the tribe. But the fact that during his rule at Hebron David was unmolested by the Philistines suggests that his previous relations with them were unaltered, and that he was, at first, a feudatory of Philistia. One of his earliest acts was to thank the citizens of Jabesh Gilead for their devotion in rescuing Saul's body from the walls of Bethshan, whilst at the same time he announced to them his own elevation.

On the E. of Jordan another kingdom was established. Thither, as has been said, many of the inhabitants of the western side of the river, including, doubtless, most of the

[1] Cf. the elegy on Abner, *2 Sam.* iii. 33–34. The description "Song of the Bow" is an explanation rather than a translation of the original, for the Heb. only has *bow*, which the LXX. omits altogether.

survivors of Saul's army, had fled for refuge; and at Mahanaim Eshbaal[1] (or Ishbosheth)[2], one of Saul's children, and perhaps the only surviving legitimate son, was made king by Abner, Saul's cousin[3] and commander-in-chief. The relations of Eshbaal to the Philistines are less easy to determine than those of David. On the one hand, it has been held that he, like his rival, was a vassal of Philistia, and maintained his court at Mahanaim on sufferance. But in the absence of definite information, it seems equally probable that, during his reign of seven years,[4] he and Abner were engaged in a protracted and not unsuccessful war with the oppressors of their country. If so, it may be presumed that of the districts described as subject to Eshbaal, namely, Gilead, Jezreel (*i.e.* the plain of Esdraelon), Ephraim, Benjamin, and perhaps Asher,[5] those on the west of Jordan were reconquered in detail. As soon as the bulk of the country was once more recovered, Abner turned his attention to the Philistines' vassal-state of Judah, and with an army advanced upon Gibeon. Near a pool in the neighbourhood he was met by Joab, the nephew of David[6] and commander of his forces. Whilst the hosts were confronting one another, Abner proposed a combat, or tournament, of twelve champions from each army,

[1] *1 Ch.* viii. 33. If the order given here is correct, he was probably the youngest of Saul's sons, and because of his youth, was absent from the battle of Gilboa. His age in *2 Sam.* ii. 10 is given as forty, but this must be an error. The language of ver. 8 confirms the belief that he was under age. He is perhaps identical with the Ishvi of *1 Sam.* xiv. 49.

[2] The alteration to *Ishbosheth* is probably intentional, the word *bosheth* "shame" being substituted for the name of the heathen deity *Baal*. But at this period Baal appears to have been a title of Jehovah (cf. p. 279).

[3] So stated in *1 Sam.* xiv. 50, but according to *1 Ch.* viii. 33 Abner was Saul's uncle.

[4] *2 Sam.* ii. 10 states that he reigned two years; but David reigned more than seven years at Hebron (v. 5), and it is difficult to suppose that five years elapsed between Eshbaal's death and David's accession to the throne of all Israel.

[5] The Heb. of *2 Sam.* ii. 9 has *Ashurites*, which ought to be the same as the *Asshurim* of *Gen.* xxv. 3. But these were presumably Arabian tribes, and therefore remote from the borders of Eshbaal's kingdom. The Vulgate and Syriac have *Geshurites;* but the Geshurites N. of Bashan (*Deut.* iii. 14, *Josh.* xii. 5) were independent during David's reign (*2 Sam.* xiii. 37), and those on the S. of Philistia (*Josh.* xiii. 2, *1 Sam.* xxvii. 8) would be no more coterminous with Eshbaal's territory than the Asshurim. The Targum has *Asherites*.

[6] Joab's mother Zeruiah was sister or half-sister of David, *1 Ch.* ii. 16.

a proposition which was accepted by Joab. The fight between them was so fierce that they were all slain; and there then ensued a general engagement in which Abner's forces were defeated. the place receiving in consequence the name of *Helkath Hazzurim* ("the field of the sharp knives"[1]). In the subsequent rout, Abner himself was followed closely by Asahel the brother of Joab; whom, in order to avoid a feud with Joab, he first vainly tried to dissuade from pursuing him, and then endeavoured to disable only, but unfortunately slew. Eventually, on an appeal from Abner, Joab drew off his forces; and the former re-crossed the Jordan, and passing through Bithron,[2] returned to Mahanaim. Joab's loss amounted to only twenty men (including his brother Asahel), whereas of the forces of Abner 360 perished. This was the beginning of a long war between Eshbaal and David, in which fortune leaned to the side of the latter; but no further particulars have been preserved.

The end came when Abner, growing presumptuous, provoked Eshbaal's resentment by trespassing upon his sovereign's rights. A connection formed by Abner with Rizpah, a concubine of Saul's, was interpreted by Eshbaal, in accordance with the ideas of the time, as indicating an attempt upon the throne;[3] and he accordingly called Abner to account. The latter, hotly indignant, reproached his sovereign with ingratitude, and swore that he would translate the kingdom to David. He was as good as his word. Disaffection had already begun to prevail in consequence of the unfavourable contrast which Eshbaal (it may be presumed) presented to the king of Judah, and the ill-success which, in the struggle between them, had followed his arms; and this Abner now proceeded to bring to a head, by advocating an immediate transference of allegiance, his intrigues extending even to Eshbaal's own tribe of Benjamin. At the same time he made overtures to David which the latter showed himself willing to entertain, but laid down as a condition the restoration of his former wife Michal, the daughter of Saul—probably in order to give himself a stronger claim in the eyes of those who, disgusted with Esh-

[1] The LXX. renders it by *μερὶς τῶν ἐπιβούλων*, implying, in the case of the last word, a different original.

[2] Perhaps a gorge leading from the Jordan valley up its eastern flank.

[3] Cf. *2 Sam.* xii. 8, xvi. 21, 22.

baal's incapacity, still entertained feelings of loyalty to Saul's house. Consequently, a formal demand was made to Eshbaal for her return; and the king, unable to refuse, sent and took her from her husband Paltiel and delivered her to David's envoys. These preliminary negotiations having been brought to a close, Abner, with a small retinue, went to David at Hebron and arranged to bring about a union of the two kingdoms. Joab, who had been absent on a foray whilst David was conferring with Abner, returned shortly after the latter's departure; and on hearing that he had been allowed to leave in safety, angrily remonstrated with David, representing that Abner had come to Hebron merely for the purpose of espial, and perhaps tacitly rebuking the king for not prosecuting, when the opportunity came, the blood feud, in which his relationship to Zeruiah the mother of Asahel, might be thought to involve him. On retiring from David's presence, he despatched messengers, without the king's knowledge, to recall Abner; and when the latter arrived, he quietly took him aside and, with the help of his brother Abishai, assassinated him in revenge for Asahel's death. David, on hearing of the murder, loudly asserted his own innocence (which, as he was the gainer by the deed, might else have appeared doubtful), imprecated a curse upon the murderer, and honoured Abner with a public funeral, himself composing an elegy to his memory.

Eshbaal did not long survive the man who had been the chief supporter of his throne. Two of his captains, belonging to the Gibeonites whom Saul had in part destroyed and in part expelled from their homes and therefore having a national grievance to avenge, entered his house whilst the portress, who was cleaning wheat, slept at her task,[1] found him reposing during the noontide heat, and slew him on his bed. Then cutting off his head, they proceeded to Hebron to announce to David that they had avenged (as they pretended) his wrongs on the son of his enemy Saul. David, however, rewarded them as he had previously done the Amalekite who claimed to have slain Saul; and by his command they were at once executed, whilst the head of their victim was buried in the grave of Abner at Hebron.

[1] The LXX. of *2 Sam.* iv. 6 reads *καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ θυρωρὸς τοῦ οἴκου ἐκάθαιρεν πυροὺς καὶ ἐνύσταξε καὶ ἐκάθευδε.*

There was now no obstacle to the re-union of Israel under one king, in spite of the fact that there were other sons of Saul alive (*2 Sam.* xxi. 8), besides a son of Jonathan; and at an assembly held at Hebron[1] the offer of the throne was made to David on behalf of all the tribes. The limits to be set to the royal authority, and the liberties to be assured to the nation, were defined; and the covenant between the king and the people was ratified at the local sanctuary. DAVID, now in his thirty-eighth year, was then anointed, and entered upon the reign to which, in spite of crimes and disasters, subsequent ages always looked back with feelings of pride.

The history of Saul's remaining descendants may here be related, though the incidents recorded doubtless took place at a later period than that now under review.[2] Jonathan had left behind him a son named Meribbaal or Mephibosheth,[3] who was only five years old at the time of his father's death. When the tidings came of the disaster at Gilboa, his nurse in her haste to escape had dropped the child, and as a result of the fall, he became lame in both feet. He had subsequently found refuge with one Machir, the son of Ammiel, in Lo-debar, E. of the Jordan (*2 Sam.* iv. 4, ix. 4.). David, desirous to show kindness to any son of Jonathan, learnt about him from a servant of Saul's, named Ziba; and fetching him from Lo-debar, he brought him to court, and gave him a seat at the royal table, at the same time appointing Ziba and his family to be servants to the young prince, to whom he restored the personal possessions of Saul. Others of Saul's descendants, however, met with a far different fate from that which befel Meribbaal. On the occasion of a famine which lasted three years, the sufferings it caused were so severe that they appeared to be provoked by sôme national sin. By the Divine oracle the reason assigned was the destruction by Saul of

[1] In *1 Ch.* xii. 23 foll. the numbers that attended at Hebron from the various tribes are represented as amounting to the astonishing figure of 340,822. The relative quotas contributed by the several tribes are as remarkable as the total, for whilst 120,000 came from Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh (on the E. of Jordan), and 156,600 from the four northernmost tribes, only 6,800 came from Judah.

[2] See *2 Sam.* c. ix., xxi. 1–14.

[3] *1 Ch.* viii. 34, ix. 40, *2 Sam.* iv. 4. Like *Eshbaal*, the name *Meribbaal* has been intentionally, and even more extensively, altered (see p. 241, note).

the Gibeonites, in violation of the pledge which had been given to them by Israel in the course of the conquest of Canaan.[1] David, on receiving the reply of the oracle, allowed the Gibeonites to choose whatever satisfaction they preferred. They demanded the execution of seven of Saul's descendants; and accordingly two of his sons by his concubine Rizpah, and five of his grandsons, the children of his daughter Merab[2] by Adriel the Meholathite, were hung at a sanctuary[3] by way of atonement, Meribbaal, as the son of Jonathan, being specially exempted from inclusion among the victims, in consequence of the friendship which had existed between his father and the king. Rizpah watched over the corpses to prevent them from becoming the prey of beasts and birds, until the fall of rain seemed to indicate that the Divine wrath was appeased. Their bones, by David's orders, were buried at Zela, in the sepulchre of Kish the father of Saul, to which the bones of both Saul and Jonathan were also conveyed from their resting-place in Jabesh Gilead.

At what period in David's reign his kindly treatment of Meribbaal and the execution of Saul's other descendants occurred cannot be determined with precision: but the first incident must have taken place some time after David came to the throne, for Meribbaal, who was a child of five when his father died, had, when he was first brought to the notice of the king, a young son called Mica (*2 Sam.* ix. 12); and the second, from the mention of Meribbaal in connection with it (xxi. 7), must have been still later.

When David had once united the whole of Israel under his sway, a change in his relations with the Philistines was inevitable. He thereby took his natural place as the nation's champion against their powerful enemies; and the Philistines were not slow to recognise that the long warfare between themselves and Israel had entered upon its final stage as soon as David was crowned the second time at Hebron. They quickly assumed the offensive and invaded Judah. David, unable to organise his forces immediately, took up his position at a stronghold which is unnamed by the historian, but which has been conjectured to be

[1] See *Josh.* c. ix. The statement in *1 Sam.* vii. 14, *there was peace between Israel and the Amorites* (where *Amorite* is perhaps used in a general sense, cf. p. 69) suggests that Saul's act had been altogether unprovoked.

[2] The Heb. of *2 Sam.* xxi. 8 has *Michal*, but Michal, when taken from David, was married to Paltiel (or Palti), not Adriel (*1 Sam.* xxv. 44).

[3] This is suggested by the words *on the mountain before Jehovah;* for the latter part of the phrase cf. *1 Sam.* i. 22 (compared with ver. 24), xv. 33.

Adullam. The Philistines did not follow him into the fastnesses of Judah, but with a view to cutting him off from the northern tribes spread themselves in the valley of Rephaim, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. This was probably the occasion of the gallant exploit recorded of three of his warriors in *2 Sam.* xxiii. 13–17. David, oppressed with thirst, for it was harvest-time, expressed a wish for a draught of water from the well of his native Bethlehem; whereupon the three broke through the host of the Philistines which was encamped at Bethlehem, and drawing water from the well, brought it to David. The king, however, justly regarding it as having been obtained at the risk of his servants' lives, would not drink it, but poured it out unto Jehovah. But whether the incident in question is rightly placed in this connection or not, David did not remain long in the hold, but by the command of the Divine oracle, advanced against the enemy, and coming upon them, inflicted a severe defeat at a place which came to be called *Baal-perazim* ("Baal of breakings forth").[1] Their images, brought by them into battle,[2] as the Ark was by Israel at Ebenezer, to promote the success of their arms, were captured, and (according to *1 Ch.* xiv. 12) were burnt. The enemy's strength, however, was not broken by this reverse; and the invasion was renewed in the same quarter as before. But David, by this time, had doubtless been reinforced, and was in a position to strike a more crushing blow. Again guided by the priestly oracle, he made a circuit, and attacked the Philistines in the rear, and routing them, pursued them from Gibeon[3] to Gezer. This disaster, for a time, checked Philistine aggression, and David was left free to strengthen and consolidate his kingdom.

The most important step in this direction was taken when he attacked the stronghold of the Jebusites at Jerusalem, which, ever since the Conquest, had resisted both capture and absorption by the Israelite settlers.[4] Such confidence did the

[1] Cf. *Is.* xxviii. 21. The title *Baal* doubtless refers to Jehovah (see p. 279).

[2] Cf. *2 Ch.* xxv. 14 (of the Edomites).

[3] In *2 Sam.* v. 25 for *Geba* the LXX. has *Gibeon*; cf. *1 Ch.* xiv. 16.

[4] In *2 Sam.* v. the capture of Jerusalem is recorded before the wars with the Philistines just related; but if the stronghold of the Jebusites had already been in David's possession, he would not have been compelled to go down to the stronghold of Adullam.

inhabitants feel in the strength of their position that they tauntingly affirmed that even the blind and lame among them would be sufficient to repel David's assault.[1] The king's military skill, however, discovered a means of approach by a conduit cut in the rock; and the stronghold was stormed, Joab (according to the Chronicler) being the first to scale the walls, and thereby obtaining the post of chief captain,[2] which David had promised to confer upon the man who was foremost in mounting the ramparts.[3] In spite of the provocation which the defenders gave, it does not appear that the garrison was put indiscriminately to the sword, since Jebusites survived as late as the reign of Solomon (*1 Kg.* ix. 20, cf. *2 Sam.* xxiv. 18). For the captured city itself a distinguished future was in store. It was clearly expedient that David, as king of the whole of Israel, should choose as his capital a city which would not be, like Hebron, too closely associated with his own tribe of Judah, or like Gibeah, too much at the mercy of the jealous tribe of Benjamin, or like Mahanaim, too remote from the centre of affairs. The recent acquisition seemed to satisfy all the conditions. Its exceptionally strong situation (defended, as it is, by ravines on the W., S., and E.), its notable history under native sovereigns like Melchizedek and Adonizedek, the absence of any connection with one or other of the Israelite tribes (owing to its having remained till now in the hands of the old inhabitants), and its capture by the king himself, all contributed to mark it out as the city best suited to be the new capital. Accordingly David took up his residence there, and constructed additional fortifications,[4] materials for which he was now able to obtain from Tyre

[1] In *2 Sam.* v. 6–8 the sense seems best preserved in the LXX. The incident seems to have been regarded as the origin of a popular saying—*τυφλοὶ καὶ χωλοὶ οὐκ ἐλεύσονται εἰς οἶκον Κυρίου.*

[2] *1 Ch.* xi. 6. But Joab appears to have had the chief command of David's forces before this (*2 Sam.* ii. 13 foll.), and the Chronicler's statement is not supported by the parallel passage in *2 Sam.* v. 8.

[3] According to Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 3, 1) the capture of Jerusalem was effected in two stages, David first storming the lower city, and Joab then surmounting the defences of the citadel (*ἄκρα*). The city almost certainly occupied the eastern of the two hills upon which modern Jerusalem stands; see further on p. 300, note.

[4] *The Millo* (so Heb.) mentioned in *2 Sam.* v. 9 was either a fort or part of the ramparts, but its situation is unknown.

by sea, the defeat of the Philistines having secured for him access to the port of Joppa. In place of the name Jebus (if such was really applied to it),[1] the ancient title *Uru-salim* was resumed under the form *Jerusalem;* but in memory of its conqueror it was often known as "the city of David."

Into his new city David's piety prompted him to bring the Ark of Jehovah, with a view to making it the religious, as well as the political, capital of the state. He accordingly went, attended by the whole of his army to the number of 30,000 men, to[2] Kiriath Jearim (likewise called Kiriath Baal, Baalah, and Baale Judah), and taking it from the house of Abinadab where the Ark had remained ever since its restoration by the Philistines (*1 Sam.* vii. 1), proceeded to remove it, in joyous procession, towards Jerusalem. But the occurrence, at the threshing-floor of Nacon,[3] of the sudden death of Uzzah,[4] one of the men who had charge of the cart conveying the Ark, which was ascribed to his rashly touching the sacred emblem when it was in danger of being thrown down by the restiveness of the oxen, so awed the king that he did not go further with it, but left it in the care of a certain Obed-edom,[5] with whom it stayed three months. At the expiration of that time, the prosperity which had fallen to Obed-edom during the sojourn of the Ark with him, led David to believe that the Divine anger was appeased, and that he might safely bring it within the walls of his capital. He therefore conveyed it to Jerusalem—this time seemingly on men's shoulders (*2 Sam.* vi. 13)—with great rejoicings, offering sacrifices at short intervals during the journey, and himself dancing in priestly garb before it. On reaching the city, it was placed in a tent prepared for it, and a sacrificial feast was held, at the conclusion of which David blessed the people and dismissed them with the customary gifts. Michal, the daughter of Saul, ridiculed her husband for his conduct in the procession, but was

[1] Some authorities have suspected that this name has been simply deduced from that of the tribe that occupied the city, and was never really used.

[2] So *1 Ch.* xiii. 6 for the *from* of *2 Sam.* vi. 2.

[3] In *1 Ch.* xiii. 9, *Chidon.*

[4] The son, or perhaps grandson, of Abinadab.

[5] Obed-edom is described as a Gittite in *2 Sam.* vi. 10, but in *1 Ch.* he is reckoned among the Levites. A Gath-rimmon is named among the Levitical cities in *Josh.* xxi. 24.

pointedly rebuked by him; and to her irreligious speech her subsequent childlessness was popularly attributed.

In *1 Ch.* xv. 13 the misfortune attending the first attempt to remove the Ark from Kiriath Jearim is accounted for by the fact that Levites did not bear it; and accordingly when it was finally taken from the house of Obed-edom, it is represented as being carried by Levites, whilst the Priests blew with the trumpets (ver. 24), in obedience to the law contained in *Num.* vii. 9, x. 8. But of this explanation no hint is given in the narrative of *2 Sam.* vi.; and as is shown elsewhere, the Pentateuchal laws distinguishing between Priests and Levites, and regulating their respective duties, are difficult to harmonise with the prevailing practice of this, or even a later, time.

Having thus established a centre of government, David turned his thoughts to foreign conquest. It was probably with this in view that he formed the design of numbering the people, the existing account of which leaves the occasion altogether uncertain (*2 Sam.* c. xxiv.)[1] The character of the census was avowedly military. Hitherto there had been no standing army in Israel (though David during his exile had formed the nucleus of such in his band of 600), and all national emergencies were met by the calling out of temporary levies. It may reasonably be concluded therefore that the numbering of all who were capable of bearing arms (xxiv. 9) was preliminary to a stricter military organisation than had hitherto prevailed. Such a project, however, threatening as it did to curtail further the liberties of a people as yet impatient of the restraints of a central government, met with popular disapproval; and Joab, who was in touch with the national sentiment, made a vigorous protest against the king's proposal. But his opposition was vain; and he himself, with the other officers of the host, was entrusted with the duty of carrying out the work. It occupied nine months and twenty days; and at the end of this period the result of the enquiry was brought to David. Unfortunately the information ascertained has not come down in a trustworthy form, for the figures recorded are incredibly large, the number of men drawing the sword being stated as 800,000 for Israel, and 500,000 for Judah; whilst the Chronicler (*1 Ch.* xxi. 5–6), who

[1] That a belief prevailed amongst the Hebrews that to take the number of the people was perilous unless accompanied by a propitiatory offering is indicated in *Ex.* xxx. 12 (P); though the injunction there imposed may have been occasioned by the narrative in the text. Josephus explains that David sinned by neglecting this ordinance.

alters them to 1,100,000 and 470,000 respectively, adds that the tribes of Levi and Benjamin were not included.

It was not long before the king came to believe that his act was not only condemned by his most faithful advisers, but had also excited the anger of Heaven.[1] A pestilence broke out in the time of wheat harvest (*2 Sam.* xxiv. 15 LXX., cf. *1 Ch.* xxi. 20) and caused great ravages among the population; and in accordance with the habits of thought of that age, it was inferred to be due to the recent census. To stay the plague, David, when near the threshing-floor of Araunah (or Ornan, *1 Ch.* xxi. 15), a Jebusite (possibly even the dispossessed king of Jebus, *2 Sam.* xxiv. 23 marg.), was directed by the prophet Gad to raise an altar there. Araunah generously offered the ground for nothing, together with all the requisites for a sacrifice; but David insisted upon purchasing it at a price before he would consent to use it. Sacrifice was then duly offered, and the plague was mercifully abated.

According to the narrative of *2 Sam.* xxiv., *1 Ch.* xxi., the prophet Gad was sent to David, prior to the occurrence of any calamity, to bid him choose one of three chastisements, viz. seven years of famine (LXX. and *1 Ch.*, *three* years), three months' flight before his foes, or three days' pestilence; and David choosing to fall into the hands of Jehovah rather than into the hands of man, the chastisement inflicted was a pestilence.

The Chronicler, to explain the fact that David sacrificed at the threshing-floor of Araunah (Ornan) instead of at the Tabernacle, relates that the latter was at Gibeon (cf. xvi. 39), and that David was afraid to go there because of the pestilence. But the Tabernacle, apart from the Ark, had no *raison d'être;* and the Ark at this time was at Jerusalem. It would appear, however, that Gibeon was really the seat of a sanctuary; see *1 Kg.* iii. 4.

There is a discrepancy between *2 Sam.* xxiv. 24 and *1 Ch.* xxi. 25 respecting the sum paid by David to Araunah, the former making it 50 shekels of silver, and the latter 600 shekels of gold.

But though the numbering and enrolment of the people was thus thought to have excited the displeasure of Jehovah, and though the burdens to which it was a preliminary probably produced much of the popular discontent which marred the latter part of David's reign, it must have contributed not a little to the success which now attended the king's foreign campaigns.

[1] *2 Sam.* c. xxiv. belongs to a section (xxi.–xxiv.) which forms an appendix to the regular narrative of David's reign, the contents being brought together for other than chronological reasons. C. xxiv. was perhaps originally linked to xxi. 1–14 by similarity of subject (both relating the history of a national affliction), the other parts of the section being subsequent insertions.

A description of his military organisation is reserved until later: for the present it will be more convenient to pursue the general course of the history. A renewal of hostilities with the Philistines gave him an opportunity of finally quelling his restless neighbours. By the capture of a fortress called *Metheg Ammah* ("the bridle of the mother-city"[1]), he effectually put a stop to their incursions into Israelite territory. The place in question was probably in the neighbourhood of Gath; and it is the latter city itself, with its dependent towns, which the Chronicler (*1 Ch.* xviii. 1), in his account of the war, represents as having been taken; but if so, it must have been restored on conditions, for it was independent early in the reign of Solomon (*1 Kg.* ii. 39). In the course of the campaign, David on one occasion nearly lost his life, being attacked, when weary and spent, by a gigantic Philistine.[2] The giant was killed by Abishai, who came to the king's assistance; but the danger incurred was so great that the troops insisted that David should not again venture so precious a life in battle (*2 Sam.* xxi. 15–17). Abishai's exploit was emulated by three others of David's warriors, Sibbecai, Elhanan, and Jonathan (the last being David's nephew), who each encountered and slew a champion of great stature, survivors, presumably, of the aboriginal *Rephaim*, who had become absorbed among the Philistine settlers (*2 Sam.* xxi. 18–22).[3] When further aggression had thus been rendered impossible, relations between the two nations became more amicable; and some of the Philistines found scope for their warlike qualities by taking service with their conqueror, the Pelethites and Cherethites of David's body-guard being probably of Philistine and Cretan origin, whilst the Gittites

[1] The phrase may perhaps imply that it commanded the surrounding district.

[2] His name is given as *Ishbibenob*; but the word is perhaps corrupt, the last element indicating the scene of the encounter (Nob, or perhaps Gob, see xxi. 18, 19).

[3] The name of the Philistine slain by Elhanan (a Bethlehemite) was Goliath; and as this conflicts with the account of Goliath's death at the hands of David (*1 Sam.* xvii.), the Chronicler (*1 Ch.* xx. 5) styles him *Lahmi the brother of Goliath*, the inserted words being partly a corruption of the appellation *Bethlehemite* applied to Elhanan. On the other hand, the name of Elhanan's father is probably given correctly in *Chronicles* as *Jair* (not *Jaareoregim*, as in *2 Sam.*).

mentioned with them indicate their nationality by their name (*2 Sam.* viii. 18, xv. 18).

The next war in which David engaged was with the Moabites. During the lifetime of Saul, David had entrusted his father and mother to the care of the Moabite king; and the reasons which converted this friendly intercourse into rancorous hostility are altogether obscure. The success of Israel in the war was complete; and terrible vengeance was inflicted upon the conquered army, two-thirds of them being put to death in cold blood. The country was made tributary, and did not regain its independence until the reign of Ahab (*2 Kg.* iii. 4 foll., see p. 338).

The successes of David over Moab endangered the safety of the adjoining states, and the Ammonites determined to precipitate a struggle before the rising kingdom of Israel became too strong for them. An opportunity to do so came when an Israelite embassy arrived to pay respect to their king Hanun, who had only recently succeeded to the throne, and whose father, Nahash, perhaps from hostility to Saul, had shown kindness to David. The envoys were represented as having been sent with the sinister purpose of espial, and on this pretence were grossly insulted and dismissed. The nation then prepared for the inevitable conflict by obtaining help from the kings of Zobah,[1] Rehob (or Beth-rehob),[2] Maacah,[3] and Tob.[4] Of these Hadadezer,[5] the king of Zobah, doubtless had grievances of his own, for Saul had engaged in hostilities with Zobah, in which the latter country had been worsted (*1 Sam.* xiv. 47). David, on learning the insult offered to his ambassadors, allowed just a year to pass,[6]

[1] A district of Syria, E. of Anti-lebanon. If its city *Berothai* (*2 Sam.* viii. 8) is the *Berothah* of *Ezek.* xlvii. 16, it was probably between Damascus and Hamath.

[2] Described as near the frontiers of Hamath (*Num.* xiii. 21) and close to the town of Laish (*Jud.* xviii. 28).

[3] Associated with Geshur in *Deut.* iii. 14, *Josh.* xiii. 11; and probably lying on the N. of Bashan in the neighbourhood of Lake Merom.

[4] Mentioned in *Jud.* xi. 3 and placed by some immediately E. (or S.E.) of the Lake of Chinnereth.

[5] Called in *2 Sam.* x. 16, *Hadarezer*. The name (*Hadadezer*) obviously contains the same element as *Benhadad* (*1 Kg.* xv. 18), and in formation resembles *Azariah*, *Eliezer*.

[6] In *2 Sam.* xi. 1 one reading gives *at the return of the year, at the time when the messengers went forth.*

and then sent Joab with a large force into the Ammonite territory. Before the gates of Medeba[1] (which, as it is accounted a city of Reuben in *Josh.* xiii. 16, had perhaps been attacked) Joab found himself confronted by the Ammonite army, whilst the forces of Hadadezer and his confederates were close by, and threatened his flank. He thereupon divided his troops into two bodies, and placing one in charge of his brother Abishai, with orders to keep the Ammonites in check, he himself assumed command of the other, and advanced against Hadadezer. Fortune attended both divisions of the Israelite army. Joab routed the auxiliaries from Zobah; and the Ammonites, seeing his success, also gave way before Abishai and took refuge in the city. From Hadadezer a large number of men and horses were captured,[2] and the bulk of the latter were rendered useless by David's orders, only sufficient for a hundred chariots being preserved (*2 Sam.* viii. 4). In the next campaign Hadadezer obtained aid both from Damascus and from the Arameans beyond the Euphrates (*2 Sam.* viii. 5, x. 16); and the combined forces under Shobach,[3] Hadadezer's captain, were met by the Israelite army (which had been increased by an extensive levy, x. 17) at Helam.[4] The latter were again successful; Shobach was slain, his forces completely routed,[5] and much treasure taken. The advantage thus gained was followed by an advance against the Arameans of Damascus, who are stated to have been compelled to become tributaries and admit garrisons into their cities (though it is questionable, in view of *1 Kg.* xi. 24, whether the alleged submission was a reality). These reverses put an end to the foreign aid upon which the Ammonites had relied; and the next year Rabbah, their capital, was besieged by Joab. Joab seized

[1] Named in *1 Ch.* xix. 7. But Josephus and others suppose that the city near which the battle was fought, and which is unspecified in *2 Sam.* x. 8, was Rabbah (cf. xi. 1).

[2] *2 Sam.* viii. 4 gives 1,700 horsemen and 20,000 foot; *1 Ch.* xviii. 4, 1,000 chariots, 7,000 horsemen, 20,000 foot.

[3] In *1 Ch.* xix. 16, *Shophach.*

[4] The locality is unknown, and some for *they came to Helam* render *their force came.*

[5] Their losses, according to *2 Sam.* x. 18, were 700 chariots and 40,000 horsemen; according to *1 Ch.* xix. 18, 7,000 chariots and 40,000 foot—both statements containing improbabilities.

a position which commanded the water supply, and before the final assault upon the city was delivered, he urged the king to take command of the army in person that he might obtain the credit of its capture.[1] He accordingly did so; Rabbah was stormed and plundered; and the precious jewel which adorned the crown worn by the image of the god Milcom was taken and placed on David's head.[2] The prisoners (according to the received reading of *2 Sam.* xii. 31) were treated with great barbarity; and similar cruelties were inflicted upon the inhabitants of all the other cities taken.[3]

The account of the war with Zobah and its Aramean allies in *2 Sam.* viii. 3 foll. appears again, with some variations, in x. 6 foll. In the text the two narratives have been regarded as, in the main, complementary; but it is possible that one of them is only an inferior version of the other.

David's next conquest was obtained over Edom.[4] The Edomites had previously been invaded by Saul (*1 Sam.* xiv. 47); but it was reserved for David to subjugate them. The campaign was conducted under the general direction of Joab (*1 Kg.* xi. 16, cf. *Ps.* lx. title); but it was a victory gained by his brother Abishai (Abshai) in the Valley of Salt, S. of the Dead Sea (*1 Ch.* xviii. 12), that brought about the occupation of the country, and this was followed (it is said) by the almost entire extermination of the male population. A few survivors only, including a young prince called Hadad, succeeded in escaping to Egypt (*1 Kg.* xi. 15–17). The land was then made tributary, and garrisons were established in it. This conquest secured for

[1] So Jerusalem was called *the city of David* (p. 248).

[2] The weight of the crown (a talent, about 96 lbs.) makes it improbable that it was worn by the Ammonite king, or could be worn by David; and hence the words *it was set on David's head* are best referred to the precious stone (so the Heb.) that was in it.

[3] The infliction of barbarous punishments upon defeated enemies was widely prevalent among Eastern nations generally, both at this and subsequent periods: for instance, the Assyrian king Asshurnasirpal (884–860) relates that he impaled some of his captives, and ripped up, or flayed alive, others (see Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires*, p. 20). But in regard to the statement in *2 Sam.* xii. 31 respecting David, a slight alteration of the text gives the meaning *he put them to saws and harrows of iron, and axes of iron, and made them labour at the brick-mould*, and so describes the employments to which the prisoners were condemned. The correction, however, is inadmissible in *1 Ch.* xx. 3.

[4] In *2 Sam.* viii. 13 *Syrians* must be read for *Edomites*.

Israel the control of the valuable trade passing between Arabia and the countries bordering on the Euphrates; whilst it also gave it the command of two seaports, Elath and Ezion-geber, which were developed in the reign of Solomon. Amongst other operations in the South probably executed about this time was a war with Amalek, but no details of it have been preserved (*2 Sam.* viii. 12).

Of the vast quantity of spoil taken in these different wars (see *2 Sam.* viii. 7–12, *1 Ch.* xviii. 7–8, 11), David dedicated a large part to the service of Jehovah. These offerings were increased by presents sent to him by Toï,[1] the king of Hamath, through his son Hadoram.[2] Toï was an enemy of Hadadezer; and on the defeat of the latter, which probably relieved him of a formidable adversary, he took this means of congratulating the conqueror. Friendly relations also existed between David and Hiram,[3] the king of Tyre. The Phœnicians and the Israelites were, in their situation and habits, each other's complements, the former being devoted to commerce and the mechanical arts, and the latter being engaged almost exclusively in pastoral and agricultural occupations. A profitable trade could consequently be carried on between the two peoples; and from Hiram David obtained both workmen and materials for the buildings with which he planned to adorn his capital. After erecting a palace for himself, he turned his thoughts, on the termination of his wars of conquest, towards constructing a fitting shrine for the Ark of Jehovah. At first the proposal was commended by the prophet Nathan; but subsequently a dream (it is said) led him to declare that the project was opposed to the Divine will. If the prophet's final opposition was in any way the result of later reflection, it may be conjectured that he feared the corrupting influence upon the national worship of Tyrian ideas and Tyrian art. But though David, in accordance with the prophet's direction, relinquished the design of building a temple himself, he prepared the means for his successor to accomplish it. He

[1] In *1 Ch.* xviii. 9 *Toü*, LXX. Θόου.

[2] So *1 Ch.* xviii. 10. The parallel passage *2 Sam.* viii. 10 has *Joram*, but the LXX. Ιεδδουράν is in favour of the reading of *Chron.*

[3] The king of Tyre who was contemporary with Solomon bore the same name (*1 Kg.* v. 1), and was probably the same person.

continued to amass treasure with this end in view; and it was finally achieved by Solomon.

The Chronicler gives an account of the offerings made by the king and by the chiefs of the people, which, if the figures have not undergone great corruption, must be enormously exaggerated (*1 Ch.* xxii. 14, *100,000 talents of gold, 1,000,000 talents of silver;* cf. also xxix. 3–7). He also represents David as appointing for the contemplated Temple overseers, singers, and doorkeepers which are numbered by thousands (*1 Ch.* c. xxiii.). David is also stated to have received from God Himself a pattern of the Temple and its furniture, which he bequeathed to Solomon (*1 Ch.* xxviii. 11–19).

At this point it will be convenient to anticipate part of what has yet to be related and to pass briefly under review David's dominions, his family and court, his army, the agencies for securing justice, and the internal constitution of the kingdom generally. In such a review some of the evidence appealed to is derived from the records of later reigns; but it is probable that the institutions in question were of long standing in Israel, and that no serious anachronism will be involved in consequence of the course adopted.

1. As the result of the successful wars previously described, David's dominions included, in addition to the united tribes of Israel, the territories of Edom and Moab, and possibly Zobah and part of Ammon. Over Edom which lay so near Judah David probably exercised direct control, placing garrisons in the country and occupying the ports of Elath and Ezion-geber. Moab, which was more remote from the capital, was made tributary, and if the account of the tribute paid at a later period to an Israelite king be any guide, it must have been a valuable dependency. The Ammonites, who, like the Moabites, had experienced severe treatment, and had seen their capital Rabbah captured, probably also became tributaries (cf. *2 Sam.* xvii. 27–29); but Israel's hold over this border people is not likely to have been very firm. On the north, Zobah was probably a subject state; and David is said to have placed garrisons in the neighbouring Damascus, though it is doubtful whether he really exercised much authority over the latter. But tranquillity on this side was secured not only by the defeats inflicted upon the Syrian peoples in general, but also by the alliance with Toï, king of Hamath, who (as has been said) was an enemy

of the king of Zobah. Broadly speaking, David's empire may be described as extending from the southern extremity of the valley between the Lebanons to the Gulf of Akaba, and from the Mediterranean to the Syrian desert. But it is probable that only in the neighbourhood of Joppa did it actually touch the sea: north of this the Phœnician towns of Tyre and Zidon were left unmolested; whilst in the S.W. the Philistines, though their strength was crippled, maintained their independence. The expansion of Israelite sovereignty which this account implies is remarkable for the rapidity with which it was accomplished. Less than two generations saw the Hebrews transformed from an unorganised aggregate of tribes, sustaining a precarious struggle with aggressive and powerful foes, into a dominant power, holding in tribute its near neighbours and respected and feared by those more remote.

2. David's sons, so far as can be gathered from the various lists preserved (*2 Sam.* iii. 2–5, v. 13–16, *1 Ch.* iii. 1–9, xiv. 3–7), were as follows:—

1. Amnon (by Ahinoam).
2. Chileab *or* Daniel (by Abigail).
3. Absalom (by Maacah).
4. Adonijah (by Haggith).
5. Shephatiah (by Abital).
6. Ithream (by Eglah).
7. Shammua *or* Shimeah (by Bathsheba).
8. Shobab ,,
9. Nathan ,,
10. Solomon *or* Jedidiah (by Bathsheba).
11. Ibhar.
12. Elishua *or* Elishama.
13. Nepheg.
14. Japhia.
15. Elishama.
16. Eliada *or* Beeliada.
17. Eliphelet *or* Elpelet.
18. Nogah.

Another son, named Jerimoth, who is not included in the above-mentioned lists, is alluded to in *2 Ch.* xi. 18 and may have been the offspring of a concubine (cf. *1 Ch.* iii. 9). David appears to have had daughters also (*2 Sam.* v. 13, *1 Ch.* xiv. 3), but the name of only one, Tamar, is known. The practice of polygamy was usual in the East amongst those who were rich enough to maintain a harem; and the number of David's wives indicates his wealth and dignity as well as his luxury. David was, no doubt, a man of less simple tastes than Saul; but the greater

pomp and circumstance with which the former surrounded himself witnesses as much to the increased prosperity and importance of the nation as to the pleasure-loving character of its king.

3. Of David's civil ministers the most important were the Recorder, the Scribe, and the officer who presided over the Levy or *corvée*. The first of these would appear, by his name, to have kept the state archives; but he probably also acted as one of the king's chief counsellors, and was a personage of high rank and distinction (cf. *2 Kg.* xviii. 18, 37). The office was held throughout David's reign by Jehoshaphat, the son of Ahilud. The Scribe was the royal secretary. His was also an office of great dignity; and was filled by two persons in succession in David's lifetime, Seraiah (*2 Sam.* viii. 17) and Sheva (*2 Sam.* xx. 25). The president of the Levy was Adoniram.[1] This was perhaps an office which was not constituted until late in David's reign, when he was prosecuting his great building schemes. It is mentioned only in the second of the two lists of officials given in *2 Sam.*; and Adoniram not only lived through the reign of Solomon, but survived until that of Rehoboam. A courtier who, without discharging any specified duties, is described (in *2 Sam.* xv. 12, *1 Ch.* xxvii. 33) merely as the king's counsellor, was Ahitophel, a man who came into prominence in some of the troubles that filled the latter part of David's reign. The same title of counsellor is likewise given in *1 Ch.* xxvii. 32 to Jonathan, David's nephew (see *1 Ch.* xx. 7); and another person who similarly occupied an informal position of influence was Hushai (*2 Sam.* xv. 37, *1 Ch.* xxvii. 33). In *1 Ch.* xxvii. 25–31 a number of inferior officials, whose names it is unnecessary to reproduce here, are mentioned as having the care of the king's private possessions. In addition to the lay ministers just enumerated, the priests Zadok and Abiathar were doubtless often consulted as state-advisers. The precise relation between these two priests is obscure; though if *1 Ch.* xvi. 39 could be relied on, it might be inferred that Zadok ordinarily ministered at the "high place" (or sanctuary) of Gibeon, whilst Abiathar attended the king at Jerusalem. But in *2 Sam.* xv. 24, Zadok, as well as

[1] In *2 Sam.* xx. 24 *Adoram*; but the LXX. has Αδωνειράμ, and the same appears in *1 Kg.* iv. 6.

Abiathar, is found in charge of the Ark at Jerusalem. Both of them were Levites and descendants of Aaron, the former being sprung from Eleazar and the latter from Ithamar (*1 Ch.* xxiv. 3, 6).[1] But according to the testimony of *2 Sam.* others than Levites also acted as priests, among them being David's own sons (*2 Sam.* viii, 18), and a certain Ira, a Jairite (*2 Sam.* xx. 26), who perhaps belonged to the tribe of Manasseh (*Num.* xxxii. 41). Such an arrangement was so alien to the spirit of later times that in *2 Sam.* viii. 18 the LXX., in place of *priests*, reads αὐλάρχαι, whilst *1 Ch.* xviii. 17 substitutes *chief about the king*.

4. The national army—styled "the host"—was probably a militia, called out when needed (cf. *1 Kg.* xv. 22) to go on expeditions, but dismissed again as soon as the need had ceased (cf. *1 Kg.* xxii. 36). This was under the command of Joab, who is entitled "captain of the host." But the nucleus of a standing army was constituted by a permanent body-guard of some 600 men, consisting of Cherethites, Pelethites, and Gittites (*2 Sam.* xv. 18). The origin of the Gittites is obvious; and it is in every way probable that the Cherethites and Pelethites were also Philistines, the latter term being perhaps only another form of the national name (Heb. *Pelishtim*), and the former being derived from Crete, with which Caphtor, the original home of the Philistines, is generally identified. But if the Cherethites were Philistines, they appear to have been outside the confederated five cities; for David when at Gath represented to Achish that his attacks had been directed against the south of the Cherethites (*1 Sam.* xxx. 14). It is not unlikely (as has been already suggested) that this force was enrolled at the conclusion of David's Philistine wars. The doubts which he may at first have reasonably entertained respecting the attachment of his countrymen to the crown would show him the expediency of having about him a force detached from the national sympathies;[2] and his acquaintance with Philistia easily enabled him to find

[1] In *2 Sam.* viii. 17, *1 Ch.* xxiv. 6 *Ahimelech the son of Abiathar* is probably an error for *Abiathar the son of Ahimelech;* whilst in *1 Ch.* xxiv. 3, 31 *Ahimelech* is likewise a mistake for *Abiathar* (see *1 Sam.* xxii. 20, *2 Sam.* xv. 29, xx. 25, *1 Kg.* i. 7).

[2] Comparisons have frequently been drawn between these troops and the Swiss guards of the French kings in the 18th century.

what he required. The subsequent history will show that both his foresight in anticipating the need of such a corps, and his sagacity in selecting the men who were to compose it, were amply justified. The command of this body was entrusted to Benaiah, who is also described (*2 Sam.* xxiii. 22, 23 marg.) as set over David's council—perhaps as guard of the council-chamber;[1] and the troop was presumably kept in the capital, in close attendance upon the king (cf. *1 Kg.* i. 44). A comparison of this last passage with *1 Kg.* i. 8 suggests that this force of Cherethites and Pelethites was also known as "the Mighty men" (*Gibborim*). But by the latter name was specially designated a smaller body of distinguished warriors, who perhaps acted as officers of the 600, or of the national levies (cf. *1 Ch.* xxvii. 1 foll.). They were nominally thirty in number, though more than thirty are actually named in the lists in *2 Sam.* xxiii. 24–39, *1 Ch.* xi. 26–47, the latter, indeed, amounting to forty-six.[2] Some of these were likewise foreigners, including a Maacathite, a Hittite,[3] a native of Zobah, and (according to *1 Ch.* xi. 46) a Moabite. Superior in rank and dignity to the Thirty were two officers, one of them being the Captain of the Guard, Benaiah (cf. *1 Ch.* xxvii. 6), of whom three notable exploits are recorded (*2 Sam.* xxiii. 20, 21), and the other Abishai, the brother of Joab. But in point of reputation for personal prowess even Benaiah and Abishai were held inferior to three captains who were known *par excellence* as "the Three." These were (1) Joshebbeshebeth or Jashobeam,[4] (2) Eleazar the son of Dodai, (3) Shammah the son of Agee. These were apparently the three who, when the Philistines were in occupation of Bethlehem, and David longed for a draught of water from the well by the gate, broke through the enemy's host and gave him what he desired.

[1] LXX. *ἔταξεν αὐτὸν Δαυὶδ πρὸς τὰς ἀκοὰς αὐτοῦ.*

[2] The name of Ishmaiah the Gibeonite, styled in *1 Ch.* xii. 4 "a mighty man among the thirty, and over the thirty," does not appear in either of the two lists referred to.

[3] Another Hittite in David's service, besides Uriah, was Ahimelech (*1 Sam.* xxvi. 6).

[4] In *2 Sam.* xxiii. 8 the addition *the same was Adino the Eznite* is unintelligible.

The relation which the "Three" bore to the "Thirty" is very obscure. In *2 Sam.* xxiii. 19 Abishai is styled "most honourable of the Three"—a statement which has been taken to mean that he and Benaiah and another (unknown) constituted a second Three, who did not attain (according to the R.V. of ver. 19, end) to the first Three. But the word "first" does not appear in the original of this latter passage; and perhaps "most honourable of the Three" should be corrected into "more honourable than the Thirty" (as in ver. 23). In *1 Ch.* xi. 20 one reading is "he (Abishai) had *not* a name amongst the Three."

5. The king not only possessed supreme control over the army, but was also in person the highest court of justice in his realm. To him the woman of Tekoa, suborned by Joab, made her pretended appeal (*2 Sam.* xiv. 4 foll., see p. 263); and his son Solomon acted as judge in the memorable case of the two harlots (*1 Kg.* iii. 16 foll.). But the number of suits that required decision rendered it necessary for the king to appoint deputies (cf. *2 Sam.* xv. 3). Ordinarily in the provinces the administration of justice would be in the hands of the elders of each city, in accordance with traditional usage (see *1 Kg.* xxi. 8 foll., and cf. *Deut.* xix. 12). Such elders, in addition to discharging judicial functions, were, in the unorganised constitution which naturally prevailed among a primitive eastern people, the usual representatives of the nation; and it was with them that Abner communicated when promoting David's accession to the throne of united Israel, and it was by them that David was subsequently elected (*2 Sam.* iii. 17, v. 3). When they created David king, they are recorded to have made a covenant with him before Jehovah, such a covenant being presumably a charter of rights and liberties to which the newly-elected king was required to give his consent. A later occasion showed that in the event of a refusal, the people were at no loss for a way to manifest their resentment.

From what has been said, it will be evident that during David's reign, no small progress was accomplished towards the formation of a well-ordered kingdom. In the country districts much power was, no doubt, still left to the heads of tribes and families. But a beginning had been made in the establishment of a central authority which commanded deference not only by the material force at the back of it, but by the splendour of a court which heightened the respect exacted by the personal qualities of the king. As will appear, tribal jealousies and a native love of

independence were not eradicated from the nation as a whole. But in spite of sectional dissensions and popular outbreaks against oppression, the subsequent history shows no revolt against the monarchical principle; and the hold which it obtained upon the people must be attributed in part, it is true, to the exigencies of the nation's situation, but in part, also, to the character and capacity of its second sovereign.

The latter half of David's reign offers a striking contrast to the earlier half. A heinous sin on the part of the king himself was the beginning of a series of crimes and calamities within his own family. During the Ammonite war, he conceived a passion for a woman named Bathsheba,[1] the wife of one of his officers, a Hittite called Uriah. When he was made aware of the consequences of its indulgence, he sent for her husband, who was serving with Joab, and urged him to return to his house and his wife; but on his excusing himself,[2] and so frustrating the hopes which the king had of screening his fault, David dismissed him to his duties, with a letter to Joab directing him to place Uriah in a post of danger in the next engagement. The command was duly carried out. Uriah fell, fighting in the foremost battle; and Bathsheba, as soon as the customary mourning for a husband was ended, became the wife of her royal seducer. The deed, however, did not go unreproved. The prophet Nathan at once confronted the king, awoke his slumbering conscience by a parable, drew from him a confession of his guilt, and whilst declaring that his repentance was accepted, announced that the child born to him should die. The event confirmed the prophet's word; but a second son, to whom Bathsheba subsequently gave birth, survived, and was named by his father *Solomon*, but by Nathan *Jedidiah*.

The example of uncontrolled passion set by the king was followed by his eldest son Amnon. Amnon fell in love with his

[1] In *1 Ch.* iii. 5 *Bath-shua;* she was perhaps granddaughter of Ahitophel, cf. *2 Sam.* xi. 3 with xxiii. 34.

[2] The reason for Uriah's refusal to accede to the king's request is probably to be found in the sanctity attaching to warriors in the field (cf. *Is.* xiii. 3, *Jer.* vi. 4 (marg.), *Joel* iii. 9 (marg.)), to whom cohabitation with their wives was presumably forbidden; cf. *1 Sam.* xxi. 5.

half-sister Tamar; and having, by the advice of Jonadab, David's nephew, got her into his power by feigning illness and so procuring her attendance upon him,[1] outraged her. But instead of repairing the wrong by marrying her,[2] he was base enough, as soon as his passion cooled, to drive her from his presence. The king, though indignant at Amnon's conduct, took no steps to punish his eldest, and consequently his favourite,[3] son; but Tamar found an avenger in her own brother Absalom. The latter nursed his grievance for two years; and then found his opportunity at a sheep-shearing festival, held at Baal-hazor,[4] to which he invited Amnon and the other princes. As soon as Amnon became heated with wine, Absalom's servants rose upon him and killed him; and the gathering broke up in confusion. The first report that reached David represented that all the king's sons had perished by Absalom's hand; but Jonadab, who knew the provocation that the latter had received, suspected the truth, and the subsequent arrival of all the princes except Amnon confirmed his words. Absalom, having thus compassed his revenge, fled, and took refuge with his grandfather Talmai, king of Geshur,[5] with whom he spent three years. In course of time, however, David began to regret him; and Joab, perceiving this, got a "wise woman" of Tekoa to extract from the king, by means of a feigned petition, expressions which committed him to the recall of Absalom. David detected Joab's hand in the appeal; but he consented to the young prince's return whilst excluding him from his presence. Absalom submitted to this for two years; but then put force on Joab to induce him to procure for him a reconciliation with the king, his father.

The prince, seeing himself restored to favour and his eldest brother removed by death, now began to cherish ambitious

[1] In *2 Sam.* xiii. there is some inconsistency between ver. 9 and 10.

[2] From *2 Sam.* xiii. 13 it would appear that marriage with a half-sister was at this time forbidden, but that the king exercised a dispensing power. In patriarchal times such unions were common; but they are prohibited in *Lev.* xx. 17.

[3] To *2 Sam.* xiii. 21 the LXX. adds *καὶ οὐκ ἐλύπησεν τὸ πνεῦμα Ἀμνὼν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἠγάπα αὐτὸν, ὅτι πρωτότοκος αὐτοῦ ἦν.*

[4] The locality is unknown, but the Ephraim near which it was situated is perhaps the *town* of Ephrain or Ephron in Benjamin named in *2 Ch.* xiii. 19.

[5] See p. 241, note.

schemes. The son of a foreign princess, and enjoying the popularity which often follows great personal attractions (among which was the beauty of his long hair[1]), he proceeded to add to it by sympathising with all suitors whose efforts to obtain justice met with delay, consequent upon the king failing to appoint the necessary deputies to aid him in his judicial functions. His hints of the beneficent change which would ensue if he were judge, and his grace and courtesy towards everyone who approached to make obeisance to him won all hearts;[2] and he soon assumed something like royal state (*2 Sam.* xv. 1, cf. *1 Kg.* i. 5, and see *1 Sam.* xxii. 17 marg.). It was not however, until four years[3] had passed that his intrigues came to a head. Under the pretence of having to discharge a vow made during his exile he obtained leave to go to Hebron, accompanied by 200 leading men of Jerusalem whom he invited as his guests, but probably intended to hold as hostages for the support or neutrality of their friends in the capital; and at Hebron he got himself proclaimed king. His emissaries had been actively at work throughout the nation, preparing the people for a change of sovereign; and as soon as the standard of rebellion was raised, supporters rapidly flocked to it. It may be conjectured that the strength of the movement in favour of Absalom lay in the still-smouldering embers of tribal jealousy. By the removal of the court to Jerusalem, Judah had lost something of the *prestige* which, from its connection with the king, it might have looked to enjoy. There were, besides, some in Israel who had not yet forgotten Saul, and who regarded David as a usurper. Probably, too, the complaints made respecting the administration of justice, of which Absalom had taken advantage, were not groundless; for the many foreign wars in which David had engaged may well have distracted his attention from the internal affairs of the kingdom, during the

[1] The weight of a year's growth of it is said to have been 200 shekels (more than 6 lbs.).

[2] The Heb. phrase (*2 Sam.* xv. 6) *stole the hearts of the men of Israel* elsewhere means *deceived* (see *Gen.* xxxi. 20 marg.); but the LXX. here renders *ἰδιοποιεῖτο τὴν καρδίαν.*

[3] *2 Sam.* xv. 7 states *forty*, which is manifestly improbable. Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 9, 1) gives *four.*

early part of his reign, whilst now that peace prevailed, he was beginning to feel the weight of years. There may, again, have been some who disliked the introduction into the nation of the luxurious habits which the king, after the fashion of other Oriental monarchs, had seen fit to adopt; or who dreaded the tendency to tyranny which he had displayed in the matter of Uriah. Ahitophel the Gilonite,[1] in particular (who was summoned by Absalom to join him at Hebron), if he was the grandfather of Bathsheba,[2] may have resented her seduction, notwithstanding the honour to which it paved the way. There were thus many motives for discontent existent; and by working upon them by means of his agents, Absalom was enabled to place the king in a position of the greatest danger.

The conspiracy was the more alarming from the secrecy with which the preparations for it had been conducted (see *2 Sam.* xv. 11). As soon as the news reached Jerusalem, David, fearing a sudden attack, and having only a small force in the capital, saw no hope but in flight. He was accompanied by his household (with the exception of ten concubines), and by his Philistine body-guard of 600, together with Joab and Abishai. A Gittite chief named Ittai, who had recently attached himself to David, also remained faithful to the monarch's fallen fortunes; and when the king reviewed his followers at a place called Beth-merhak (perhaps a locality in the suburbs of the capital), persisted in sharing in his withdrawal, in spite of remonstrances. The Levites, with Zadok at their head, also came, bringing with them the Ark of Jehovah (probably as a kind of *palladium*), and proposed to accompany David with it; whilst Abiathar, who likewise attended, offered sacrifices[3] as the royal escort was evacuating the city. But the king would not permit the priests with the Ark to join him, partly from pious motives (believing that if he found favour in Jehovah's sight he would be restored to Jerusalem and to the sanctuary), and partly from prudential reasons; for the presence of the priests in Jerusalem would enable him to obtain information of Absalom's designs, when

[1] Giloh was in Judah (*Josh.* xv. 51). [2] Cf. *2 Sam.* xxiii. 34 with xi. 3.
[3] In *2 Sam.* xv. 24 *Abiathar went up* should probably be *Abiathar sacrificed.*

the city fell into his hands. The direction of the retreat was over the mount of Olives towards the Arabah and the Jordan. The melancholy procession was met on the mount by a devoted servant of the king's, named Hushai, an Archite,[1] who was directed to remain at Jerusalem and gain the confidence of Absalom, with a view to communicating his plans to David through the priests Zadok and Abiathar. Ziba, the servant of Meribbaal (Mephibosheth), also came to meet the fugitives with refreshments for the king and his train, representing, in answer to David's enquiries, that his master Meribbaal had remained behind in hope of regaining his father's throne. On hearing this, David still felt himself king enough to order the confiscation of Meribbaal's property, which he bestowed on Ziba. At Bahurim, on the road from Jerusalem to the Jordan fords, a man called Shimei, connected with the family of Saul, cursed David, and reproached him with the blood of Saul's house spilled by him (alluding doubtless to the executions demanded by the Gibeonites). The king submitted patiently to all his insults, and prevented Abishai from avenging them as he sought to do. The dispirited company finally reached a place called Ayephim,[2] where they rested.

After the departure of David from Jerusalem, the city was entered by Absalom. Hushai offered his services, which Absalom, though not without a sneer, accepted. Ahitophel then advised that Absalom should assume that the throne had been vacated by David's flight, and should act as his successor by taking possesion of the concubines[3] who had been left behind. The breach between him and his father would then be complete, and his sympathisers would feel that they were committed to rebellion, and therefore could only secure their own safety by bringing it to a successful issue (*2 Sam.* xvi. 21). Absalom acted on the advice, and was subsequently anointed king (see *2 Sam.* xix. 10).

On the question of pursuing the fugitive monarch opinions

[1] The Archites lived on the southern border of Ephraim (*Josh.* xvi. 2).

[2] It is possible, however, that this word is an adjective meaning *exhausted* (LXX. ἐκλελυμένοι), and that the name of the place (which must then be the *Bahurim* of xvi. 5) is omitted.

[3] Cf. *2 Sam.* xii. 8.

were divided. Ahitophel urged that he should be followed at once, and overtaken before he and his supporters had recovered from the distress and despondency of the retreat; and offered himself to conduct the expedition, if a force of 12,000 were placed at his service, asserting that he would bring back the people to Absalom like a bride to her husband.[1] But Hushai objected that an encounter (possibly under disadvantageous circumstances) with a body of desperate men, commanded by so redoubtable a warrior as David, involved too great a risk at a moment when Absalom was not yet securely seated on the throne. He therefore advised that an offensive movement should not be made until a general levy could be held, and a force got together which would overcome all resistance. The counsel of Hushai prevailed, and Ahitophel, seeing in the rejection of his proposal the ultimate ruin of Absalom's cause, forestalled disaster by taking his own life.

Meanwhile Hushai, fearful lest second thoughts might show Absalom the wisdom of Ahitophel's advice, and the king be surprised before he could gather a force round him, sent a message to him, pressing upon him the necessity of placing the Jordan between him and his enemies. The messengers had a narrow escape of being detected. They had stayed at En-rogel ("Job's," or "Joab's well," in the valley S. of Jerusalem)[2] in order not to excite suspicion by returning to the city after having been seen in David's train (xv. 27). But their presence there had been reported to Absalom, and they only avoided capture by concealing themselves in a well, over the top of which a woman scattered bruised corn, as though for drying. Having thus evaded the danger of arrest, they reached the king safely; who acted at once upon the counsel conveyed by them. He crossed the river, and established himself at Mahanaim. There he received supplies from Gileadites like Barzillai and Machir,[3] and

[1] So the LXX. in *2 Sam.* xvii. 3 for the unintelligible *the man whom thou seekest is as if all returned.*

[2] *En-rogel* is identified by many with "the Virgin's fountain" in the valley of the Kidron. This, however, is most probably Gihon (*2 Ch.* xxxii. 30, cf. p. 301); and as Gihon and En-rogel were distinct (see *1 Kg.* i. 9, 38, 41), the latter must be placed elsewhere. The chief objection to its identification with Joab's well is that this is said to be really a well and not a spring.

[3] Cf. *2 Sam.* ix. 4.

from an Ammonite chief Shobi, the son of Nahash, and brother and perhaps rival of Hanun; and gradually an army gathered round him, which he divided into three divisions commanded by Joab, Abishai, and Ittai.

At length Absalom thought himself strong enough to take the field; and he accordingly crossed the Jordan and occupied a position confronting David's forces at Mahanaim, his army being under the command of Amasa, a man who was of Ishmaelite extraction on his father's side (*1 Ch.* ii. 17), but on his mother's side related both to Joab and to David (*2 Sam.* xvii. 25, xix. 13). There he was attacked by David's troops, the king himself, at the request of his men, remaining with the reserves in the city. As his army issued forth to battle, David gave his three generals strict injunctions to spare Absalom, if the fortune of the day put him at their mercy. The engagement took place in the neighbourhood of a wood called the Forest of Ephraim (which is not otherwise known);[1] and resulted in the total defeat of Absalom's army, 20,000 men (it is said) being slain. The pursuit was continued through the forest where large numbers perished. Among the fugitives was Absalom himself, whose head, as he rode on his mule, became entangled in the boughs of a terebinth, and he was left suspended. His helpless condition was observed and reported by one of the king's guards to Joab, who, notwithstanding the orders he had received to spare Absalom's life, at once killed him.[2] Over his body was piled a heap of stones which served to mark his grave, though his name was likewise associated with another monument, a pillar which he erected during his lifetime in a place called the King's Dale, to keep his memory alive, since his three sons died in infancy (*2 Sam.* xiv. 27, xviii. 18), and only a daughter, Tamar, was left to survive him.[3] After Absalom's death the royal forces were recalled from the pursuit; and the residue of the rebel army dispersed to their homes. Tidings of

[1] Some for *Ephraim* have conjectured *Mahanaim*.

[2] There seems to be some inconsistency between *2 Sam.* xviii. 14, which represents Absalom as slain by Joab himself, and ver. 15 which states that he was killed by ten of Joab's guard.

[3] Tamar's daughter Maacah became the mother of King Abijah (*1 Kg.* xv. 2, where *daughter of Abishalom* stands for *granddaughter of Abishalom* (*Absalom*)).

his son's end were carried to David at Mahanaim by Ahimaaz the son of Zadok,[1] and a certain Ethiopian; and his distress was so great that the conquering troops, instead of returning in triumph, slunk into the city like beaten men. It was not until Joab addressed the king in tones of threatening remonstrance that he roused himself from his grief and bore himself gratefully towards those whose loyalty had stood between him and the sword of his unworthy son.

The result of the battle brought about a revulsion of feeling amongst the people in favour of the injured king; and a widespread desire was manifested for his return. The tribe of Judah, which had been foremost in the revolt, was naturally most backward in the movement for David's restoration. But the king, who had got wind of the altered sentiments of the nation at large,[2] appealed skilfully, through the priests Zadok and Abiathar, to the ties which subsisted between him and his fellow-tribesmen; whilst to Amasa, Absalom's general, he not only offered pardon but promotion, promising to make him captain of the host in the room of Joab, whose recent disregard of his wishes he bitterly resented. These approaches were successful; and the men of Judah, without waiting for the rest of the tribes to join them, went down to Gilgal to bring the king over Jordan. They were accompanied by 1,000 Benjamites, together with Shimei and Ziba, the former of whom entreated forgiveness for his previous conduct, which David, in spite of the protest of Abishai, granted. Meribbaal also came down among the concourse from Jerusalem,[3] to meet the king, and defended himself against the representations of Ziba, alleging that his failure to accompany the king in his flight was due to his helplessness. But he seemingly only partly convinced David that he had been slandered, for the latter, instead of restoring to him the whole of his property and punishing Ziba, curtly directed that it should be divided between them. Nor whilst pardoning his enemies, did the king forget his friends;

[1] Ahimaaz is said to have run *by the way of the Plain*, *i.e.* the valley, or Circle, of the Jordan (*Gen.* xiii. 10), which perhaps offered an easier, though presumably longer, road than the wooded hills traversed by the Ethiopian.

[2] After *2 Sam.* xix. 10 the LXX. adds καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα παντὸς Ισραὴλ ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

[3] *2 Sam.* xix. 25 marg.

for he wished to take with him to his court the Gileadite Barzillai, who had supported him so generously at Mahanaim. Barzillai, however, excused himself on the ground of his age from going further than the Jordan, though he accepted the king's proffered kindness for his son Chimham.[1] At the Jordan David was met by the men of Judah and such of the remaining Israelites who could reach the spot in time; and by them he was escorted to Jerusalem. There one of his first actions was to seclude the ten concubines whom Absalom had treated as his own; and they lived the rest of their lives in widowhood.

The proposal to bring back the king did not (as has been seen) originate with Judah; and when that tribe thus stole a march upon the rest of the nation by being the first to welcome David, much indignation was excited, and it was implied that its conduct was dictated by the hope of obtaining exceptional favours from him. And so fierce were the passions generated in the dispute that it culminated in a second rebellion, a Benjamite, called Sheba, the son of Bichri, from mount Ephraim,[2] appealing successfully to the remaining tribes to unite in a demonstration against Judah. But prompt steps were taken by David to suppress the rising. As soon as he reached Jerusalem, he directed Amasa (as the newly-appointed captain of the host) to collect a force from Judah within three days. As he failed, however, to appear by the time named, Abishai, in order to prevent Sheba from entrenching himself in a fortress, was ordered to pursue him with a body of household troops, his brother Joab joining him with a company of soldiers who were attached to him. At Gibeon, on their march northward, they were (seemingly) overtaken by Amasa; and Joab seized the opportunity treacherously to assassinate his supplanter.[3] Continuing the pursuit, the two brothers came up with Sheba at Abel-beth-maacah, or Abel-maim (*2 Ch.* xvi. 4), a city not far from Dan, into which he had thrown

[1] Cf. *Jer.* xli. 17.

[2] The Benjamite Shimei also associated himself with the tribe of Joseph (*2 Sam.* xix. 20).

[3] The passage (*2 Sam.* xx. 8–10) describing how Joab killed Amasa is obscure: it would seem that the former allowed his sword to drop from its sheath in order to disarm his enemy's suspicions, but had another weapon concealed, with which he smote Amasa whilst saluting him.

himself with his fellow-clansmen,[1] and where he was besieged. The citizens saved their town by delivering, at the suggestion of a woman, the rebel's head to Joab; and the revolt which seems to have had little support behind it at once came to an end.

This was the last of the civil commotions which necessitated an appeal to arms; and the only other disquietude which disturbed the monarch's declining days arose from palace cabals. David was now old and infirm; and as his feebleness increased, a young woman was obtained to nurse him, Abishag of Shunem. The near prospect of his death made the question of the succession pressing; and a strong party, including Joab and Abiathar, was formed to further the claims of Adonijah, who, in the order of David's family, came next to Absalom,[2] and like him was possessed of great personal beauty (*1 Kg.* i. 6), and had been indulgently treated by his father. But the indefeasible right of the eldest son to succeed to the throne was not yet a recognised principle in Israel. The reigning sovereign had it in his power to nominate his successor (*1 Kg.* i. 20); and a counter-intrigue was immediately set on foot to procure from the king a decision in favour of Bathsheba's son Solomon. Adonijah had already surrounded himself with a body-guard (*1 Kg.* i. 5, cf. *2 Sam.* xv. 1); and he next proceeded to summon his followers (including all the royal princes except Solomon) to a sacrificial feast near En-rogel (the modern *Bir-eyub*), at which he might be proclaimed king. Zadok the second priest,[3] Nathan the prophet, Benaiah, and others, were not favourable to his pretensions; and Nathan took the opportunity, whilst Adonijah was at En-rogel, to urge Bathsheba to extract from the king a confirmation of a promise he had made that Solomon should be his successor. Adonijah's assumption of authority (skilfully dwelt upon by Bathsheba, in an interview with the king, and by Nathan who followed her into the royal presence) provoked the aged David not only to ratify his promise, but to take immediate steps to carry it into effect. Zadok, Nathan, and Benaiah were commis-

[1] The text of *2 Sam.* xx. 14 has *the Berites*, but a plausible conjecture is *the Bichrites*.

[2] Chileab, David's second son (Amnon being the eldest), had presumably died before this.

[3] See the LXX. of *1 Kg.* ii. 35, and cf. *2 Kg.* xxv. 18.

sioned to take Solomon to Gihon (the modern *Virgin's Spring*), and there anoint him king; and afterwards to bring him to Jerusalem and place him on the throne. The commands were carried out. With the horn of consecrated oil from the Tent of Jehovah[1] Solomon was anointed, and then publicly proclaimed king. The noise of the shouting people reached the ears of the feasters at En-rogel, who at once dispersed in alarm. Adonijah himself took refuge at the Altar, which he refused to leave until he obtained a promise from Solomon, who was recognised as already invested with full powers, that his life would be spared. This Solomon granted, and dismissed him to his house (*1 Kg.* i. 50–53).

David's end was now at hand; and before dying he gave a last charge to his successor. It was of a sufficiently vindictive character; for both Joab and Shimei were directed to be put to death, the former for his murders of Abner and Amasa,[2] the latter for his insults on the occasion of the flight from Jerusalem. On the other hand the sons of Barzillai were commended to Solomon's care, in gratitude for the kindness David had received in his time of need from their father. The king passed away soon after this at the age of seventy (*2 Sam.* v. 4–5), having reigned a little over forty years (seven and a half at Hebron and thirty-three in Jerusalem), and was buried in his own capital.

In *2 Sam.* xxiii. 1–7 a short Psalm is inserted which is styled "the last words of David." There is nothing in the subject-matter seriously at variance with the alleged authorship (though it is in no sense a death-bed utterance); but in the introductory verse David is described objectively as "pleasant in (or the favourite of) the psalms of Israel," which suggests that the ascription of the psalm to him may be a literary device, his position and character making him seem an appropriate exponent of the sentiments which the writer desired to express.

The importance of David's reign in the history of Israel and, indirectly, of the world cannot be over-estimated. Under him Israel finally passed from the tribal into the national phase of existence. The work which Saul had initiated was shattered by a foreign invasion with which he was unable to cope; and it had

[1] According to *Ex.* xxx. 22–33 (P) the only persons upon whom the holy anointing oil, kept in the Tent of Meeting, might be poured were the sons of Aaron.

[2] In *1 Kg.* ii. 5, for *the blood of war* LXX. A has αἷμα ἀθῷον.

to be done again. David accomplished this, and more. From the depressed and humbled condition in which the country found itself at Saul's death it was raised to a position of supremacy over its immediate neighbours; and began to take a place amongst the powers of the Eastern world. The external conditions were thereby assured which were necessary to the protection and growth of those aptitudes which have specially distinguished Israel amongst the nations of mankind; and the Hebrew state being thus enabled to stand the shocks of fortune for a considerable period, the Hebrew religion had time enough to attain its true development.

This result was achieved by David in consequence partly of his military genius and partly of his religious enthusiasm. Of his prowess as a soldier and conduct as a general his almost unchequered success is proof. His prudence under difficult circumstances and his resourcefulness in times of stress find repeated illustration in the course of his career (*1 Sam.* xviii. 14, xxviii. 2, *2 Sam.* xv. 34, xix. 11 foll.). In his warlike operations he was aided by a number of able officers like Joab, Abishai, and Benaiah; and in this connection mention ought to be made of Abner, for though he did not live to serve under David, he must have done much, by fighting for Eshbaal (Ishbosheth) against the Philistines, to facilitate David's subsequent task. But the after-history of Israel might, humanly speaking, have been quite other than it was, had not the extension and consolidation of the kingdom been effected by one who was in close sympathy with all that was best in the religion of his age. David gave to his people not only the stability essential to national progress, but also a strong stimulus in the right direction. In this he stood in marked contrast to Saul. His relations with the prophets Nathan and Gad were very different from those subsisting between Saul and Samuel. David's frank submission to Nathan's unflinching rebuke of his adultery with Bathsheba must have been of incalculable value to his subjects by its overt acknowledgment of the supremacy of Jehovah's law over the arbitrary will of the sovereign himself. And even such external service to God as David rendered by collecting materials for the Temple promoted, in its degree, the progress of a spiritual faith. How much the Temple,

erected after his death, contributed to the maintenance and preservation of the Hebrew religion will be considered later; but whatever its worth in this respect, the credit of it belongs almost as much to David as to his son.

That David shared many of the faults of his own age is as evident as is the fact that in many ways he displayed virtues rare in any age. His gross immorality and tyranny in the matter of Bathsheba and Uriah, his cruel treatment of defeated enemies (who, however, generally met with scant consideration in antiquity), his duplicity towards Shimei, and his ingratitude to Joab (who, in spite of his insubordination and bloodguiltiness, had rendered him invaluable service), leave deep stains upon his memory. There is, too, more than a suspicion of feebleness in his administration of justice, in spite of the encomium upon him in *2 Sam.* viii. 15. As a father he was led by paternal tenderness to be too indulgent; and many of the troubles of his later life are traceable to his leniency towards his headstrong and worthless sons. But these defects were counterbalanced by many noble qualities. His loyalty to Saul, even when the latter was bent on his destruction, his anxious solicitude for the rebellious Absalom, his kindness to Meribbaal (Mephibosheth), his thoughtfulness for Ittai (*2 Sam.* xv. 19–20), his gratitude to Barzillai, and his generous recognition of the valour of Abner, though this must have been often displayed against himself, are traits which combine to make the character of David, in spite of his numerous faults and his great fall, a singularly attractive one. The devotion he could inspire in his followers is evidenced by more than one striking story (see *1 Sam.* xviii. 16, *2 Sam.* iii. 36, xv. 21, xviii. 3, xxi. 17, xxiii. 13–17). And the episode of his friendship with Jonathan, as it forms one of the most touching narratives in the O.T., perhaps also puts David in as favourable a light as anything else related of him; for if it reflects lustre upon Saul's son, who could so love the man who was to supplant him, it is likewise strong testimony to the worth of him who could awaken that love.

The general condition of religion prevalent in the nation in the time of David will come under review in the following chapter: here it is only necessary to note the religious disposition of the

king himself. The account of the removal of the Ark from the house of Obed-edom to Jerusalem testifies to the sensuousness which entered into David's ideas of religion in common with those of his countrymen in general; yet such sensuous ideas respecting the Deity and the worthiest way of honouring Him were not incompatible with spiritual feelings of a high order. His reply to his wife Michal, when she taunted him with dancing nakedly before the Ark, is imbued with so real and profound a spirit of humility and devotion that the rude character of the scene is lost sight of (*2 Sam.* vi. 21, 22). His penitence under the reproof of Nathan on the occasion of his sin with Bathsheba (*2 Sam.* xii. 13) evinces the essential nobility of his nature in spite of the victories of passion. His prayerful attitude when his child was sick (xii. 16 foll.), his resignation when a fugitive before Absalom (xv. 25, 26), his faith in the Divine mercy when (according to the narrative) he had to choose between the chastisements to be inflicted on him (xxiv. 14), and his tender appeal that the people might not be made to suffer for his fault (xxiv. 17), all show that David, whilst certainly a sinner, had also in him something of the saint. The character which was attributed to him in later times was, no doubt, largely idealised; but the most trustworthy records of his life make it clear that the portrait, though embellished, was not wholly a work of imagination.

David possessed, in addition to great military and political capacity, much skill as a musician and poet. It was because he was a cunning player upon the harp that he was first introduced to Saul's notice (*1 Sam.* xvi. 18); and the prophet Amos ascribes to him the devising of instruments of music (*Am.* vi. 5, cf. *1 Ch.* xxiii. 5, *Neh.* xii. 36). Two of his elegies, one on the death of Saul and Jonathan (*2 Sam.* i. 19 foll.), and the other (seemingly a fragment only) on that of Abner (*2 Sam.* iii. 33–34), are preserved; and the first of them is remarkable for its depth of feeling and delicacy of phrase. In *2 Sam.* two psalms are also attributed to him. One of these (*2 Sam.* xxiii. 1–7) has already been considered; whilst the second (*2 Sam.* xxii. 2 foll.) is identical (some unimportant variations apart) with *Ps.* xviii., and the question of its authorship falls within the wider subject of the origin of the 73 Psalms in the Psalter which bear David's name.

It has been shown in the *Introduction* that certain of these Psalms, notwithstanding the evidence supplied by their titles, can hardly be the work of David. But with regard to the authorship of the rest, two conflicting considerations stand in the way of a positive conclusion for or against a Davidic origin, viz. on the one hand the applicability to numerous other people of such parts of their contents as are consistent with his character; and on the other the possibility, where isolated allusions occur to late conditions inconsistent with his situation, of these being additions subsequently introduced. It is, in short, equally difficult to deny the probability that David wrote some of the Psalms and to decide confidently that he was the writer of any particular psalm. In view of his religious fervour, the presumption that he devoted his poetic skill (attested by his elegies) to religious purposes is strong; and the popular assignment to him of so much religious poetry doubtless rests on some solid basis of fact; but it is impossible to determine in detail what proportion of this body of verse is really his work.

In *1 Ch.* xvi. parts of three psalms, viz. *Ps.* cv. 1–15, xcvi. 1–13a, and cvi. 47, 48, though not expressly ascribed to David's authorship, are represented as used by his direction on the occasion of the removal of the Ark from the house of Obed-edom to Jerusalem. Of these cvi. 47, 48 bears on the surface evidence of an exilic origin.

CHAPTER X

RELIGION FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF DAVID

THE period through which Israel passed from the entry into Canaan under Joshua to the death of David was one of turmoil. The nation was engaged either in acquiring and occupying new territory, or in defending its acquisitions against assailants; and it was not until towards the close of David's reign that tranquillity from external alarms was attained. Such a time of conflict against foreign foes was not likely to witness great developments in religion and morals. The experiences undergone, though they helped to produce the conditions essential to future intellectual and spiritual progress, were not favourable to such progress in the immediate present. Consequently the state of things prevailing during this age, though possessing features of its own, cannot have differed very extensively from that of the age preceding it; and appeal may reasonably be made to it to confirm or disprove the conclusions already reached respecting the actual contents of the legislation promulgated by Moses. Contact with Canaanite corruption did not, of course, leave Israel altogether unscathed; and in arguing from the later age to the earlier, allowance must be made for this. The influence of communities, in some respects much superior in civilisation, must have asserted itself amongst the Israelites, in spite of the injunctions of their lawgiver and the animosity aroused by war. This would be still more active if the establishment of Israel in Canaan had not been so entirely the result of force as at first sight appears; and where peaceable relations were set up, Canaanite ideas and usages could not fail to spread. But it may

be doubted whether the religious apostasy implied, for instance, in parts of the book of *Judges* was really as complete as is there represented. The wide generalisations of what has been termed "the framework" of that book are not confirmed by some of the earlier narratives of which it forms the setting; for these, whilst testifying to some adoption of alien forms of religion (see *Jud.* v. 8), do not indicate a wholesale abandonment by the nation of the service of Jehovah (see *Jud.* vi. 13, xi. 10). It seems probable that the declension from Mosaic principles consisted less in the substitution of the worship of Canaanite deities for that of Jehovah than in the combination of the two. A strong motive for uniting the service of the native *Baalim* to the service of their own national God would be found in the fact that the *Baalim* were especially associated with the soil and regarded as the givers of fertility (cf. *Hos.* ii. 5); and the Israelites just at this time were passing from pastoral to agricultural life, and would therefore be inclined to propitiate powers connected with the latter.

The fact that worship was thus rendered to other gods as well as to Jehovah proves that in the popular belief the latter was only one amongst a number of deities, pre-eminent but not solitary in His divine attributes.[1] To the mind of the Israelites of this age the gods of the peoples about them were equally real with their own God. That this was not the view only of those who were unfaithful to Jehovah, but was shared by those whose loyalty to the national faith is unimpeached, is shown by more than one instance. Jephthah in his argument with the Ammonites (*Jud.* xi. 24) assumes that the relations of Chemosh to the latter were identical with those of Jehovah to Israel, and gives no indication that he considered Chemosh to be non-existent. And if it is possible to represent his language as only an *argumentum ad hominem*, it is more difficult to explain away the conclusion suggested by David's words in *1 Sam.* xxvi. 19, namely, that

[1] There occur passages, indeed, such as those in *Josh.* ii. 11, iii. 11, in which Jehovah is described in terms suggestive of a more exalted conception, but the first of these comes from *Deut.* iv. 39, and the second, which has its only parallels in the prophets of the 8th and subsequent centuries (see *Mic.* iv. 13, *Zech.* iv. 14, vi. 5), is connected ungrammatically with its context; so that both may be later insertions.

David himself believed in the reality of the gods who were worshipped beyond the limits of Israelite soil.[1] Nor is it likely that any broad distinction could be drawn between Jehovah and the Canaanite deities so long as the same title *Baal* was applied to the former as well as to the latter. And that this was the case seems beyond question. The term enters into the composition of two names belonging to the family of Saul, Eshbaal and Meribbaal; and it is scarcely credible that in these it represents any other divinity except Jehovah. In the name of one of David's warriors, Bealiah, it actually occurs in combination with *Jah*, the shortened form of *Jehovah* (*1 Ch.* xii. 5). And finally, even as late as the time of Hosea, the appellation *Baali* (my Baal) was popularly applied to Israel's God by His worshippers; and the inevitable results of the practice upon the people's belief are recognised by the prophet (see *Hos.* ii. 16).

But just in proportion as Israel believed the gods of foreign nations to be real entities, it believed that such nations had no part in the care or providence of Jehovah. It considered Jehovah to be exclusively its own God, itself to be Jehovah's people, and its land to be Jehovah's inheritance (*2 Sam.* i. 12, *1 Sam.* xxvi. 19, *2 Sam.* xiv. 16, xxi. 4). Israel's battles were Jehovah's battles (*Jud.* v. 23, vii. 18, *1 Sam.* xviii. 17, xxv. 28), and when Israel suffered disgrace, Jehovah's name was profaned (*1 Sam.* xii. 22). The identification of Jehovah's cause with that of the Hebrew people found reflection in the title "Jehovah of Hosts" (*Jehovah Tsebâoth*), which, as at first used, seems to have had reference to the Israelite armies (see *Ex.* vii. 4, *1 Sam.* xvii. 45, cf. ver. 26).[2] It was especially in the conduct and destiny of the nation's leaders that Jehovah's power manifested itself. To His spirit was due the prowess of Othniel (*Jud.* iii. 10), Gideon (*Jud.* vi. 34), Jephthah (*Jud.* xi. 29), Samson (*Jud.* xiii.

[1] In *2 Sam.* vii. 22 Jehovah's sole godhead is asserted just as in *2 Is.* xlv. 5, 21; but the section ver. 22–24 in which the statement occurs has some close parallels to *Deut.* (see *Deut.* vii. 8, ix. 26, xv. 15 (*redeem*), x. 21 (*great and terrible things*), iv. 34), and probably proceeds from the compiler; cf. *Introd.* pp. 9–10.

[2] The word *host* is likewise applied to (1) the stars, "the host of heaven" (see *2 Is.* xl. 26, *Jer.* xxxiii. 22), but in this sense the singular alone is used; (2) the angels (see *1 Kg.* xxii. 19, "*Is.*" xxiv. 21, *Ps.* ciii. 20, 21), but in this sense the plural, if used, is *tsebâim* not *tsebâoth*.

25, xiv. 6, etc.), Saul (*1 Sam.* xi. 6), and David (*1 Sam.* xvi. 13). To Him were ascribed any impressive natural occurrences which affected the people's fortunes. He was the author of the plagues that befell the Philistines when the Ark was among them, and of the thunder which is said to have discomfited them. "The sound of marching in the tops of the mulberry trees" in the valley of Rephaim was explained to signify that He had gone out before David to smite his enemies (*2 Sam.* v. 24). And as He was the source of good to His people, He was also the source of evil.[1] From Him came the stubbornness of Eli's sons (*2 Sam.* ii. 25), the melancholy and vindictiveness which possessed Saul in his later years (*1 Sam.* xvi. 14, xviii. 10), and the perverse impulse which led David to number the people (*2 Sam.* xxiv. 1), just as from Him in earlier days had proceeded the infatuation of Pharaoh and Sihon (*Ex.* iv. 21, ix. 12, *Deut.* ii. 30). He sent plagues upon the inhabitants of Bethshemesh as well as upon the Philistines (*1 Sam.* vi. 19), smote Uzzah for touching the Ark (*2 Sam.* vi. 7), and visited the land with famine and pestilence (*2 Sam.* xxi. 1, xxiv. 15). And as Jehovah, in the writings relating to this period, appears generally exclusive in His sympathies, and unaccountable and arbitrary in some of His actions, so the worship rendered to Him is largely ceremonial and formal, and the conduct believed to be acceptable to Him is sometimes cruel.

The Ark, as in the time of Moses, was still the chief symbol of Jehovah's presence amongst His people. This, when transported from place to place, was kept in a tent (*2 Sam.* vii. 6–7), but at Shiloh, whither it was brought by Joshua, it was seemingly placed in a more substantial structure (called in *1 Sam.* i. 7, 9, iii. 3, the house, or temple, of Jehovah),[2] which had doors and doorposts, and within which a lamp was regularly kept burning (*1 Sam.* i. 9, iii. 3, 15) and an attendant was constantly present. In time of war it was regarded as a *palladium;* and before the battle of Ebenezer it was taken into the Israelite camp (*1 Sam.* iv. 3 foll., cf. *2 Sam.* xi. 11, *Num.* xiv. 44). In the ensuing engagement it fell into the hands of the Philistines, and by them was

[1] Cf. *Am.* iii. 6, *Ezek.* xx. 25, *2 Is.* xlv. 7.

[2] In *Josh.* vi. 24, ix. 23 (29), the term *house* (of Jehovah) is omitted by the LXX.

carried in succession to several of their cities, its progress being accompanied by plagues. When restored to Israel after an absence of some months, it was left at Kiriath Jearim in charge of one Abinadab; and as the death of Uzzah happened in the course of its removal thence, it was deposited by David in the house of Obed-edom. Finally it was conveyed to Jerusalem where it was placed in a tent which David pitched for it (*2 Sam.* vi. 17), and to which presumably reference is made in *1 Kg.* i. 39, ii. 28, viii. 4.[1] So sacred was it believed to be that the plagues which broke out at the Philistine cities which harboured it and at Bethshemesh afterwards, were ascribed to profane treatment of it; and similarly the sudden death of Uzzah was attributed to his rashly handling it.

But though the presence of the Ark, first at Shiloh and afterwards at Jerusalem, gave to these places a pre-eminent position in the estimation of the people, they were not the sole sanctuaries. Allusions to a large number of others, scattered here and there throughout the country, occur in the history of this period. Among these were Hebron and Bethlehem, in Judah (*2 Sam.* xv. 7, *1 Sam.* xvi. 5, xx. 6), the mount of Olives near Jerusalem (*2 Sam.* xv. 32), Gilgal, Bethel, Mizpah, Ramah, Nob, Gibeon, in Benjamin and Ephraim (*1 Sam.* xi. 15 (cf. xv. 12, 15), x. 3, vii. 6, 17, xxi. 1 foll., *1 Kg.* iii. 4), Mount Ebal, near Shechem (*Josh.* viii. 30), Ophrah, in Manasseh (*Jud.* viii. 27), Laish, or Dan, in the extreme north (*Jud.* xviii. 30), and Mizpah in Gilead (*Jud.* xi. 11). Two of these are regarded by the writer of the book of *Judges* with disapproval, namely those erected by the Danites at Laish and by Gideon at his native Ophrah—possibly because of the image worship practised at them. But there is no indication that the existence of the rest was irregular and illegitimate, though it is contrary to the direction contained in *Deut.* xii. 5–7. It can, indeed, be urged that the institution of some of these was either directly enjoined, or became necessary or expedient during the interval between the destruction of Shiloh and the final removal of the Ark to Jerusalem. But there is nothing to suggest that their origin is to be thus ex-

[1] The Chronicler supposes that the Mosaic tabernacle was at this time at Gibeon (*1 Ch.* xvi. 39, xxi. 29, *2 Ch.* i. 3).

plained; whilst there are others, such as those at Olivet, Hebron, and Gibeon, which were contemporaneous with the existence of a sanctuary at Jerusalem, and for which the consideration just noticed does not account.[1] Of the reasons which led to these various localities being regarded as sanctuaries, nothing is definitely known, though it may be conjectured that they were severally the scenes of various occurrences which were believed to be specially indicative of the Divine activity. At certain of these the principal object of importance seems to have been an *Ephod* (*Jud.* viii. 27, *1 Sam.* xxi. 9; cf. *Jud.* xviii. 14, 20). An ephod was used for the purpose of divining the will of Jehovah (*1 Sam.* xiv. 18 (LXX.), xxiii. 9, xxx. 7); but its real nature is uncertain. The term usually describes the linen garment regularly worn by priests (*1 Sam.* xxii. 18, cf. *1 Sam.* ii. 18), and is so explained by Josephus in connection with *1 Sam.* xiv. 18, xxx. 7; but the description in *Jud.* viii. 26 of the construction of Gideon's ephod at Ophrah from the golden spoils of the Ishmaelites (amounting to the weight of 1,700 shekels), and the language of *1 Sam.* xxi. 9, which relates that the sword of Goliath was kept at Nob *behind the ephod*, suggests that it was some kind of image. Otherwise the only mention of an image in connection with the worship of Jehovah during this period occurs in the story of Micah and the Danites. Another way by which the will of Jehovah might be ascertained was through *Urim* and *Thummim*. These appear to have been two sacred lots (see *1 Sam.* xiv. 40 foll. LXX.) by means of which a decision could be obtained between two doubtful alternatives. A third medium of divination was the *Teraphim* (see *Ezek.* xxi. 21 foll., *Zech.* x. 2). The use of *teraphim*, according to *1 Sam.* xv. 23, was forbidden; but they were found not only in the house of Micah (*Jud.* xvii. 5), but also in that of David (*1 Sam.* xix. 13). The latter passage suggests that they were images of human form, but the method of their employment is quite unknown.

In regard to the Priesthood, it would appear that the service of the Ark, after the death of Aaron, remained in his family.

[1] Similarly at an earlier period the sanctuaries at Mizpah, Bethel, and Shiloh (*Jud.* xx. 1, 26 (cf. xxi. 2), xxi. 19) seem to have been contemporaneous, the Ark being situated at Bethel (xx. 27).

Aaron's immediate successor (as has been seen) was his third son Eleazar (*Num.* xx. 25 foll.), who was Joshua's contemporary and coadjutor in the work of apportioning the land of Canaan among the several tribes (*Josh.* xiv. 1). Eleazar was followed by Phinehas (*Jud.* xx. 27–28); but after the death of the latter, the succession is obscure, for Eli was probably descended from Aaron's fourth son Ithamar.[1] Eli had two sons, Hophni and Phinehas; and when these were slain at Ebenezer, the priesthood passed to Phinehas' son Ahitub (*1 Sam.* xiv. 3). Ahitub's son Ahijah has been identified with the Ahimelech of *1 Sam.* xxi. 1, xxii. 9; and when he with his fellow-priests were executed by order of Saul, his son Abiathar fled to David (*1 Sam.* xxii. 20), and was made high priest when the latter became king. But Zadok, of the house of Eleazar, was also priest during David's reign (*2 Sam.* viii. 17),[2] though perhaps in a subordinate position; for when Solomon deposed Abiathar from his office for supporting Adonijah, he substituted Zadok (*1 Kg.* ii. 27, 35), from whom the subsequent high priests derived their lineage. But though the descendants of Aaron were thus specially attached to the leading sanctuary, the priesthood was not confined to them, for Levites in general were in request as priests elsewhere (*Jud.* xvii. 13). And it is clear that priestly functions could even be discharged by others than Levites not only in times of corruption, but under more settled conditions. Micah, an Ephraimite, before he obtained the services of a Levite, made one of his own sons a priest (*Jud.* xvii. 5); Samuel, who offered sacrifice, and wore the priestly garment, the ephod, was also an Ephraimite (*1 Sam.* i.); and sacrificial rites were performed by Gideon a Manassite (*Jud.* vi.), Manoah a Danite (*Jud.* xiii.) and Saul, who was a Benjamite (*1 Sam.* xiii. 9, 12). David, a native of Judah, is related to have worn the priestly ephod (*2 Sam.* vi. 14), and to have blessed the people (*2 Sam.* vi. 17, 18);[3] whilst he

[1] See p. 210, note.

[2] In this verse *Ahimelech the son of Abiathar* is probably a mistake for *Abiathar the son of Ahimelech;* see p. 259, note.

[3] Similarly in Homeric times, though the priesthood was an established institution, yet chiefs like Nestor and his sons, and even swineherds like Eumæus, offered sacrifice without the intervention of a priest (*Od.* iii. 440 foll., xiv. 446).

had amongst his priests certain of his own sons, as well as a Manassite called Ira (*2 Sam.* viii. 18, xx. 26). Some of these instances of priestly duties being undertaken by others than Levites are no doubt capable of explanation. The sacrifices of Gideon and Manoah (according to the historian) were offered under exceptional circumstances to angels who are related to have appeared to them; and the sacrifice offered by Saul is possibly to be regarded as illegitimate.[1] But others of the instances adduced are not so easily explained away; and even if Samuel be thought to have been invested with the authority of a priest in virtue of his character as a prophet, the case of David's sons, at least, is in striking contradiction to the injunctions of *Deuteronomy* and the Priestly code.

The Chronicler (*1 Ch.* vi. 22–28) regards Samuel as of Levitical descent, and describes David's sons not as priests, but as "chief about the king" (*1 Ch.* xviii. 17); whilst in his account of the removal of the Ark to Jerusalem (*1 Ch.* xv.) he represents the distinction drawn in the Priestly code between Priests and Levites as being strictly observed.

It deserves notice that the Levite procured by Micah to act as priest is described as being of *Bethlehem-judah, of the family of Judah* (*Jud.* xvii. 7); and as the last words seem superfluous as an explanation of the position of Bethlehem-judah, it is possible that they relate to the Levite. If so, it has been suggested that the term *Levite* denotes his avocation rather than his tribal descent, it being assumed that priestly lore was, for the most part, preserved amongst the descendants of Levi only, but that it was sometimes imparted to others also, who were in consequence reckoned Levites. This assumption likewise meets the case of Samuel.

Of the mode of worship, the recurrent festivals, and the dues assigned to the priests, few particulars are given. The various kinds of offerings alluded to in the books dealing with this period are burnt-offerings (*1 Sam.* vii. 7, x. 8), peace-offerings (*1 Sam.* x. 8, xi. 15), offerings for atonement (*1 Sam.* xxvi. 19, cf. iii. 14), meal-offerings (including the Shewbread) and drink-offerings (both of wine and of water[2] (*1 Sam.* i. 24, x. 3, vii. 6, *2 Sam.* xxiii. 16)). In the case of animal sacrifices, the fat of the victim was ordinarily burnt on the altar (*2 Sam.* ii. 15), whilst its flesh was boiled (ver. 13, cf. *Jud.* vi. 19), and formed a meal for the worshippers (cf. also *2 Sam.* vi. 19)—the sacrifices here described being doubtless peace-offerings. The Shewbread,

[1] But see p. 222.

[2] Cf. Verg. *A.* xi. 23–4, *summo hausit de gurgite lymphas, Multa deos orans.*

which was presented before Jehovah at the sanctuary (at Nob), and according to *Lev.* xxiv. 5–9 (P) was to be eaten by the sons of Aaron only, might (according to *1 Sam.* xxi. 4) be partaken of by anyone who was technically holy; and probably other meal-offerings were in part presented before the Deity, and in part eaten by the worshippers.[1] Of the flesh-offerings the priests had a share,[2] but what it legitimately was is not indicated (for the conduct of Eli's sons (*1 Sam.* ii. 13–16) was manifestly an abuse[3]). The only festivals named are mentioned in connection with Shiloh and Bethlehem (*Jud.* xxi. 18, *1 Sam.* i. 3, xx. 6), that at Shiloh being probably the Feast of Ingathering, which was a vintage festival (*Jud.* xxi. 21). The New Moon was also observed (*1 Sam.* xx. 5); and though no religious function is expressly stated to have been associated with it, the fact that uncleanness excluded from the feast held on the day (ver. 26) points to its having a religious character, as was certainly the case later (*Is.* i. 13). Fasting seems to have been sometimes practised as a means of obtaining Divine favours (*1 Sam.* xiv. 24).

In regard to sacrifices the Chronicler, in accordance with his habit, carries back to the time of David the custom of offering burnt sacrifices every day both in the morning and in the evening (*1 Ch.* xvi. 40)—a usage which the other historical books imply did not prevail till a later date.

More than one instance occurs of an offering made in pursuance of a vow (*Jud.* xi. 30, 31, *2 Sam.* xv. 7). Jephthah's sacrifice of his daughter in consequence of his vow to offer as a burnt-offering to Jehovah whatever came forth from his house to meet him on his return from battle has been taken to point to the prevalence of human sacrifice among the Israelites at this

[1] In *1 Sam.* x. 4 Saul is presented with two loaves by certain men who are going up to worship at Bethel, who thereby make him a sharer in their sacrificial feast.

[2] Cf. the LXX. of *1 Sam.* ii. 12–13 *καὶ υἱοὶ Ἠλεὶ τοῦ ἱερέως . . . οὐκ εἰδότες τὸν Κύριον καὶ τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ ἱέρεως παρὰ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς τοῦ θύοντος.*

[3] The offence of the young men seems to have been two-fold: (1) they robbed the worshippers by claiming all the flesh which the flesh-hook, when struck into the vessel containing it, brought up (ver. 13, 14); (2) they dishonoured the Deity (cf. ver. 17 marg.) by daring to take raw flesh for roasting before the fat was burnt.

Of the cities which according to *Josh.* xxi. were set apart for the support of the sacerdotal order there appears no indication in the writings relating to this period. Nob, which in *1 Sam.* xxii. 19 is termed *the city of the priests*, is not among those enumerated in *Josh.*

period; but the circumstances of the case are perhaps too ambiguous and the case itself certainly too isolated to afford sufficient basis for such a conclusion.[1] A special kind of vow was that of the Nazirites, of which Samson and probably Samuel were made the subjects (*Jud.* xiii. 5, *1 Sam.* i. 11). This required them to refrain all their life long from cutting the hair of their heads; and from the fact that the mother of Samson before his birth was directed to abstain from drinking wine or strong drink, and from touching anything unclean, it has been presumed that the same prohibitions applied to her son, and that these abstentions formed even at this time part of the vow (cf. *Am.* ii. 12). It is, however, difficult to reconcile this with the stories related of Samson, who must often have incurred defilement from contact with dead bodies, even if he refrained from the use of wine, which, in view of his character, seems unlikely.

It has already been pointed out that the Nazirite vow, regulated in *Num.* vi., differed from the historic instances, just alluded to, of Samson and Samuel in being temporary instead of life-long; whilst other features of unlikeness are the *explicit* injunctions against using the products of the vine or incurring pollution from a corpse during the period of the vow, and the direction to offer at the end of it the hair of the head to be burnt on the altar.

From this sketch it will be seen that the outward conditions of religion during the period corroborate the view previously taken of the Mosaic legislation. The ecclesiastical organisation of the Priestly code, with its centralised service, its extensive and precise system of sacrifice, its rigid lines of division between the several classes of ministers, and its ornate equipment both of the sanctuary and the priesthood is conspicuously absent.[2] The religious worship of the community is relatively simple in character, connected with country occupations and tribal and family life, and associated with a number of favoured localities consecrated by tradition or by natural suitability. It must, of course, be granted that the history does not afford much occasion for

[1] The death of Agag and the death of Saul's sons (*1 Sam.* xv. 33, *2 Sam.* xxi. 6, 9) were religious executions at a sanctuary or holy place, not sacrifices in any strict sense; cf. *Num.* xxv. 4.

[2] In *1 Sam.* ii. 22 the reference to "the women who did service at the door of the tent of meeting," who are mentioned in *Ex.* xxxviii. 8 (derived from P), is omitted by the LXX.

careful description of religious usages; and breaches occur of principles which, it is allowed, had certainly been affirmed before this. But in general the impression produced is that the legislation with which the nation was acquainted at this time, whether obeyed or disobeyed, was not that of the Levitical code; and that this body of law, in its complete form, was not existent at the period under review. The religious institutions of the times of the Judges and the early Monarchy are most in harmony with those which have place in the Book of the Covenant; and the evidence thus furnished confirms the distinction that has been drawn between various portions of the Pentateuchal Laws.

The sensuous conceptions which entered into the religion of the Mosaic age are observable in the beliefs and usages of this. The sanctity attached to the Ark, the confidence felt in its mere presence, the stress laid upon physical purity as a condition of religious communion, were features common to both. Religion was doubtless in a great degree a matter of ceremonial. It does not follow that because ritual was not so elaborate or rigid as is represented in the Priestly code that it was unimportant in early Israel. It was probably preserved and transmitted by tradition, and whilst following a general type, possibly varied in details at different places. But in spite of the formalism which the religion of Israel shared with ancient religions in general, it was nevertheless an active moral force in the nation; and the history of this age indicates that, notwithstanding individual cases of depravity, the Israelites recognised in some respects a higher standard of conduct than prevailed amongst their neighbours. In regard to sensuality, for instance, the existence of a healthy public opinion is apparent from the punishment inflicted on Gibeah for an atrocious act, and by the language used concerning sexual offences in *2 Sam.* xiii. 12 and elsewhere. In the promotion and advancement of morality religion was the chief agent—a result principally due to the prophets; and it is the fact that the age now under notice witnessed a great development of the prophetic spirit that constitutes the leading feature of its religious history.

The function of a Prophet, as represented in the history of the Patriarchal and Mosaic periods, was to act as a mediator between

God and man; and in *Deut.* xviii. 14 foll. he is declared to be the appointed channel of Jehovah's communications to His people, who are directed to hearken to the prophet who should from time to time be raised up among them, instead of to the augurs and diviners whom the Canaanites and other nations consulted. In *1 Sam.* ix. 9 the term Prophet (*nâbi*) is said to have displaced an older word Seer (*roeh*);[1] and it seems to be implied that the change was made subsequently to the time of Samuel. This does not agree with the evidence of the preceding books as they exist at present, for the word *prophet* occurs in the history of much earlier periods (see *Gen.* xx. 7, *Num.* xi. 25–29, xii. 6, *Jud.* iv. 4, vi. 8). Its use, however, in these passages may be an anachronism arising from the writers of them being more familiar with the later than the earlier name (though the latter survived, and is employed in *2 Ch.* xvi. 7 in reference to persons living in the time of Asa). Be this as it may, some of the narratives in *1 Sam.* reveal the seer or prophet in an aspect suggestive of primitive conditions. On the one hand, it was to Samuel in his character as a seer that Saul is represented as resorting in a matter purely secular, and offering a trifling present[2] in the hope that he might obtain from him information respecting the whereabouts of some strayed asses. And on the other hand, the bands of prophets who on two occasions were encountered by Saul, if inspired by religion, manifested it in its least rational aspect. First, when Saul left Samuel after the interview just mentioned, he fell in with a number of prophets, attended by music; and on meeting them, he was infected by their spirit and "prophesied" with them. And again, at a later period, when he sent messengers to Naioth to take David, the men found Samuel there at the head of a company of prophets, prophesying; and they, yielding to the prophetic impulse, prophesied also; whilst Saul himself, coming down afterwards, likewise shared the contagion, and prophesied, lying down naked all that day and night. These accounts indicate that in early times the name *prophet* was used to describe men possessed with religious frenzy, which was

[1] There was also another word for *seer*, namely *hozeh*, which is applied to Gad, Iddo, Hanani, Amos, and others.

[2] For other instances of a fee or reward being given to a prophet see *1 Kg.* xiv. 3, *2 Kg.* viii. 8, and cf. *Mic.* iii. 11, *Ezek.* xxii. 25.

augmented by music,[1] and found expression in wild and fervid utterance, probably delivered in rhythmical cadence, to which the term "prophesying" was applied.[2] That an excited bearing and a strange behaviour were originally associated with prophecy is suggested further by the fact that the prophets were frequently assailed with the charge of being madmen (see *2 Kg.* ix. 11, *Jer.* xxix. 26, cf. also *Hos.* ix. 7). No doubt, however, there was at most times considerable method in the madness of the prophets; and in the succeeding history the ecstatic or frenzied condition becomes increasingly less frequent. Their enthusiasm manifested itself more especially at the crises, political and religious, of their country's career; and it was unmistakably to those prophets in whom religious faith and fervour were combined with intellectual capacity that Israel mainly owed, in the early period of its history, its national well-being, and in later times, its spiritual pre-eminence amongst mankind.

Of the individual prophets whose lives fell within the age at present under consideration, the most prominent were Deborah, Samuel, Nathan, and Gad, the others alluded to (*Jud.* vi. 8, *1 Sam.* ii. 27) being nameless. Of the four named the first lived previous to, and the last two after, the institution of the monarchy; whilst it was during the lifetime, and largely through the agency, of Samuel that the monarchy came into existence. But the rise of royalty in Israel is more than a chronological date in the history of prophecy. It is a dividing-line between two distinct phases of prophetic activity, so that a review of prophecy in the early post-Mosaic age (prior to the 8th century) falls, in consequence, into two periods. During the first of these, Israel was engaged in continual conflict with its numerous enemies; and the task of contemporary prophets was to preserve the religion of Israel from the peril of external suppression rather than of internal corruption. Both Deborah and Samuel were alike instrumental in rousing Israel to offer resistance to its oppressors; and they might as fairly be called political counsellors and patriots as religious teachers. Yet it requires to be recognised

[1] Even Elisha had recourse to music to kindle his prophetic fervour (*2 Kg.* iii. 15).

[2] The term is even used of the Temple singers (*1 Ch.* xxv. 1).

that in the preservation of Israel's independence the promotion of religious truth was at this epoch involved; and their service to religion was not the less real because it consisted in the assertion of the cause of Israel against its foes rather than in any marked advance upon the moral standards of their time. The faith to which Deborah, for instance, brought back her countrymen was, *on the whole*, nobler and purer than that of the Canaanites; and it is in virtue of this that she may deservedly be considered a prophetess of the true God, in spite of her praise of Jael's treacherous murder of Sisera. In her eulogy of Jael, Deborah reflects the spirit of her age, in which the obligations of morality were recognised as extending but faintly beyond the limits of nationality, and in which a breach of honour,[1] if committed in the interests of Israel against a national foe, was not only not condemned but was even commended. Nevertheless it was with the preservation of Israel, and thereby of Israel's faith in Jehovah, narrow and exclusive though this then was, that the future of spiritual religion rested; and by contributing to this, Deborah claims a place in the long line of religious leaders which had its culmination in the great teachers of the 8th, 7th, and 6th centuries. It is from the same point of view that Samuel's act in slaying the Amalekite Agag, whom Saul had spared, must be estimated. If the account in *1 Sam.* xv. has an historical foundation, the prophet, who at first sight compares unfavourably with the king, must be judged by the standard of his country and times. The practice of "devoting" hostile cities and populations to the national god was followed (as has been shown) by other Semitic peoples beside the Hebrews; and it was not felt to be at variance with the principles of religion and morality prevailing at the period to which the narrative refers. In the light of such principles, the execution of the command contained in *Ex.* xvii. 14 could not fail to present itself as a duty; and Samuel, who carried it out, was only acting consistently with current beliefs. The religion of Jehovah possessed within it the germs of a noble development; but its exponents had not yet

[1] That Jael's act was treacherous is clear from the fact that peace existed between her family and the king of Hazor (*Jud.* iv. 17), to say nothing of the invitation she tendered to the fugitive Sisera.

divested themselves of all the crude and barbarous ideas of the early eastern world.

With the firm establishment of the kingship under David, the external condition of Israel changed. The military successes of the son of Jesse dissipated the dangers to which the nation had been exposed from its many hostile neighbours; and so safeguarded its religion from being violently extinguished by surrounding heathendom. But the throne, whilst securing the country from foreign enemies, early threatened danger to the life and liberty of the subject. Accordingly, the care of the prophets was now turned in a new direction; and from being the asserters of national rights against external aggression, they became the defenders of individual rights against regal tyranny. Thus when David sacrificed both the honour of Bathsheba and the life of Uriah to his licentious passion, the prophet Nathan at once confronted the king, and in the name of Jehovah denounced his sin. The incident is significant both of the position assumed by the prophets as guardians of public morality, and of the Divine authority with which they believed themselves to be invested. It is not improbable that on the occasion of the numbering of the people the prophet Gad acted a similar part. The narrative, indeed, only represents him as announcing to David the punishment of the offence for which his conscience had already smitten him; but it seems reasonable to suppose that the king had first been brought to a sense of his fault by the prophet, who may have regarded David's conduct either as an encroachment upon the people's liberties, or as indicating greater confidence in his material resources than in Jehovah. Further illustrations of a like attitude of reproof and censure being adopted towards the reigning sovereign by successive prophets will occur subsequently; and will throw still fuller light upon the character and claims of the prophetic order.

But though the prophets, by their growing sensitiveness in matters of social morality, were repeatedly led to condemn the conduct of particular rulers, they were not in general hostile to the monarchical principle. The institution of the monarchy and the choice of Saul to be the first king was, according to one account, directly due to the far-sighted patriotism of Samuel;

and the narrative that represents him as yielding only to the wish of the people contrary to his own better judgment and his sense of the dangers attending such a departure, seems to be of inferior authority (see p. 217). And though dissension subsequently arose between Samuel and Saul, it sprang from the former's distrust of the king and not from dislike of his office; and the prophet himself sought another man to succeed Saul on the throne. Between David and the prophets Nathan and Gad cordial relations prevailed, which were undisturbed by the adverse judgments passed by the latter on certain actions of their sovereign. To this harmony David's religious character must have greatly contributed. But the prophetic attitude towards the monarchy by this time rested upon a broader basis than the personal qualities of the individual king. The success which had attended the reign of David was, to the thought of that age, sufficient proof that he enjoyed the favour of heaven; and the contrast it presented to the previous weakness and wretchedness could not but encourage the belief that it was under the government of kings like David that the nation was intended by Divine Providence to work out its destiny. The hopes thus raised found expression in more than one prediction. The passage in *Gen.* xlix. 10 (dating perhaps from this time, see p. 82), which foretells the fortune of David's tribe of Judah, is exceedingly obscure, though as reconstructed from the LXX. it seems to anticipate for the tribe in the future a more extensive rule, if not a more illustrious ruler, than any it had hitherto known (see p. 97). But by the prophet Nathan a specific announcement was made of Divine favours in store for David's own house and line. To his seed who should be set up after him was reserved the privilege of building the projected Temple: to him Jehovah would be a father, chastening and correcting him as a son; and his throne should be established for ever (*2 Sam.* vii. 1–17). The title of *Jehovah's son*, applied previously to the nation collectively, was thus appropriated to the royal house in particular, which was regarded as concentrating in itself the privileges and responsibilities of the people as a whole. But though the application of the title was thus narrowed, it was still generic and not individual. It was of a line of princes, not

of a single ruler, that continuance was predicted; nor must the words used to describe such continuance be taken too literally. The expression "for ever" does not necessarily signify more than "for a great while to come" (see *1 Sam.* i. 22, *Is.* xxxii. 14, 15); and in this context only implies that the line of David's descendants was to be a long one. As a matter of history, David's dynasty filled the throne of Judah for a space of 400 years. The passage therefore relates only indirectly to the Messiah of later Jewish hopes. Nevertheless it was from the experiences of David's reign that the nation's later aspirations mainly took shape, and it was to the memories of them that its thoughts recurred in times of adversity. And though the ultimate realisation in our Lord of the Messianic hope departed widely from current expectation, and only fulfilled in a spiritual sense anticipations that were originally worldly in character, yet in one respect the event satisfied closely the conditions of this early prediction, inasmuch as Christ was actually born of the tribe and family of David.

CHAPTER XI

THE REIGN OF SOLOMON

Sources—*1 Kg.* ii. 12–ix. 43, *2 Ch.* i.–ix.

SCARCELY had David passed away, when SOLOMON, who, though his precise age on coming to the throne is uncertain, had probably attained to full manhood, found cause to suspect that his seat was not yet secure. Adonijah, who had, or believed himself to have, the support of the people in his attempt to obtain the succession for himself (*1 Kg.* ii. 15), still brooded over his disappointment; and he now addressed to Bathsheba, the queen-mother (a position both at this time and subsequently of great dignity),[1] a petition which pointed to a renewal of the attempt. Maintaining that he had had the favour of all Israel, though Solomon had had the favour of Jehovah, he asked her to procure for him from his successful brother (as though in compensation for his baffled hopes) the Shunammite Abishag, who had comforted the last days of David, to be his wife. Bathsheba, if she had any suspicions of a sinister purpose underlying the request, did not disclose them, but communicated the appeal to Solomon. The king at once interpreted it as indicating, in Oriental fashion, the assertion of a right to the crown;[2] and charged Joab and Abiathar with complicity in Adonijah's treason. Swift punishment was meted out to all three. Adonijah and Joab were successively put to death, the latter even at the altar in the Tent of Jehovah, to which he had fled for refuge[3] on hearing of what had happened to

[1] See *1 Kg.* xv. 13, *Jer.* xiii. 18.
[2] Cf. *2 Sam.* xii. 8, xvi. 21, Hdt. iii. 68.
[3] Cf. *Ex.* xxi. 14.

Adonijah. Abiathar was spared, partly because of his sacred office, and partly because of his loyalty to David when the latter was a fugitive;[1] but he was dismissed from the priesthood and sent to his native Anathoth. Zadok was promoted in his room; whilst the command of the host, previously held by Joab, was given to Benaiah. An opportunity of carrying out David's wishes respecting Joab having been thus offered and seized, an occasion was not long wanting to enable those expressed in regard to Shimei to be accomplished also. The latter, possibly on suspicion of being concerned in the recent plot, was put on his oath[2] not to leave the capital, where he could be kept under surveillance. But after a lapse of three years he was incautious enough to go to Gath, to recover two runaway slaves; and his visit being doubtless construed as an attempt at intriguing with a foreign power, he was at once executed. These severities effectually disarmed insubordination; and Solomon's tranquillity was not again disturbed by internal disaffection until a much later period.

The exact age at which Solomon came to the throne is not mentioned in the O.T. In *1 Chron.* iii. 5 he is represented as the fourth son of Bathsheba (there called *Bathshua*): though this is not the conclusion to which the account in *2 Sam.* xii. 24 points. *1 Kg.* iii. 7, if taken strictly, implies that he was quite young; but this is probably hyperbole, though Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 7, 8), gives his age as fourteen.[3] If, indeed, at his death, after a reign of forty years, his eldest son was forty-one (*1 Kg.* xiv. 21), his age at his accession must considerably have exceeded this; but Rehoboam's age, there stated, is probably a mistake (see *1 Kg.* xii. 8 and p. 314). Still, the politic measures to which (as just related) Solomon had recourse in order to meet the dangers that threatened him at the beginning of his reign suggest that he had already attained to man's estate.

Solomon's reign offers a striking contrast to that of his father. It was almost entirely devoid of incident, and was marked by none of the vicissitudes of fortune which were so notable a feature in the career of David. Enjoying for the most part peaceful relations with foreign powers, and set free, by the means just described, from the troubles that menaced him at home, Solomon was enabled to devote himself fully to the internal

[1] In *1 Kg.* ii. 26 *because thou barest the Ark . . . before David my father* is an erroneous description; the allusion is doubtless to the ephod (see *1 Sam.* xxiii. 6, xxx. 7).

[2] So the LXX. in *1 Kg.* ii. 37; and see ver. 42.

[3] Josephus represents him as reigning eighty years.

organisation of his kingdom and the embellishment of his court. In particular he gave much attention to the defence of the country (including the construction of fortresses), the administration of justice, the development of trade, and the erection of a national Temple to the nation's God; and in place of a chronological narrative of events (for which there do not exist adequate *data*) an account of the reign under these several heads may be most conveniently substituted.

1. The territory over which sovereignty is claimed for Solomon by the historian of *1 Kings* extended from the Euphrates to the River of Egypt (*el Arish*), or, to name the cities at the limits of his realms, from Tiphsah (Thapsacus) to Gaza (*1 Kg.* iv. 24). But it may reasonably be suspected that this description is much exaggerated;[1] and the account of his reign shows that even his father's dominions were not retained by him unimpaired. For instance, the authority over Damascus which David had asserted by placing garrisons there (according to *2 Sam.* viii. 6) was quickly lost under his successor. During the war which David waged with Zobah (*2 Sam.* viii. 3), Rezon, a fugitive from that country, escaped, and becoming captain of a band of free-lances, by their aid made himself master of Damascus, where he eventually founded a dynasty which was destined to play an important part in the history of Israel during the next three centuries (*1 Kg.* xi. 23–25).[2] Upon Edom, too, Solomon's hold was not undisputed. When David had devastated that country, Hadad, one of the royal family, who was a child at the time, escaped with certain of his father's servants into Egypt. Though the reigning Pharaoh, Psieukhannit (Psebkhan) II., was on friendly terms with the Israelite court, Hadad's youth protected him; and when a new Pharaoh (Shishak) came to the throne,[3] the Edomite prince received as his wife the sister of Tahpenes, the queen, who bore him a son called Genubath. The king would willingly have retained him in Egypt; but on hearing of

[1] The very turn of phrase employed in *1 Kg.* iv. 24 (see marg.) indicates that the passage was written E. of the Euphrates, and therefore in the time of the Exile.

[2] See *1 Kg.* xv. 18, where *Hezion* is probably a mistake for *Rezon*.

[3] This is an inference from the probabilities of the case; *1 Kg.* xi. 18, 19 does not distinguish between the two Pharaohs.

the deaths of David and Joab, he determined to return to Edom, where he succeeded in recovering the throne,[1] though the port of Ezion-geber at least remained in the possession of the Israelites. But if some of the outlying portions of David's empire were lost by Solomon, the integrity of the actual soil of Israel was secured alike by the erection of fortresses in strong positions (including Hazor, Megiddo, one or both of the Beth-horons, and Baalath)[2] and by the maintenance of a large force of war-chariots. Of the cities selected for fortification, Hazor guarded the northern frontier, Megiddo protected the plain of Esdraelon, whilst the Beth-horons, with Baalath, commanded the valley of Aijalon, thus defending the capital against an attack from the maritime plain. Additional security in this direction was obtained by the acquisition of Gezer. This city had hitherto been left in the hands of the Canaanites, and came into Solomon's power by a marriage alliance with Egypt. Under David Israel had become a factor to be reckoned with in Eastern politics; and the Pharaoh found it prudent to secure its friendship. The Pharaoh (as already implied) was probably Psieukhannit (Psebkhan) II., the last king of the 21st dynasty, who had his capital at Zoan (Tanis), and ruled over the Delta. Solomon wedded his daughter; and the Egyptian sovereign having attacked and burnt Gezer and destroyed the Canaanite inhabitants, bestowed it as a dowry upon the princess. It was now rebuilt and made a fortified city by Solomon. In Jerusalem itself additional defences were constructed; and the capital was further adorned by the erection of the Temple and the royal palaces described later. In view of the trade route to the Red Sea, which the possession of the ports of Edom gave to Israel, Tamar[3] (perhaps Hazezon Tamar) was likewise fortified. Cities had also to be built for

[1] So the LXX. in an addition made to *1 Kg.* xi. 22. In the text above the section xi. 14–22 is treated as self-consistent; but it really contains certain discrepancies (for instance in ver. 17 (beginning) *Hadad* in the original is *Adad*, and in ver. 18 the fugitives leave, not *Edom*, as implied previously, but *Midian*), so that some scholars have suspected that it has been constructed from two distinct narratives relating respectively to an Edomite Hadad and a Midianite Adad.

[2] *1 Kg.* ix. 15–18, *2 Ch.* viii. 5–6.

[3] Cf. *Ezek.* xlvii. 19. *2 Ch.* viii. 4 reads *Tadmor* (between Damascus and the Euphrates), the later Palmyra, and connects its fortification with an expedition against Hamath-Zobah.

the reception and support of the force of chariots and cavalry which the king maintained,[1] and which he seems to have been the first to introduce into the armies of Israel. This force is stated to have consisted of 1,400 chariots and 12,000 horsemen (*1 Kg.* x. 26). The numbers of the foot-soldiery are not given, perhaps because, being a militia and not a standing army, it was only mustered when there was occasion for its services; but the levies available were, no doubt, not inferior to those which the nation could raise at the close of David's reign.

2. The dispensing of justice was always regarded as one of the most essential functions of a sovereign (see *1 Sam.* viii. 20); and it was David's neglect of this important duty which had afforded such a handle to Absalom in his machinations against his father.[2] The support given to Absalom may have opened David's eyes to the need of improvement; but some dissatisfaction, no doubt, prevailed to the end of his reign, and the popularity which Solomon acquired by the interest he took in the administration of justice, as contrasted with his predecessor's remissness, was enhanced by the credit which he obtained by the wisdom of his decisions. Of the latter an illustration is afforded by the historian. Two harlots, dwelling together, had each borne a child; but one of them overlaid her infant, and on discovering that it was dead, appropriated the child of her companion whilst the latter slept, at the same time placing the dead child in the bosom of the sleeping woman. The two came before the king to assert their claims to the living child; and as there were no witnesses, the true mother was only detected by the king's expedient of giving orders to divide the object in dispute. Whilst the fraudulent claimant assented, the actual mother preferred to surrender her claim rather than allow her child's life to be sacrificed.

3. The position of Israel, on the routes between Egypt on the one hand and the states of Northern Syria and the countries bordering the upper waters of the Euphrates on the other, was one so advantageous from a commercial point of view that it is not surprising that a king of such practical shrewdness as Solomon

[1] In *1 Kg.* iv. 26 *forty thousand stalls of horses* must be an error. *2 Ch.* ix. 25 has *four thousand*.

[2] See p. 264.

should have taken steps to develop the trade of the country in several directions. Israel had many valuable products of her own for exportation, among them being wheat, wine, oil, balm, and honey (cf. *Ezek.* xxvii. 17); and in exchange for these she could procure such articles of utility or luxury as her own soil and resources denied her. Unfortunately the occupation of the coast by the Philistines and the remnant of the Canaanites had prevented the Israelites from establishing ports of their own on the Mediterranean; and traffic with the West was carried on chiefly through the medium of the Phœnician city of Tyre. The amicable relations which Hiram of Tyre had with David he maintained with David's son and successor. In return for a yearly supply of corn and oil, and perhaps wine[1] (*1 Kg.* v. 11, cf. *2 Ch.* ii. 10), he sent Solomon quantities of cedar timber (formed into rafts and conveyed by sea to a convenient place[2]), as well as skilled artificers to aid him in his building projects. In addition to this, Hiram enabled the Israelite king to develop a maritime trade on the Red Sea, access to which had been given him (as has been observed) by his father's conquest of Edom. At Ezion-geber (which he retained, in spite of the return to Edom of prince Hadad) a ship was built, similar to those employed by the Phœnicians in their voyages to Tarshish (and hence called Tarshish ships) and manned in part by experienced Tyrian sailors; and from that port it was despatched at intervals of three years to Ophir (see below), bringing back thence gold,[3] silver, ivory, valuable woods, and precious stones, as well as curious animals such as apes and peacocks. Profitable intercourse with Arabia also doubtless resulted from the visit paid to Solomon's court by the queen of Sheba (to be mentioned later), whose country was particularly rich in spices. But besides such traffic in exports and imports (*1 Kg.* x. 15), Solomon organised an important trade in chariot horses between Egypt and the peoples of Syria and the Hittites, the king's agents buying horses in the former country,

[1] According to *1 Kg.* v. 11, 20,000 *cors* of wheat and 20 *cors* of oil; but for the latter the LXX. reads 20,000 *baths* of oil; whilst *2 Ch.* ii. 10 adds 20,000 *cors* of barley and 20,000 *baths* of wine.

[2] According to *2 Ch.* ii. 16, Joppa.

[3] *1 Kg.* ix. 28, four hundred and twenty (LXX. B, one hundred and twenty) talents; *2 Ch.* viii. 18, four hundred and fifty talents.

and selling them again to the Syrian and Hittite princes at an increased price. It has, however, been suspected, not without some reason, that Solomon's efforts to foster foreign trade had as its object more the gratification of his own pride and magnificence than the increase of his people's wealth and comfort. It is possible, indeed, that the enumeration of the imports brought into the country reflects the ideas of the historian as to what shed most glory and lustre upon the subject of his narrative; but as it stands, it certainly conveys an impression not very favourable to the character of the sovereign who is credited with the initiation and direction of the commerce.

The passages relating to Solomon's Tarshish ships and his trade with Ophir are rendered rather obscure by the uncertainty attaching to the places indicated by these names. If Tarshish is rightly taken to mean Tartessus in Spain (see p. 65), the expression *ship of Tarshish* must describe the kind of vessel employed, and not the port visited, for of the commodities named in *1 Kg.* x. 22 as brought by a ship of Tarshish, peacocks are not found in Spain. On the other hand these birds are products of India, and as Ophir was reached from Ezion-geber on the Red Sea, it seems best to identify Ophir with some part of the Indian coast (perhaps the region near the mouth of the Indus) as Josephus does (*Ant.* viii. 6, 4), and to regard *1 Kg.* ix. 26–28 and x. 11, 22 as referring to the same voyage. Some consider the name Ophir to be a comprehensive term for the south coast of Asia generally, including the Malay peninsula. But other authorities object to the identification of Ophir even with the N.W. coast of India on the ground of its distance; and as LXX. B in *1 Kg.* x. 22 omits the mention of peacocks, they would place the region in question either on the E. coast of Africa (Abyssinia or Somaliland) or else in S. or S.E. Arabia. In favour of the latter is the fact that in *Gen.* x. 29 Ophir is the son of Joktan, the ancestor of several Arabian tribes.

In *2 Ch.* viii. 18 the *ship* of *1 Kg.* ix. 26 appears as *ships*, which Hiram (there written *Huram*) is strangely represented as *sending* to Ezion-geber and the neighbouring Eloth for Solomon's use.

4. The high ground, upon which Jerusalem stands at the present day, is surrounded by valleys on the E., S., and W., and is divided by a shallow hollow into two ridges, lying E. and W., which a widening of the depression between them at one point converts into four distinct hills. It was upon the N.E. summit that the Temple, originally contemplated by David, was now built by his successor.[1] The architect was a certain

[1] The topography of ancient Jerusalem is much disputed, and only the principal *data* can be given here. The present city stands on *both* of the ridges, which, united at the north, are parted towards the south by the shallow depression alluded to in the text. On the E. it is bounded by the valley of the *Kidron*, and on the W. by the valley commonly known as *the valley of the son of Hinnom*, which joins the former on the south of the

Hiram or Hiram Abi,[1] who is described as the son of an Israelite mother (from Dan in Naphtali) and a Tyrian father (cf. *1 Kg.* vii. 14, *2 Ch.* ii. 13).[2] The ground plan of the building was a rectangle measuring 80 cubits by 30. The walls were 5 cubits thick at the base, and the internal space enclosed was consequently 70 × 20 cubits. This was divided into three sections: (1) a porch (10 × 20) facing eastward; (2) a central hall (40 × 20); (3) an inner sanctuary or oracle (20 × 20). The height of these several sections varied, the central portion being 30 cubits high, and the sanctuary 20. The height of the porch, according to *2 Ch.* iii. 4, was 120 cubits; but this can scarcely fail to be an error, and a correction of LXX. A gives 20. In front of the porch were two pillars (hollow)[3] 12 (LXX. 14) cubits in circumference, the shafts of which were 18 cubits[4] high, surmounted by capitals 5 cubits[5] high. These latter were

city. South of the eastern ridge was the pool of *Siloam*, fed from the spring of *Gihon* (the modern "Virgin's fountain") in the Kidron valley. The *city of David* or *Zion* certainly occupied the eastern hill, for its outer wall was on the west side of "Gihon in the valley" (see *2 Ch.* xxxiii. 14, cf. also xxxii. 30, which should perhaps be rendered *brought them* (the waters of Gihon) *straight down, westwards, to the city of David*), and the steps or stairs that descended from it were near the *pool of Shelah* (Shiloah or Siloam) (see *Neh.* iii. 15). The southern extremity of the eastern hill was called *Ophel*, near which was the *water gate* (leading presumably from Gihon). On the northern portion of the same hill stood the Temple, which was at first outside the ancient city, since its site was originally a threshing-floor (see *2 Ch.* iii. 1, *1 Kg.* iii. 1, viii. 1, ix. 24). Whether the city in O.T. times extended at all to the western hill is very doubtful, the description of the walls in *Neh.* ii., iii. being in favour of the view that it was altogether confined to the eastern ridge (see p. 480, note). In later times the central valley was termed the *Tyropœon*, and the western (as has been said) is generally identified with the *valley of the son of Hinnom;* but if ancient Jerusalem was situated on the eastern hill only, *the valley of the son of Hinnom* probably designated the Tyropœon (which otherwise is not referred to in the O.T.). If this is the case, the name must have extended to the open space formed by the junction of the E. and W. valleys, for in *Josh.* xv. 8, xviii. 16 En-rogel, which is probably the modern *Bir Eyub*, a well in this locality, is associated with the valley of Hinnom.

To the conclusions just stated respecting the site of the "city of David" the evidence of Josephus is in contradiction, for he implies (*B. J.* v. 4) that the Jebusite stronghold (to which, according to *2 Sam.* v. 9, the name of the "city of David" was applied) was on the *western* hill, which is also the higher and more defensible of the two.

[1] This should probably be read for *of Hiram my father's* in *2 Ch.* ii. 13.

[2] Since in *1 Kg.* vii. 14 his mother is termed a widow, it is possible that the "man of Tyre" was his stepfather.

[3] See *Jer.* lii. 21. [4] In *2 Ch.* iii. 15 *thirty-five* cubits.

[5] So in *1 Kg.* vii. 16, *Jer.* lii. 22, but in *2 Kg.* xxv. 17 *three* cubits.

adorned with various embellishments described as "nets[1] of checker work and wreaths of chain work," around which hung double rows of pomegranates; whilst surmounting all were ornaments termed "capitals of lily work," 4 cubits in height, the precise nature of which is obscure. These columns have been thought to be of kindred import with the twelve pillars which Moses erected by the side of the altar at the foot of Sinai (see *Ex.* xxiv. 4), and with the pair which, according to Herodotus (ii. 44), stood in the temple of Heracles (so termed) at Tyre. To the two that fronted the Temple at Jerusalem the names of *Jachin* ("He will establish") and *Boaz* ("in Him is strength") were given. Around the sides of the Temple were built three stories of side-chambers, each 5 cubits high, but varying in breadth, the lowest being 5 cubits broad, the next 6, and the uppermost 7, the increase being obtained by reducing the thickness of the Temple walls. The entrance into the lowest story (so LXX. of *1 Kg.* vi. 8 (13)) was on the right (*i.e.* the south) side of the house. In the Temple walls above these chambers, and consequently at least 15 cubits from the ground, there were inserted windows of lattice work (*1 Kg.* vi. 4). "Upper chambers" are also mentioned in *2 Ch.* iii. 9 (cf. *1 Ch.* xxviii. 11); but their existence seems very questionable. Surrounding the whole structure was an open enclosure ("the court before the House" of *1 Kg.* viii. 64) where the sacrifices were offered, and to which the people were admitted; the dimensions of this are not given.

The Oracle or Most Holy Place was lined with cedar and overlaid with gold. It was entered from the central part of the Temple by folding doors of olive-wood, elaborately carved, across which hung chains of gold (*1 Kg.* vi. 32, 21), and before which was an embroidered veil of blue, purple, crimson, and fine linen, presumably to screen the oracle when the door was opened (*2 Ch.* iii. 14). This chamber was intended to contain nothing but the Ark of the Covenant, which was overshadowed by two figures of *Cherubim*, carved of olive-wood and overlaid with gold, whose extended wings together stretched across the oracle from wall to wall. In the main hall (distinguished as The Holy

[1] In *1 Kg.* vii. 17 (5) for *seven* read *two* (with the LXX.); cf. ver. 41.

Place) were placed several objects connected with the Temple service. These were, in addition to smaller articles, (1) a golden altar, probably for the offering of incense (*1 Kg.* vi. 22, vii. 48); (2) a golden table[1] to receive the Shewbread; (3) ten golden candlesticks, placed, five on the right side, and five on the left side, of the door of the oracle. In the outer enclosure were situated the altar of burnt-offerings, and a large laver (called "the Molten Sea"). The first of these was of brass, and measured 20 cubits square, the height being 10 cubits (according to *2 Ch.* iv. 1). The space within was presumably filled with stone or earth; and it was perhaps approached by an inclined plane.[2] The "Molten Sea" measured 10 cubits across (the circumference, if the diameter is stated correctly, being inaccurately given as 30 cubits), and was 5 cubits high. It stood upon twelve brazen oxen, so arranged that three of them faced each of the four quarters of the sky; and these rested upon bases supported by wheels, so that it could be moved wherever it was required. Its capacity is given as 2,000 *baths* (more than 16,000 gallons), though the figure is greatly in excess of the real capacity of a vessel of the given dimensions whether its shape was cylindrical or hemispherical.[3] In addition to this there were ten smaller lavers, moving on wheels, and containing forty *baths* (320 gallons) each. All these receptacles were intended to hold the water needed for the various acts of purification inseparable from the Temple ritual, the "Molten Sea" being for the ablutions of the priests, and the ten lavers for cleansing the implements connected with the burnt-offerings (*2 Ch.* iv. 6). The brass used in making the various utensils was cast in a piece of clay ground in the Jordan valley between Succoth and Zarethan (*1 Kg.* vii. 46).

The construction of the Temple occupied seven and a half years, being begun in the second month of Solomon's fourth year and finished in the eighth month of his eleventh year. The materials of which it was built were hewn and shaped at a distance, so that it was not necessary to use any iron tool in putting them together. When it was completed, the Ark of the

[1] In *2 Ch.* iv. 8 *ten* tables.

[2] Steps to the altar are prohibited in *Ex.* xx. 26.

[3] In *2 Ch.* iv. 5 its capacity is still greater—3,000 *baths*.

Covenant of Jehovah was brought into it,[1] and it was dedicated by the king with splendid ceremonial. The time chosen was the Feast of Tabernacles in the seventh month of the following year, the festival, as usual, lasting seven days.[2] The sacrifices offered are said to have amounted to 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep, an estimate incredibly high. At the conclusion of the prayer of dedication, the king, standing before the Altar, blessed the assembled people, and exhorted them to walk in the way and keep the Law of Jehovah their God.

The account in *1 Kg.* viii. 1–ix. 9 of the Dedication of the Temple, of Solomon's prayer, and of Jehovah's response, is late. The language of the prayer exhibits many of the characteristic phrases of *Deuteronomy*, whilst in viii. 1–11 there are a few isolated expressions which recall the Priestly code (notably the distinction in ver. 4 between the Priests and the Levites), most of which LXX. B omits. Some scholars have thought that viii. 46–51, ix. 6–9, which contemplate the possible captivity of the nation and the desolation of the Temple, were written after these had become accomplished facts, and, like the supposed insertions from the Priestly code, are of exilic origin.

The Temple was not the only noteworthy building which Solomon constructed. Thirteen years were spent in the erection of a royal residence which embraced several distinct structures. (1) *The house of the forest of Lebanon* (so named from the quantity of cedar-wood used in it). This measured 100 × 50 × 30 cubits, and rested upon three rows (so LXX.)[3] of pillars (each row being composed of fifteen columns) in addition to the external walls. (2) *The porch of pillars*, 50 × 30 cubits. (3) *The porch of the throne* (to which the last mentioned may have served as an ante-chamber), forming a judgment hall where the king's throne (of ivory and gold, with six lions on either side, *1 Kg.* x. 18–20) was placed when he dispensed justice. (4) *The king's private palace*, surrounded by a court. (5) *The palace of Pharaoh's daughter*, probably included within the court just

[1] In *1 Kg.* viii. 4 *the tent of meeting* may be taken to be the tent pitched for the Ark by David (*2 Sam.* vi. 17, cf. *1 Kg.* i. 39, ii. 28), but in *2 Ch.* i. 3–4 a distinction is drawn between the two, the former (made by Moses in the wilderness) being represented as at Gibeon.

[2] According to *1 Kg.* viii. 65 (end) the festival on this occasion was prolonged for an additional seven days; but the statement is omitted in LXX. B, and contradicted by ver. 66, which relates that on the eighth day the king dismissed the people. *2 Ch.* vii. 9, in harmony with the Priestly code (*Lev.* xxiii. 36), declares that on the eighth day a solemn assembly was held.

[3] The Heb. of *1 Kg.* vii. 2 reads *four;* but this is difficult to reconcile with the number of pillars.

named. All these were built of costly hewn stone, the wood employed being cedar. They were in close contiguity to the Temple; and were probably embraced, together with it, within an extensive enclosure, "the great court" of *1 Kg.* vii. 12, constructed of three rows of hewn stone, and a row of cedar beams. From its situation the Temple might be almost regarded as an appendage to the Palace; and so long as the "high places" throughout the land were maintained as seats of religious worship, it must have borne the character of a royal chapel as much as of a national sanctuary.

The construction of these edifices and the establishment of the court on a scale of magnificence commensurate with them necessarily involved vast expense and extensive organisation. The aid both in the shape of artisans and materials which Solomon obtained from Tyre and the neighbouring city of Gebal (Byblus) could not be procured without an adequate return. The repayment (as has been seen) was made in part by means of the products of the country. It would appear, however, that such were insufficient to discharge the obligations under which Solomon had been placed by the Tyrian king, the latter (according to *1 Kg.* ix. 14) sending to Solomon, in addition to timber and craftsmen, 120 talents of gold. The king of Israel consequently found it necessary to surrender to Hiram twenty cities in Galilee, probably as a pledge. Hiram, however, was dissatisfied with them; and the name of one of them (Cabul in Asher, see *Josh.* xix. 27), which resembled a phrase meaning "good for nothing," was applied in mockery to the district in which they were situated. But it was not foreign labour alone that was used in connection with the building of the Temple and the royal palaces. Even of native Israelites a levy was made to the number of 30,000 (*1 Kg.* v. 13), who were occupied in cutting timber in Lebanon in conjunction with Hiram's servants. They were divided into three bodies of 10,000 men apiece, under 550 officers,[1] which worked in turn for a month at a time. In thus exacting forced labour from his own people Solomon departed from the practice of his father, who employed strangers only (*1 Ch.* xxii. 2). The control of this levy was

[1] *2 Ch.* viii. 10 *two hundred and fifty.*

given to Adoniram (or Adoram), who had previously had charge of the levy of foreigners in the time of David (*2 Sam.* xx. 24, marg.).

The number of labourers employed by Solomon is elsewhere (*1 Kg.* v. 15) given as 150,000, under 3300 officers.[1] The nationality of these is not stated in *Kings;* but in *2 Ch.* ii. 17 they are described as "strangers that were in the land of Israel," and agreeably with this, it is denied in *1 Kg.* ix. 22, *2 Ch.* viii. 9, that Solomon made bond-servants of native Israelites. But this is contradicted in *1 Kg.* v. 13, (cf. xi. 28); and the latter passages are confirmed by the account of the acute discontent which found expression in the following reign (see *1 Kg.* xii. 4).

Of the other state and court officials who had served David, only a few survived to serve his son, though some of those who had been removed by death were succeeded in their duties by their children. Benaiah, who in the reign of David had commanded the guard of mercenaries, the Cherethites and Pelethites (*2 Sam.* viii. 18), had been promoted to the command of the host in place of Joab. Zadok, who had been priest in David's time, but had held a position inferior to Abiathar, took (as has been seen) the place of the latter when disgraced; and when he died he appears to have been succeeded by his grandson Azariah.[2] Zabud, the son of Nathan, who is styled "priest and the king's friend,"[3] perhaps occupied a position analogous to that of a modern ecclesiastical Privy Counsellor. Elihoreph and Ahijah, sons of Shisha, who is perhaps to be identified with the Sheva (*2 Sam.* xx. 25) or Shavsha (*1 Ch.* xviii. 16) who was scribe in the reign of David, discharged that function under Solomon. Jehoshaphat, son of Ahilud, who was recorder under David, retained the position under his successor. The steward of the household was Ahishar. The support and maintenance of the court was committed to a body of twelve officers, presided over by Azariah, another son of Nathan. Each of these was responsible for supplies for one month, and had charge of one of twelve districts into which the country was divided. In the division the boundaries of the tribes were to a certain extent ignored, perhaps of set purpose, with a view to weakening the tribal

[1] *2 Ch.* ii. 18 *three thousand six hundred.*

[2] The *Azariah* of *1 Ch.* vi. 9 (not of ver. 10, to which the description of the High Priest of Solomon's time has been erroneously transferred).

[3] Cf. *2 Sam.* xv. 37, xvi. 16.

feeling which had manifested itself in a troublesome and even dangerous form in the previous reign. The several districts were (1) the hill country of Ephraim; (2) Shaalbim and other parts of the territory of Dan and N.W. Judah; (3) Socoh and part of the lowland of Judah; (4) Dor; (5) the plain of Esdraelon; (6) Bashan and N. Gilead; (7) Mahanaim; (8) Naphtali; (9) Asher; (10) Issachar; (11) Benjamin; (12) S. Gilead (Gad).[1]

Of Solomon's chief state officials, LXX. B furnishes two lists, which differ in some respects both from the Hebrew and from one another. The same MS. also departs from the Hebrew in its account of the officers and districts that supplied the court with provisions.

Of the names given in *1 Kg.* iv. 9 foll., several (*Ben-hur*, *Ben-deker*, *Ben-hesed*, etc.) are patronymics, the real names being lost.

The quantity of provisions supplied every day to the court (see *1 Kg.* iv. 22, 23) implies that the king supported a large number of dependants. Many of these were doubtless foreigners attached to the various princesses whom Solomon wedded. Mention has already been made of his marriage with the daughter of the Egyptian Pharaoh; but besides her, he took as wives and concubines numerous women of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians, and Hittites. According to the almost incredible statement of *1 Kg.* xi. 3, his wives numbered 700 and his concubines 300.[2] The maintenance of this huge harem must have entailed a heavy burden upon the country at large. Part of the royal revenue was derived from subject provinces (cf. *1 Kg.* iv. 21 end), and from the foreign trade previously described (*1 Kg.* x. 28–29); but it must have been largely supplemented from internal sources, to the serious impoverishment of the people. Perhaps still more irksome, if not actually more oppressive, was the system of the *corvée* which the king (as has been said) was the first to apply to his Israelite subjects; and before the end of the reign, much sullen dissatisfaction began to prevail amongst the mass of the people. Equally grave must have been the resentment felt by the more religious spirits of the nation at the introduction into the land of the foreign forms of worship practised by Solomon's wives. To gratify the Moabite,

[1] In *1 Kg.* iv. 19 the description of this as being formerly the territory of Og, king of Bashan, is obviously incorrect.

[2] Compare Rehoboam's eighteen wives and sixty concubines (*2 Ch.* xi. 21).

Ammonite, and Zidonian princesses whom he had married, the king built "high places" for the rites of Chemosh, Milcom (or Molech), Ashtoreth, and doubtless other deities (*1 Kg.* xi. 8). There was thus more than one cause at work to produce widespread disaffection; and there was only needed a leader to bring the popular discontent to a head. Such a leader was at last forthcoming in the person of an Ephraimite called Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who though at first meeting with failure, which he did not retrieve as long as Solomon lived, ultimately organised a revolt which deprived Solomon's son of more than half of his kingdom.

Of Jeroboam's origin and first attempt at insurrection the accounts preserved are both obscure and conflicting, but from a comparison of them a few salient facts emerge. He was a native of Mount Ephraim, his mother Zeruah (LXX. Σαρεισα) being according to one version a harlot. As he was capable and industrious, he came under the notice of Solomon; and by him was placed in charge of the forced labour of his own tribe. In this capacity he was engaged upon the king's building projects both at Zeredah (LXX. Σαρειρα), which seems to have been one of the chariot-cities alluded to in *1 Kg.* ix. 19, and at Jerusalem. The position which he occupied as one of the officers who had direction of the *corvée* made him acquainted with the popular grievances, and enabled him to turn them to his own purposes. The nature and course of his intrigues is not disclosed; but he seems eventually to have been guilty of some overt act of treason,[1] and in consequence Solomon sought to put him to death. To save himself he fled to Egypt where Shishak[2] was then in possession of the throne; and he remained in that country until Solomon's death. His subsequent proceedings belong to the history of the next reign.

Of the early history of Jeroboam there exists, in addition to the Hebrew narrative in *1 Kg.* xi. 26–40 and its LXX. rendering, a second account preserved only in the Vatican MS. (B) of the LXX. The Hebrew represents Jeroboam's treasonable designs as approved, if not suggested, by the prophet

[1] According to Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 7, 8) Jeroboam sought to raise a revolt and to induce the populace to transfer the sovereignty to him.

[2] Shishak (Sheshonk) was a Libyan, who acquired considerable power during the reign of the Pharaoh Psieukhannit II., and eventually succeeded him.

Ahijah. The latter met him alone in the field, and rending a new garment, which he himself was wearing, into twelve pieces, he gave ten of the pieces to the young Ephraimite, accompanying this symbolic act by the declaration that Jehovah would rend ten of the tribes of Israel from the hand of Solomon's son, in consequence of the king's worship of heathen deities, and would give them to Jeroboam, and that if the latter would obey the Divine commands, his house should be established. It is implied that it was because of this that Solomon sought to kill Jeroboam; but the writer does not explain how information of the prophet's communication came to be conveyed to the king.

The second Greek version does not connect Jeroboam's attempt at insurrection during Solomon's lifetime with any prophet; but (as will be seen) it brings a prophet into relation with Jeroboam's subsequent movements after Solomon's death. This version describes Jeroboam (and not the Edomite Hadad, see p. 296) as marrying the sister of queen Tahpenes, but calls the son she bore, Abijah.

Of Solomon's closing years nothing further is recorded. His reign is stated to have lasted forty years; but it is probable that this is merely a round number employed to indicate a considerable period (perhaps a full generation), and the actual duration of his rule is unknown. From the fact that Adoniram (Adoram), who served his father David, lived to serve his son, it may reasonably be concluded that his reign fell short of the length ascribed to it. The year of his death may be approximately fixed between 938 and 916 B.C., a date arrived at (as will be seen) from a consideration of the number of years assigned by the Bible to his successors, corrected by the chronology of certain Assyrian inscriptions.

In the view of the Hebrew historian, Solomon was unsurpassed for sagacity and knowledge. On his accession to the crown, it is related that Jehovah appeared to him at Gibeon in a dream, and bade him choose a boon; and the young king, instead of asking for long life or riches or success in war, prayed to be endowed with an understanding heart that he might judge the people committed to him. His request was granted; and riches and honour were added thereto, with a promise of length of days if he kept Jehovah's commandments. In consequence of this endowment, he was reputed to be wiser than all men; people flocked from all quarters to hear his wisdom; and the queen of Sheba, in particular, came to prove him with hard questions.[1]

[1] The "hard questions" were probably of the nature of enigmatical sayings (in the original the same word is used of Samson's riddle, *Jud.* xiv. 12, 13), such as (according to Dius, quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 5, 3) Hiram and Solomon used to send to each other to solve for wagers.

He was at once a philosopher and a poet. He spake 3,000 proverbs; his songs were 1,005; and his utterances embraced references alike to the vegetable and the animal worlds.[1] So great, indeed, was his reputation for practical insight that in later times the bulk of the Hebrew Gnomic literature was ascribed to him. In the light of after-events, it is impossible fully to endorse the historian's estimate of his sagacity, or even to clear his memory from imputations of criminal folly. To his oppressive exactions, in furtherance of his schemes of luxury and magnificence, was due the discontent which in the reign of his son broke his kingdom in two, and ultimately led to the destruction, in detail, of the Hebrew nation by the power of Assyria and Babylon. It is clear likewise that, besides being fond of display, he was voluptuous and sensual. On the other hand, his tolerance of his queens' foreign forms of worship, which receives severe condemnation from the historian, was probably not viewed in quite the same way by contemporary Israelite thought in general. The more zealous prophets, no doubt, regarded it as disloyalty to the principles of the national faith, and were conscious that the preservation and promotion of true religion demanded the exclusion of all external cults. But it is not likely that there existed as yet any sense of the falsity of polytheism; and the toleration of the worship of Chemosh and other deities on the soil of Israel could scarcely, to the minds of that age, present itself differently from the toleration of the worship of Jehovah on the soil of Syria (as implied in *2 Kg.* v. 17). And apart from the cardinal blunder which eventually caused the dismemberment of his kingdom, Solomon was undoubtedly a powerful and able monarch. The fact that his reign was passed in tranquillity (except for the attempts by Edom and Damascus to regain their independence) testifies to the care he displayed for the defence of the realm. That he showed no ambition to undertake foreign conquests redounds to his credit: after the exhausting wars of David the nation needed repose. And if he

[1] He probably used illustrations from them to give point to ethical maxims as is done in *Prov.* vi. 6. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2, 5) says *καθ' ἕκαστον γὰρ εἶδος δένδρου παραβολὴν εἶπεν*, though he goes on to state *οὐδεμίαν τούτων φύσιν ἠγνόησεν οὐδὲ παρῆλθεν ἀνεξέταστον, ἀλλ' ἐν πάσαις ἐφιλοσόφησεν, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς ἰδιωμάτων ἄκραν ἐπεδείξατο.*

spent his people's wealth lavishly, his commerial policy may have helped to produce that wealth, and perhaps even given to the Jewish people that impulse towards trade which has been for centuries so marked a trait in their character. Nor can the indirect effects of the commerce he fostered be overlooked, inasmuch as it brought the people into closer contact with the outside world and so enlarged their intellectual horizon. And in two other respects he profoundly influenced his nation's after-history and thereby mankind in general. In the first place, whatever the burdens which the construction of the Temple entailed upon the generation that saw it erected, it eventually became the chief glory of the Jewish race. To it, its ritual and its associations, was largely due the stronger hold which, after the disruption, the religion of Jehovah had upon Judah as contrasted with Northern Israel; and when Judah ceased to be a nation, the reconstructed Temple became in a still higher degree the guardian of the Hebrew faith and hope. And secondly, the book of *Proverbs*, though parts are expressly ascribed to other authors than Solomon (see xxx. 1, cf. xxiv. 23), and even those sections which are attributed to him may be complex of origin, is nevertheless the product of Solomon's spirit and example, and much that it contains may actually have proceeded from him. And as *Proverbs* served as a model for many works of a similar character in later times, some of which, as has been said, were popularly ascribed to him (*Ecclesiastes*, *Wisdom*), the debt which the world of literature indirectly owes to the Hebrew king is considerable. The works named do not exhaust the list of productions with which Solomon's name is (no doubt erroneously) connected. The *Song of Songs* is attributed to him; two of the Canonical psalms are entitled his; and a book of Psalms of quite late date also goes by his name.

CHAPTER XII

ISRAEL AND JUDAH

Sources—(*a*) *1 Kg.* xii. 1–*2 Kg.* xiv. 22, *2 Ch.* x.–xxv.

(*b*) *2 Kg.* xiv. 23–xx. 21, *2 Ch.* xxvi.–xxxii., *Am.*, *Hos.*, *Is.* i.–xxxix.,[1] *Mic.*

(*c*) *2 Kg.* xxi.–xxv., *2 Ch.* xxxiii. 1–xxxvi. 21, *Nah.*, *Zeph.*, *Jer.*,[2] *Lam.*, *Hab.*, *Obad.*, *Ezek.* i–xxxix.[3]

(*d*) *Ezek.* xxix. 17–21, xl.–xlviii., "*Is.*" xiii. 1–xiv. 23, xxxiv.–xxxv., *2 Is.* xl.–lxvi., "*Jer.*" x. 1–16, l. 1–li. 58.

SOLOMON'S heir was his son Rehoboam, whose mother was an Ammonitess called Naamah, and described by one of the LXX. versions as the daughter of Hanun, son of Nahash, the king of Ammon. On the death of his father, the young prince (according to the LXX. of *1 Kg.* xii. 24a, ed. Swete, he was only sixteen years of age) ascended the throne without opposition at Jerusalem. It was otherwise among the tribes of the centre and the north. These felt acutely the burdens involved in the contributions required for the king's table,[4] and in the system of forced labour which had been imposed upon them, whilst they did not share to the same extent as Judah in the lustre which Solomon's architectural triumphs and splendid court shed upon the capital. Ephraim, in particular, must have been the more aggrieved from the fact that it had once enjoyed a pre-eminence which, under the dynasty of David, it no longer possessed. The

[1] Omitting xiii. 1–xiv. 23, xxiv.–xxvii., xxxiv.–xxxv.; see *Introd.* p. 22–3.

[2] Omitting x. 1–16, l. 1–li. 58; see p. 23.

[3] Omitting xxix. 17–21; see p. 24.

[4] See the LXX. of *1 Kg.* xii. 16 *νῦν βόσκε τὸν οἶκόν σου, Δαυίδ.*

opportunity which thus presented itself of again working upon the popular disaffection was seized by the exile Jeroboam, who, on hearing of Solomon's death, at once left Egypt for his native land. Returning to his home at Zeredah (LXX. Σαρειρα), where there mustered to him his own tribe, he constructed a fortification[1] there as a place of defence in the last resort; and then proceeded to gather together an assembly of the people at Shechem. Whilst there he was met by a certain prophet, Shemaiah by name, who was wearing a new robe; and the prophet, tearing his garment into twelve pieces, gave ten of them to Jeroboam, to symbolise the bestowal upon him by Jehovah of ten of the twelve tribes. There was still sufficient cleavage between Judah and the rest of the nation to make it necessary for the successor of the deceased king to have his authority over the northern tribes formally acknowledged; and it was to Shechem that Rehoboam came to procure the confirmation of his sovereignty. There a resolve was taken by the people, presumably at the instigation of Jeroboam, to obtain a redress of the grievances from which they suffered; and a petition was presented for a relaxation of the burdens inflicted upon them by Solomon. Before replying Rehoboam first sought the advice of the aged counsellors of his father, who, realising the situation, recommended him to consent to the people's demands; but on consulting a body of younger advisers to whom he was attracted by equality of age and similarity of training, he was urged to adopt a firm attitude, and to dismiss the petitioners with expressions of insolent scorn. He followed their advice; and his reply was the signal for a renunciation of allegiance on the part of the bulk of the nation. An attempt to enforce the customary levy ended in the death of Adoniram (or Adoram), the officer concerned, who was stoned; and Rehoboam had to flee to Jerusalem. Jeroboam thus found himself the successful leader of a popular cause; and it was natural that the thoughts of the seceding tribes should turn to him when the time came to choose a rival sovereign. He was accordingly raised to the throne; and henceforward the Hebrew people were divided into two kingdoms, known generally as *Israel* and *Judah* (*1 Kg.* xii. 1–20, *2 Ch.* c. x.).

[1] LXX. χάραξ.

In the above account the second narrative of the LXX.,[1] which departs from the Hebrew, has been followed, as it places the events in their most natural sequence. This version, which, as has been said (see p. 309), represents Jeroboam as marrying the daughter of Shishak, also relates that after Jeroboam had returned from Egypt, but prior to the assembly at Shechem, his little son fell sick; whereupon he sent his wife to Shiloh to enquire of the prophet Ahijah there whether he would recover. As she approached the city Ahijah, who was blind, sent to meet her and told her that as soon as she returned home, her maidens would come forth to inform her that the child was already dead. The narrative then strangely goes on to say that the prophet predicted the extirpation of Jeroboam's family, adding that the sick child alone should receive the rites of mourning, for in him only was good found. This account of a visit to Ahijah is a variant, inferior in value, of that given in *1 Kg.* xiv. with reference to an occasion after Jeroboam's accession to the throne, for the denunciation of woe against his house is manifestly out of place *before* he had become king or had caused Israel to sin.

The Hebrew narrative in c. xii. is inconsistent, for whereas in ver. 3a it states that Jeroboam was *summoned* home from Egypt by the people, and in ver. 20 implies that the people only heard of his return after the interview with Rehoboam at Shechem, in ver. 3b, 12 his presence at Shechem is expressly asserted.

Rehoboam's age at his accession is given by the Heb. of xiv. 21 as forty-one, but this does not agree with the impression produced by xii. 8: cf. also *2 Ch.* xiii. 7.

The kingdom of Israel, as now constituted, nominally comprised ten of the twelve tribes, which were Joseph, Simeon, Benjamin, Dan, Issachar, Asher, Zebulun, Naphtali, Gad, and Reuben. The kingdom of Judah, as the title indicates, was composed mainly of the tribe of that name; but it must also have practically included Simeon. The frontier between the two kingdoms, moreover, fluctuated a good deal; and the territory of Benjamin was really divided between them, the city of Jerusalem being naturally retained by the Judæan sovereigns, whilst Bethel and Jericho fell to their rivals. Dan also seems to have been partly Judæan, for Aijalon, a Danite city (*Josh.* xix. 42), remained in the hands of Rehoboam (*2 Ch.* xi. 10). Of the vassal-states, sovereignty over Edom was asserted at intervals by Judah, whilst Moab was dominated by Israel.

Two states so closely connected both by lineage and situation as were Israel and Judah could not fail to affect each other's careers most seriously either for good or evil; and their fortunes may be conveniently considered together. The interest of the first century of their united history is mainly centred in their mutual relations with each other, and the relations of both with

[1] See p. 308.

the Syrians of Damascus. A natural desire on the part of the kings of Judah, inheriting as they did the city and throne of David, to recover the territories once attached to that throne, led to a succession of wars between the two nations which lasted for more than a generation. This attitude of hostility, however, gradually gave way to more friendly feelings as the memory of a past grievance began to fade; and in the reigns of Ahab and Jehoshaphat the two kingdoms were in alliance, though, as will appear, Israel was the paramount power. Syria, which was in turn the supporter of each against the other, was by her position a more serious rival to Israel than to Judah; and when the mutual relations of the two latter became more amicable, Israel obtained Judah's aid to attack her most formidable enemy. On the west and south-west, the territory of both the Hebrew peoples adjoined that of the Philistines; and these, after having remained tranquil during the last years of their conqueror David and through the reign of his son, once more began to move, though they did not prove particularly dangerous to either Israel or Judah. Moab, which after the division of Solomon's kingdom fell, as has been observed, to Israel, subsequently revolted, and a long series of border campaigns ensued between the Moabites and their former lords. Judah's most important wars, next to those she was involved in with her northern neighbour, were with Edom, which, after beginning a struggle for its independence as early as the time of Solomon, eventually succeeded in obtaining it.

The internal history of Israel and Judah during this period differed considerably. The former, from its extent, was naturally less homogeneous than the latter, and was in consequence more disturbed by the spirit of faction. Its history was marked by repeated dynastic changes, due in many instances to the personal ambition of able and unscrupulous officers, who rose against incapable princes. Religious strife was also a feature in the career of the northern kingdom. The generally low level of the Jehovistic worship which prevailed in it, and the introduction into it, through the influence of the neighbouring Zidon, of the religion of the Phœnician Baal, roused the fierce antagonism of the more faithful of the prophets of Jehovah; and more than

one of the revolutions which took place seems to have been abetted, if not instigated, by them. On the other hand, Judah was remarkably free from revolutions or usurpations. This was, no doubt, due in part to the personal qualities of some of its early sovereigns; but in part also to the affection and reverence felt by the people towards the house of David. The character of the prevalent religion, too, was purer than that of Israel, a result to which the existence of Solomon's Temple, and the priesthood attached to it, must, as already remarked, have greatly contributed. In the 8th century, one of the two prophets who addressed themselves to Israel went thither from Judah; and though he found much to censure in his own country, it is manifest from his utterances that its moral and religious condition was, on the whole, superior to that of its neighbour (see p. 354).

After the reign of Ahab of Israel, the principal feature of the history of the next two centuries is the growing predominance in the politics of Palestine of the empire of Assyria. The hostile attitude of Israel and Syria towards one another continued, indeed, for a time; but the fortunes of the war were largely affected by Assyrian pressure upon one or other of the combatants; and eventually the two foes had to combine in a futile effort to defend themselves against their common enemy. Another actor on the political stage during the latter portion of this period was Egypt, who, foreseeing the contest for supremacy in the West with which Assyria threatened her, began to encourage the Palestinian states with hopes of support against the encroaching eastern power—hopes which only betrayed those who trusted to them. Northern Israel, under some of the kings of Jehu's dynasty, for a time enjoyed a considerable measure of prosperity; but when the last of this line fell beneath an assassin, the country became a prey to anarchy, and the end soon came. Judah, on the other hand, though imperilled and despoiled by Assyria, outlasted the sister kingdom by nearly 150 years; and even survived to witness the downfall of the Assyrian empire itself.

This final period of a century and a half which elapsed between the overthrow of the Northern Kingdom and the de

struction of Jerusalem was marked by the rise of Babylon, before which Assyria eventually fell. Of Babylon, Egypt became the persistent opponent, as she had previously been of Assyria; and in consequence posed as the friend of Judah against her formidable foe. Internally the history of Judah becomes a record of alternate reformations and reactions, the deterioration in religion and morality ultimately advancing without check, till the prophets came to see that the severest of national chastisements was a necessary condition of their race's spiritual salvation.

A list is subjoined of the contemporary kings of Israel and Judah; and to the names of some of them are attached notices of certain events of known date that occurred during their reigns, from which a general idea of the chronology of the time may be gained. The dates are derived in the main from the Assyrian inscriptions, which in regard to chronology may with good reason be considered trustworthy, as the Assyrians paid great attention to the subject, and had a special officer appointed annually, who gave his name to the year (like the *Archon Eponymus* at Athens). If to the first of the figures thus obtained (854 B.C.), which falls within Ahab's reign, there is added the sixty-two years covered, according to the O.T., by the reigns of his predecessors, the accession of Jeroboam is fixed for 916 B.C.; whilst if the sixty-two years just mentioned be increased by the twenty-two years of Ahab's own rule (on the assumption that 854 was nearer the end than the beginning of his reign), the date of Jeroboam's usurpation becomes 938 B.C.; and between these two limits the Disruption may be approximately placed. Attempts to determine with greater precision both the date of this event and the year of the accession (with the consequent duration of the reigns) of the several kings of the Divided Monarchy do not command confidence. The numbers furnished by the Hebrew historians are in many instances inconsistent both with each other and with the information preserved in the inscriptions; and it has accordingly not been deemed worth while to construct a scheme resting upon such an insecure foundation.

ISRAEL.	JUDAH.	*Events of Known Date.*
Jeroboam I.	Rehoboam	
	Abijah (Abijam)	
	Asa	
Nadab		
Baasha		
Elah		
Zimri		
{ Tibni		
{ Omri		
Ahab		In 854 Ahab's troops were present at the battle of Karkar.[1]
	Jehoshaphat	
Ahaziah		
Jehoram		
	Jehoram	
	Ahaziah	
Jehu	Athaliah	In 842 Jehu paid tribute to Shalmaneser II.[2]
	Joash	
Jehoahaz		
Joash		
	Amaziah	
Jeroboam II.		
	Uzziah (Azariah)	
Zechariah		
Shallum		
Menahem		In 738 Menahem paid tribute to Tiglath Pileser.[3]
Pekahiah		
Pekah		
	Jotham	
	Ahaz	
Hoshea		In 734 Pekah was dethroned, and Hoshea appointed in his place by Tiglath Pileser, to whom Ahaz paid tribute.[4]

[1] See p. 335. [2] See p. 347. [3] See p. 358. [4] See p. 362.

ISRAEL.	JUDAH.	*Events of Known Date.*
	Hezekiah	In 722 Samaria was taken by Sargon.[1]
		In 701 Judah was invaded by Sennacherib.[2]
	Manasseh	Paid tribute to Esarhaddon (681–668) and to Asshurbanipal (668–626).[3]
	Amon	
	Josiah	Defeated at Megiddo by Pharaoh Necho (610–594).[4]
	Jehoahaz	
	Jehoiakim	In 605 battle of Carchemish between Egypt and Babylon
	Jehoiachin	
	Zedekiah	In 586 Jerusalem was captured by Nebuchadrezzar (604–561).[5]

The following table gives the duration of the reigns of the Israelite and Judæan monarchs, and the synchronism between them as stated in *Kings*. In general the last year of a reign is likewise reckoned as the first of the succeeding reign, but in some cases the principle seems to have been departed from; and in consequence of this, and of miscalculations, a number of errors have crept in. Some of the contradictory statements made by the Hebrew historian are indicated in the notes.

ISRAEL.			JUDAH.		
Name.	*Year of Reign.*	*Length of Reign.*	*Name.*	*Year of Reign.*	*Length of Reign.*
Jeroboam I.	1	...	Rehoboam	1	
,,	18	...	,, Abijah	1	17
,,	20	...	,, Asa	1	3
Nadab	1	22 ...	,,	2	
,, Baasha	1	2 ...	,,	3	
,, Elah	1	24 ...	,,	26	

[1] See p. 363. [2] See p. 370. [3] See p. 374.
[4] See p. 380. [5] See p. 386.

ISRAEL.				JUDAH.		
Name.	*Year of Reign.*	*Length of Reign.*		*Name.*	*Year of Reign.*	*Length of Reign.*
Elah		2				
Zimri		7 days	...	Asa	27	
Omri	1		...	,,	27[1]	
,,		12	...	,,	38	
Ahab	1		...	,,		41
,,	4		...	Jehoshaphat	1	
,,		22	...	,,	17	
Ahaziah	1		...	,,	18[2]	
,,		2	...	,,		25
Jehoram	1		...	Jehoram	1	
,,	5		...	,,		8
,,		12[3]	...	Ahaziah		1
Jehu	1		...	Athaliah	1	
,,	7		...	,,		6 (7)[4]
,,		28		Jehoash	1	
Jehoahaz	1		...	,,	23	
,,		17	...	,,	37	
Joash	1		...	,,		40
,,	2		...	Amaziah	1	
,,		16	...	,,	15	
Jeroboam II.	1		...	,,		29
,,	27		...	Uzziah (Azariah)	1	
,,		41	...	,, ,,	38	
Zechariah		6 mo.				
Shallum		1 mo.				
Menahem	1		...	,, ,,	39	
,,		10	...	,, ,,	50	
Pekahiah	1					
,,		2	...	,, ,,	52	
Pekah	1					
,,	2		...	,, ,,		52
				Jotham	1	
,,	17		...	,,		16
				Ahaz	1	
,,		20	...	,,	12	
Hoshea	1					
,,	3		...	,,		16
,,	(Samaria taken)	9	...	Hezekiah	1	
				,,	6	

[1] So implied in *1 Kg.* xvi. 15, 16, but in ver. 23 *in the thirty and first year of Asa.*

[2] So in *2 Kg.* iii. 1; but in i. 17 *in the second year of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat.*

[3] So in *2 Kg.* viii. 25, but in ix. 29 *in the eleventh year of Joram (Jehoram).*

[4] Cf. *2 Kg.* xi. 3 with ver. 4.

JUDAH.	*Length of Reign.*
Name.	
Hezekiah	29
Manasseh	55
Amon	2
Josiah	31
Jehoahaz	3 months
Jehoiakim	11
Jehoiachin	3 months
Zedekiah	11
Jerusalem taken 586 B.C.	

As Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah were killed at the same time by Jehu, the sums of the reigns of the Israelite and Judæan kings up to this date ought to be equal; but in point of fact there is a difference of three years (Israel 98, Judah 95). Similarly the sum of the reigns in the same two lines of kings from the accession of Jehu and Athaliah to the fall of Samaria in the sixth year of Hezekiah should be equal; but between them there is a difference of more than twenty-one years (Israel, 143 years, 7 months; Judah, 165 years). Moreover, as has been said, the dates implied by these tables do not tally with those ascertained from the Assyrian inscriptions. Since Ahab fought in alliance with the Syrians at Karkar in 854, he cannot have met his death in conflict with them before 853. But in 842, only eleven years afterwards, Jehu was king; and this interval of eleven years has to include the reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram. These two kings, therefore, cannot have ruled for the fourteen years represented. Again, since Menahem was king of Israel in 738, and Samaria was captured in 722, the interval of sixteen years must cover the reigns of Pekahiah, Pekah, and Hoshea, which are therefore likewise over-estimated (thirty-one years in all) by the writer of *2 Kings*. Again, some of the figures given in connection with the kings of Judah, Ahaz and Hezekiah, are inconsistent with the dates of events preceding or following them. On the one hand, the fall of Samaria in 722 is said to have happened in the sixth year of Hezekiah, according to *2 Kg.* xviii. 10, which makes 727 the year of his accession. But if Hezekiah was on the throne in 727, and Jotham his grandfather was contemporary with Pekah of Israel (*2 Kg.* xv. 32), who reigned *after* 738 (which fell, as shown above, in the reign of his predecessor, Menahem), Ahaz, who came between Jotham and Hezekiah, cannot have reigned the sixteen years ascribed to him. On the other hand, *2 Kg.* xviii. 13 places Sennacherib's invasion of 701 in Hezekiah's fourteenth year, and therefore his accession in 714. But this, whilst affording more space for the reigns of his immediate predecessors, conflicts with the figures given for those of his successors, for between 714 and 605, the date of the battle of Carchemish in Jehoiakim's fourth year (*Jer.* xlvi. 2), the interval is only 109 years, whereas the sum of the reigns of Hezekiah, Manasseh, Amon, and Josiah amounts to 117 years.

One of the first acts of JEROBOAM on ascending the throne was to increase the defences of his kingdom. Leaving his native Zeredah, he made Shechem, in the pass between Ebal and Gerizim, his capital, and fortified it, though subsequently he appears to have transferred his court to Tirzah[1] (see *1 Kg.* xiv. 17),

[1] Once the seat of a Canaanite kingdom, according to *Josh.* xii. 24. For its magnificence see *Cant.* vi. 4.

which, at a later date, displaced Shechem as the seat of govern ment (*1 Kg.* xv. 33, xvi. 9). To protect the district E. of the Jordan he likewise fortified Penuel, not far from Succoth. If he maintained his friendly relations with Egypt, it may be assumed that he used his influence to the prejudice of his rival Rehoboam and that his machinations had something to do with the invasion of Judah by Shishak (to be mentioned shortly). But in strengthen ing himself against the expected hostility of the Southern King dom, he did not rely upon material resources only. He knew the attraction which the Temple at Jerusalem would have for the religious spirits of the nation; and consequently he proceeded to establish rival seats of worship. The chief of these were Bethel and Dan, at the two extremities of his dominions. Both had been sanctuaries since the time of the Judges; and at Dan Jehovah had previously been worshipped through the medium of an image. In each of these Jeroboam now placed a calf of gold to represent the God of Israel, following the example set by Aaron in the Wilderness. The festival of Ingathering (Taber nacles) observed in Judah on the fifteenth day of the seventh month was in the Northern Kingdom directed to be kept a month later, on the fifteenth of the eighth month (presumably because the harvest was not so early as in S. Palestine). Jeroboam, how ever, did not adopt the practice, which was probably now be ginning to obtain in Judah, of confining the priesthood to members of the tribe of Levi, but, instead, made priests from all the tribes without distinction. Both in this and in the maintenance of a plurality of sanctuaries he was only following precedent. As has been shown in a previous chapter, the prio history negatives the belief that worship had hitherto been re stricted to a single shrine, or priestly duties to a single tribe.[1] And even the adoration of Jehovah under a material emblem though contrary to the second "word" of the Decalogue, and probably to the teaching of Moses, was, as already indicated, no unexampled. The unqualified condemnation, therefore, which in the books of *Kings* is passed on Jeroboam, may perhaps be taken to represent the judgment of a later generation rather than that of contemporary thought generally.

[1] Contrast *2 Ch.* xi. 14–16.

In 1 *Kg.* xiii., indeed, Jeroboam's action is described as receiving immediate censure from a prophet. There it is related that when the king was burning incense on the altar at Bethel, he was confronted by a *man of God* from Judah, who declared that a descendant of David, Josiah by name, should eventually defile the altar by sacrificing upon it the priests of the "high places"; and as a warranty for the truth of his words, announced that the altar before them should be rent and its ashes poured out. His announcement was fulfilled; and the king in attempting to arrest him, found his arm dried up and helpless, and only recovered its use on the intercession of the prophet. The latter, when invited to share the king's hospitality, declined it on the ground that he had been divinely forbidden to eat or drink in the impious land; but after his departure, an old prophet, who resided in Bethel, overtook him, and by professing to have received a divine commission to entertain him, brought him back to eat bread. After the meal, the old prophet foretold his death as a punishment for his disobedience, and he was slain by a lion[1] on his homeward journey. The narrative presents many difficulties. Both the prophets are nameless; the precision with which the name of the king destined to accomplish the prediction respecting the altar at Bethel some 300 years afterwards is given, is hardly to be paralleled; and the mention of the "cities of Samaria" (ver. 32) is an anachronism (see 1 *Kg.* xvi. 24).[2] The fulfilment of the recorded prediction is recounted in 2 *Kg.* xxiii. 15–20 (see p. 376).

Jeroboam's institution of the calf-images is also related (c. xiv. 1–18) to have been denounced by the prophet Ahijah. On the occasion of the sickness of one of Jeroboam's sons, his queen was sent from Tirzah to Shiloh to consult the prophet as to the prospect of his recovery. The queen, taking a present with her,[3] went disguised; but Ahijah, though blind by reason of his age, recognised her; and declared that inasmuch as Jeroboam had provoked Jehovah by making for himself other gods and molten images, his whole family should be exterminated, and that the sick child, who should die as soon as the queen returned to the house, should alone receive burial. There is nothing intrinsically incredible in the incident described; but the narrative as it stands contains a phrase (ver. 9) inapplicable to Jeroboam, and the announcement of exile beyond the Euphrates (ver. 15), at a time when Israel had not yet come in contact with the great trans-Euphratene power Assyria, is anachronistic, whilst in the LXX. the story appears (as has been seen) in different form and connection. The statement that Jeroboam worshipped other gods than Jehovah (ver. 9) is not confirmed by the rest of the history except 2 *Ch.* xi. 15; and it is noteworthy that the name of the son whom he had by the Egyptian princess (according to the LXX.) contains the element AH (Αβία = Abijah).

REHOBOAM, who found his kingdom reduced to a single tribe, seems to have been quite a youth when he came to the throne (one version of the LXX., as already observed, giving his age as sixteen). Like his northern rival, he early devoted much time and attention to the work of defence. The support and protec-

[1] For lions in Palestine see *Jud.* xiv. 5, 1 *Sam.* xvii. 34, 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 20, 1 *Kg.* xx. 36, 2 *Kg.* xvii. 25.

[2] Divine communications through the medium of an angel are a feature of this narrative in common with some of the stories related of Elijah; cf. 1 *Kg.* xiii. 18 with xix. 5, 7, 2 *Kg.* i. 3, 15.

[3] Cf. 1 *Sam.* ix. 7, 2 *Kg.* viii. 8.

tion so recently afforded to Jeroboam by the Egyptian Pharaoh indicated a direction from which serious danger was to be appre hended; and a large number of cities, especially on the S. an S.W. frontiers of his realm, were strongly fortified (*2 Ch.* xi. 5–12) The threatened storm soon broke; and in the fifth year o Rehoboam's reign, Shishak (Sheshonk), with a force (accordin to the high figures of *2 Ch.* xii. 3) of 1,200 chariots and 60,00 horsemen, advanced into Palestine. He fell upon, and harried a number of towns, the names of which are preserved in a inscription on the temple of Amon at Karnak.[1] Among thes were the Philistine city of Gaza, and the Judæan towns Keilah Socho, Ezem (or Azem), Arad, Jehud (in Dan, *Josh.* xix. 45) Aijalon, Beth-horon, Gibeon, and Makkedah; and the invade even penetrated as far as the capital, from which he carried awa a vast quantity of treasure taken both from the Temple and th royal palace (including the golden shields which Solomon ha made for the use of the royal guards, and which Rehoboam ha to replace by others of inferior metal).[2] But besides the citie just named, which were either within, or on the borders o Judæan territory, there are comprised in the list at Karnak number of others which certainly belonged to Israel. Amon these are Rabbith and Hapharaim in Issachar (*Josh.* xix. 19, 20) Taanach in Manasseh (*Jud.* i. 27), Shunem in the plain o Esdraelon, and even Mahanaim E. of the Jordan. The conclu sion to be drawn from the mention of these places is uncertain It may imply that friendly relations no longer existed betwee Jeroboam and the Egyptian king, and that the country of th former no less than Judah was the object of the attack. But may also, though perhaps with less probability, indicate that th Egyptian sovereign claimed possession of (*i.e.* suzerainty ove Israel, and that Jeroboam had purchased his aid against Juda by becoming his vassal.

But whether Jeroboam had been really active in bringing abou

[1] See Sayce, *Egypt of the Hebrews*, p. 107, Driver in *Authority an Archæology*, p. 87.

[2] According to *2 Ch.* xii. 5–8 Shemaiah the prophet declared that Shishak invasion was due to the nation's abandonment of Jehovah, whereupon th king and his people humbled themselves, and the enemy was not suffered destroy them altogether.

ne invasion of Judah by Egypt, or not, it was impossible for the udæan king to refrain from making further efforts to recover his ost provinces from the usurper. The frontier of the two king-oms, which in general lay between Bethel and Jerusalem, at this me ran along the valley of Aijalon and the gorge of Michmash; nd when hostilities were renewed, it was across this border-line iat the fortunes of the war wavered. But of the course of it no ustworthy information is forthcoming beyond the fact that it was rolonged through Rehoboam's lifetime (*1 Kg.* xiv. 30) and con-nued into the reign of his son and grandson. Almost as little known of Rehoboam's internal administration as of the results f his campaigns. Like his father he is said to have had a large arem (comprising eighteen wives and sixty concubines) and to ave been the father of twenty-eight sons and sixty daughters.)uring the first three years of his reign he is described as walking the way of David and Solomon (*2 Ch.* xi. 17). But subse-uently the religious corruption which had marked the closing ears of Solomon's life increased, and some of the worst practices the Canaanites were introduced into the worship of Jehovah *Kg.* xiv. 24). In this respect a mischievous influence seems to ave been exercised by his mother Naamah (an Ammonite rincess), and by his favourite wife Maacah (*2 Ch.* xiii. 2 Iicaiah) the granddaughter of Absalom.[1]

An invasion of Israel by Rehoboam with an army amounting to the ormous figure of 180,000 (LXX. 120,000) men is related to have been ohibited by the prophet Shemaiah in the name of Jehovah: and the force consequence returned home (*1 Kg.* xii. 21–24, *2 Ch.* xi. 1–4). The state-ent is difficult to reconcile with *1 Kg.* xiv. 30.

Rehoboam was succeeded by his son ABIJAH or ABIJAM XX. Αβιού), the son of queen Maacah. He appears to have sembled his father in character and policy, but his reign was o brief for it to leave much mark upon his country's history. ne war with Israel was continued, and according to the ironicler (*2 Ch.* xiii. 19) Abijah captured Bethel and two ighbouring towns, Jeshanah and Ephron.[2] But this success

[1] According to *1 Kg.* xv. 2 Maacah was the *daughter* of Abishalom bsalom); but Absalom had only one daughter, Tamar (*2 Sam.* xiv. 27), d in *2 Ch.* xiii. 2 Maacah (Micaiah) is called the daughter of Uriel.

[2] Identified by many with the *Ophrah* of *Josh.* xviii. 23, *1 Sam.* xiii. 17.

on the part of Judah, from the facts that no record of it i preserved in *Kings*, and that the account of it in *Chronicl* embraces details which do not command confidence, cannot b considered as beyond question; and in any case appears fro subsequent events to have been only temporary.

In *2 Ch.* xiii. Abijah is said to have led an army of 400,000 men again Jeroboam, who met him with 800,000. Before the battle was joined, Abija addressed the Israelite host, and after contrasting the worship of the calv and the maintenance of a non-Levitical priesthood in Israel with the scrup lous observance of the Mosaic law (as described in the Priestly code) whic is supposed to have prevailed in Judah, exhorted the children of Israel n to fight against Jehovah. Jeroboam, however, had placed an ambush b hind the Judæans; so that the latter suddenly found themselves between tw foes. In their dismay, they called upon Jehovah, and the priests who a companied them with the silver trumpets of alarm (*Num.* x. 9) in the hands, sounded with the trumpets; whereupon God smote Israel befo Judah, and there fell of the former 500,000 men, the capture of Bethe Jeshanah, and Ephron following. In the narrative not only are the numbe of the two armies incredibly large, but the representation of the king as faithful servant of Jehovah is opposed to the character given of him *1 Kg.* xv. 3; whilst the assumption that the distinctive ordinances of t Priestly code were at this time in existence is against the bulk of the eviden bearing on the subject (see p. 399). Even the capture of the three tow named does not accord well with the fortification of Ramah (south of Bethe by Baasha shortly afterwards (*1 Kg.* xv. 17).

Abijah was succeeded by ASA, and Jeroboam, who die shortly after Abijah, was succeeded by NADAB. The reig of Nadab was very short and unimportant, the only event r corded of it being a war with the Philistines, whom the fratricid conflicts of the Hebrew peoples had encouraged to renew the hostilities. In the course of this war Nadab besieged Gibbethon on the edge of the plain of Sharon; and there met his death b the hands of a conspirator BAASHA (or BAASA),[2] a man humble rank (*1 Kg.* xvi. 2) belonging to the tribe of Issacha To secure the throne, Baasha murdered all the surviving membe of Jeroboam's house;[3] but in his policy he did not depart fro the principles which Jeroboam observed. He seems to ha been the first to make Tirzah (where Jeroboam had built palace) into the capital of the kingdom. In war he showe himself a capable soldier, and prosecuted with vigour the pr longed struggle with the Southern Kingdom when it broke o afresh.

[1] A town of Dan, according to *Josh.* xix. 44.

[2] So the best Heb. text. [3] Cf. *1 Kg.* xvi. 11, *2 Kg.* x. 11.

In consequence of Baasha's walking in the way of Jeroboam, the prophet Jehu, son of Hanani,[1] is represented (in *1 Kg.* xvi. 1–4) as announcing the extermination of his house in terms similar to those put into the mouth of Ahijah with respect to the family of Jeroboam himself (see *1 Kg.* xiv. 7–11).

The throne of Judah was at this time occupied, as has been said, by Asa. Asa's conceptions of religion were superior to those of his immediate predecessors; and one of his first acts was to check the prevalent corruption of worship. He endeavoured to put an end to the immorality which had been adopted in imitation of Canaanite rites, removed the *Asherim*, and even degraded Maacah, his father's mother,[2] from her position as queen-dowager because she had made an idolatrous emblem. But the worship at the "high places" was not interfered with (*1 Kg.* xv. 14);[3] and even some of the reforms just mentioned do not appear to have been thoroughly executed (see *1 Kg.* xxii. 46).

The religious reformation which Asa instituted was, according to *2 Ch.* xv. 1 foll., promoted by the prophet Azariah the son of Oded; and was extended by the king to some Israelite cities which he is represented as having taken. The removal of the various "abominations" was followed by a festival held at Jerusalem, at which a covenant was made that all should seek Jehovah on pain of death. The spirit of the narrative is that of a much later time; and the assembling of the whole nation for religious worship at Jerusalem is inconsistent with the retention of the "high places" (*1 Kg.* xv. 14).

It is probable that the beginning of Asa's reign was undisturbed, as the Chronicler represents it (*2 Ch.* xiv. 1, 6); and he was thus enabled to devote attention to the internal condition of the kingdom. But his tranquillity was eventually broken by war. If the Chronicler may be trusted, an invader styled "Zerah the Ethiopian," who is identified by some with the Egyptian king Osorkon II., following in the steps of Shishak, made an inroad into Judah. He was met by Asa at Mareshah, in the Shephelah, and defeated; and Asa, following up his victory, smote a number of cities in the neighbourhood of Gerar, and returned home laden with spoil. But this attack from the S.W.

[1] See *2 Ch.* xvi. 7.

[2] Maacah, in *1 Kg.* xv. 10, is described as the mother of Asa, but obviously the princess intended was his grandmother.

[3] The Chronicler states the opposite in *2 Ch.* xiv. 3, 5, contradicting himself in xv. 17.

gave Baasha in the N. an opportunity of which he was not slow to take advantage. He assumed the offensive, and fortified the town of Ramah, south of the pass of Michmash, and only five miles from Jerusalem, as a menace to the enemy's capital. So formidable a foe did he prove to the Southern Kingdom that Asa felt constrained to invoke the aid of the Syrians of Damascus. Damascus, ever since the days of Rezon,[1] had naturally been drawn towards the enemies of Solomon and his dynasty; and at the present time the Syrians were in alliance with Baasha. But Asa, by the sacrifice of considerable treasure, derived in part from what was still left in the Temple, induced Benhadad, the Syrian king, to break his league with Israel and contract one with Judah (*1 Kg.* xv. 19, marg.). The Syrians probably required little inducement, for the exclusive command of the roads leading through Israel to the coast must always have been an object of desire to them. Accordingly they attacked and captured, on the one hand, Ijon and Dan which obstructed their approach to Tyre, and on the other hand, Abel-beth-Maacah (in *2 Ch.* xvi. 4 Abelmaim) and the district around Chinnereth, through which passed the road to the maritime plain and the south. This diversion relieved Judah, and enabled Asa to dismantle Ramah; and with the materials thus obtained he in his turn fortified Geba and Mizpah. But the appeal to Syria did not pass without censure, and according to *2 Ch.* xvi. 7–10 the prophet Hanani rebuked the king for relying upon such foreign aid instead of upon Jehovah.[2] Asa is said to have put his rebuker in prison, and at the same time to have been guilty of some other acts of oppression. His reign was a long one, and before the close of it, he suffered much from disease in his feet.

The account of Zerah's invasion only occurs in *Chronicles* (*2 Ch.* xiv.). Many of the details in it are incredible (for instance, Asa has an army of 580,000, whilst the invaders number no less than 1,000,000, with 300 chariots), but there seems to be nothing inconsistent with historic probability in the fact of an attack from the quarter of Egypt, and Osorkon II., of

[1] The *Hezion*, who in *1 Kg.* xv. 18 is represented as the grandfather of Benhadad, is probably identical with the *Rezon* of xi. 23 (see p. 296). Damascus by this time had probably absorbed many of the Syrian states which had been conquered by David, such as Zobah, Maacah, and Geshur.

[2] Cf. the attitude of Isaiah towards an alliance with Assyria (*Is.* vii.).

the 22nd dynasty is said to have claimed the submission of the peoples of Palestine. But if Zerah is really Osorkon II., the description of him as an Ethiopian (Heb. *a Cushite*) appears to be a mistake.[1] Some, on the strength of the combination of Cushites with Arabians in *2 Ch.* xxi. 16, have supposed that Zerah belonged to an Arabian tribe.

Baasha was succeeded on the throne of Israel by his son ELAH, who seems to have possessed nothing of his father's warlike qualities. Of his reign little is related except the continuation, or perhaps the renewal, of the siege of the Philistine town of Gibbethon. The army before the place was commanded by OMRI; and whilst he was there, the news was brought to him that Elah had been murdered by Zimri, the captain of half his chariot force, in the course of a drunken carousal in his capital Tirzah. Omri was at once made king by the soldiery gathered before Gibbethon; and he thereupon marched to Tirzah, where he besieged Zimri. The latter, who had followed up the assassination of Elah by the destruction of all his kindred, as soon as he saw the city taken by the besiegers, set fire to the palace, whither he had retired, and perished in the flames. Omri, however, did not succeed to the throne without a further struggle, for a large section of the nation supported the claims of TIBNI the son of Ginath (LXX. Gonath). If the chronology given in *1 Kg.* xvi. 15 is to be reconciled with that of ver. 23, the contest between them lasted some four years, and ended with the overthrow of Tibni, with whom his brother Joram (according to the LXX.) likewise perished. Omri, when once in secure possession of the crown, proved an able and successful monarch. Dissatisfied with the position of the capital Tirzah (his own capture of which showed it to be not very defensible), he built on the hill of Shomron, purchased from a certain Shemer, a city which he called by the same name, Shomron or Samaria, and transferred to it the seat of government. The situation was well chosen, for the new capital stood on a height in the midst of a fertile valley (cf. *Is.* xxviii. 1), and the long sieges it sustained witness to its natural strength. Omri next reasserted Israelite authority over the Moabites[2] (who after having been subdued by David, had seemingly attempted to throw off the yoke of his successors); and imposed upon them

[1] See Sayce, *H. C. M.*, p. 363. [2] See the Moabite Stone, App. B.

a heavy tribute, which in the time of his son amounted (if the figures are correct) to 200,000 head of sheep (*2 Kg.* iii. 4). In regard to Syria, he was not so fortunate, as he had to make a surrender of some territory (presumably on the E. of Jordan), and to set apart "streets" or quarters in his new city of Samaria for the use of Syrian traders and settlers (*1 Kg.* xx. 34).[1] He contracted a marriage alliance with the Phœnicians by uniting his son Ahab to the Phœnician princess Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal king of Zidon and Tyre (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 13, 1). Ethbaal, or Ithbaal (Εἰθώβαλος or Ἰθόβαλος), was originally priest of Ashtoreth, who had obtained the throne by murdering the reigning monarch Pheles (Jos. *c. Ap.* i. § 18); and the connection formed by Omri with his house, though it doubtless had political advantages by uniting the two nations for purposes of common defence against Syria or the Assyrians, and by furthering their trading interests, inevitably had a bad effect upon the religion of Israel, by leading to the introduction and encouragement of the worship of the Zidonian Baal. But apart from this, Omri appears to have promoted the prosperity of his country, and of the firm hold which he secured upon his people's respect some slight indication is afforded by the fact that his dynasty was less short-lived than any of those that had preceded it. It was during the reign of Omri that Israel first became familiar to the Assyrians, for in their inscriptions of this age the land of Israel is regularly termed "the land of Omri."[2] This people, after extending their power in the direction of Mesopotamia and Armenia, had, about 1100 B.C., under **Tiglath Pileser I.**, reached N. Phœnicia and the Mediterranean Sea. In the time of David and Solomon (about 1000 B.C.) their power had declined; but it rose again under **Asshur-nasir-pal III.** (884–860), who advanced to Lebanon and threatened Tyre and the other Phœnician cities. It was probably this menacing advance on the part of Assyria that drew Omri and Ethbaal together, and led (as has been related) to the cementing of an alliance by the marriage of Ahab and Jezebel.

Asa of Judah and Omri of Israel died within a year or two

[1] Different trades seem to have had their own "streets"; see *Jer.* xxxvii. 21.

[2] Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, i. 179, 180 (ed. Whitehouse).

of each other, and were succeeded respectively by their sons JEHOSHAPHAT and AHAB. Jehoshaphat, in the internal conduct of his kingdom, continued the early policy of his father. He carried on the religious reforms which the latter had initiated; and put an end to what still remained of the immoral practices that defiled religious worship, though the abolition of the "high places," the chief seats of such practices, was not yet contemplated (1 *Kg.* xxii. 46, 43).[1] By the Chronicler (*2 Ch.* xvii.) he is represented as ensuring security and justice at home, and enforcing respect among the Philistines and Arabians abroad; but though the facts in general may be as stated, the particulars furnished are not such as to command implicit confidence. It is clear, however, that on his southern frontier he tightened his hold upon Edom, which was ruled by a deputy or nominee of the Judæan king: whilst on the north the protracted war with Israel was brought to a close (1 *Kg.* xxii. 44). The conditions upon which peace was made are not known; but the subsequent relations of the two peoples seem to imply some degree of subordination on the part of Judah.[2] The peace was ratified by the marriage of Jehoshaphat's son to the daughter of Ahab (*2 Kg.* viii. 18).

The measures of defence ascribed to Jehoshaphat in *2 Ch.* xvii. include the placing of garrisons not only in the cities of Judah but also in the cities of Israel taken by his father (cf. xv. 8); whilst his army is estimated at the enormous total of 1,160,000, in addition to the garrisons of the fortresses. The fact that in the subsequent history Jehoshaphat uses to the king of Israel language suggestive of vassalage (*1 Kg.* xxii. 4, *2 Kg.* iii. 7, cf. *1 Kg.* xx. 3–4) negatives the belief that he possessed such resources as described. The measures he is said to have adopted for the improvement of his people comprised (1) a mission of princes, Levites, and priests, to teach a knowledge of "the book of the law of Jehovah"; and (2) the establishment of local courts of justice in every city, with a court of appeal at Jerusalem, the latter consisting of Levites, priests, and heads of houses, and sitting in two divisions, under Amariah the chief priest and Zebadiah the ruler of the house of Judah, to hear ecclesiastical and civil causes respectively (*2 Ch.* xvii. 7–9, xix. 4–11). The distinction drawn here between Levites and Priests belongs to a later period than this; and the judicial arrangements seem to reproduce the legislation of *Deut.* xvii. 8–11.

The control which Jehoshaphat secured over Edom (as attested by *1 Kg.* xxii. 47–48) was perhaps the result of some signal disaster sustained by the Edomites, of which a highly-coloured and idealised account is given in *2 Ch.* xx. 1–30. There it is related that a combined force of Moabites,

[1] Contrast *2 Ch.* xvii. 6, which is contradicted in xx. 33.

[2] See further, p. 335.

Ammonites, and Edomites,[1] made a circuit of the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, and following its western marge as far as Engedi, advanced into Judah across the wilderness of Tekoa. Jehoshaphat, in spite of the 1,160,000 men with which he is credited in *2 Ch.* xvii., was so alarmed that he proclaimed a general fast, and offered in the Temple a solemn prayer for protection. Upon this Jahaziel, a Levite, encouraged him to expect the Divine intervention; and the next morning the army advanced towards the enemy, headed by a body of minstrels. As these sang to Jehovah, He caused a quarrel to arise among the confederates, and they destroyed one another, so that when the Judæan army came upon them, they found them all dead. After spending three days in gathering the spoil they assembled to bless Jehovah in the valley of Beracah[2] (whence its name, "blessing"), and then returned with joy to Jerusalem.

Of the reign of AHAB, Omri's son and successor on the throne of Israel, more information has been preserved than is the case with many. It was rendered memorable by two protracted conflicts. The first was the war with Syria, which occupied, with intervals of tranquillity, a large part of it, and was characterised by remarkable fluctuations of fortune. The other was a struggle between the national religion of Jehovah and the religion of the Zidonian Baal introduced by queen Jezebel. Ahab, like Solomon, permitted to his wife the practice of her native worship; and erected in honour of Baal an *Asherah* and a pillar (1 *Kg.* xvi. 32, xxi. 26, *2 Kg.* iii. 2). The importation into Israel of the rites of the deity of a powerful state like Zidon was a much more serious danger to the purity of Jehovah's worship than any that could arise from the imitation of the customs observed by the survivors of the Canaanites within Israel's own borders; and it accordingly provoked more vehement antagonism to the throne from the prophets of Jehovah than had been manifested during the lifetime of any previous king. Among the minor incidents of the reign which may be mentioned here is the fortification of the town of Jericho (which must have been rebuilt as early as David's time, *2 Sam.* x. 5) by a certain Hiel of Bethel, in the loss of whose children during the progress of the work the curse long ago imprecated by Joshua on anyone who should restore it (*Josh.* vi. 26) was thought to have had its fulfilment.

The immediate cause of the Syrian war is unknown; but it may be conjectured that Ahab made an attempt to throw off the

[1] See *2 Ch.* xx. 10.

[2] The *valley of Jehoshaphat* in *Joel* iii. 2, 12 is supposed by some to be an allusion to this.

Syrian yoke which had been imposed upon his father Omri. His early operations must have been unfortunate, for Benhadad II. (called *Hadadezer* in the Assyrian inscriptions), son of the Benhadad who had exchanged the alliance with Baasha for one with Asa (1 *Kg.* xv. 18), invaded the territory of Ahab with a large force, including thirty-two subject kings. Samaria was invested; and the Israelite sovereign was prepared to acquiesce once more in a condition of vassalage (1 *Kg.* xx. 3–4); but the final terms imposed (the surrender of the city to indiscriminate plunder)[1] were too humiliating to be accepted; and with the support of his people, Ahab determined to defy the invader (xx. 6–9). He was further encouraged by a prophet who, in the name of Jehovah, foretold his success. The promised deliverance was brought about by a sally made from the city by a band of 232 youths, attached to the persons of the provincial governors, whose adventurous surprise of Benhadad, when the latter was carousing with his vassals, was followed up by the attack of Ahab and his army (numbering 7,000 men). The Syrian king effected his escape; but a great slaughter was inflicted upon his troops. The war, however, was renewed the next year. An equally large force was collected by the Syrians, in which the thirty-two vassal kings, who were perhaps held responsible for the previous disaster, had to resign their commands to other officers. The preceding defeat having taken place on the high ground upon which Samaria was situated, the Syrians concluded that Jehovah, the God of Israel, was a god of the hills; and they therefore chose, as the scene of the next battle, the more level country near Aphek, a town E. of the Lake of Chinnereth, of which they held possession. After facing each other for seven days, the two armies engaged, the Syrians being again defeated with great slaughter.[2] Many of the survivors took refuge in Aphek, but lost their lives when the walls were breached and the city stormed. Benhadad was now compelled to sue for his life, which Ahab granted, but imposed on him as the price of peace the same terms as those exacted from his own father previously, the Syrians agreeing to restore the cities taken from Omri, and

[1] In 1 *Kg.* xx. 6 for *in thine eyes* the LXX. (xxi. 6) has *in their eyes.*

[2] The number of the slain (100,000 foot) is doubtless much exaggerated.

to allow Israel to enjoy in Damascus similar rights to those which had been conceded to themselves in Samaria. The mercy shown to so dangerous a foe was regarded with disfavour by some in Israel, and a prophet condemned the king's conduct in the name of Jehovah. The prophet is said to have directed a companion to smite and wound him, and on his refusing, declared that for his disobedience a lion should slay him, a prediction which was shortly accomplished. Inducing another to carry out his wishes, he next disguised himself, and in this condition appeared before Ahab. Then professing to have been entrusted in the recent battle with a prisoner whom he was bidden to keep on peril of his life or the payment of a fine, but whom he had suffered to escape, he appealed to the king for redress against the man whom he alleged to have treated him with violence on account of his negligence. The king, however, declared that he was self-condemned; whereupon the prophet, stripping off his disguise, announced to Ahab that the divinely-appointed destruction from which he had preserved Benhadad would in consequence overtake himself (see 1 *Kg.* xx.).

The narrative relating the nameless[1] prophet's denunciation of Ahab's clemency to Benhadad has certain features in common with the story in *1 Kg.* xiii. (see p. 223), *e.g.* the punishment of disobedience through the agency of a lion, and the use of the phrase *said* (*cried*) *by the word of Jehovah* (xx. 35, xiii. 2, 5, 17, 18); and its historical value has, in consequence, been suspected by some scholars.

The real reason for Ahab's forbearance towards Benhadad was doubtless the danger that now began to threaten from the Assyrians. These, under **Shalmaneser II.** (the son and successor of Asshur-nasir-pal III.), who reigned from 860 to 825, again entered upon that advance towards the West which ultimately proved so disastrous to the smaller monarchies of the Palestinian coastland; and Syria and Israel for a time were united in the face of the common foe. The peril that menaced them became acute when Shalmaneser in his westward progress, after receiving the submission of the Hittites of Carchemish, attacked the kingdom of Hamath; and both Ahab and Benhadad (Hadadezer) combined for its defence. A large force, consisting of 10,000

[1] Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 14, 5) identifies the prophet with Micaiah; cf. *1 Kg.* xxii. 8.

Hamathites (with 700 chariots and 700 horsemen), 20,000 Syrians (with 1,200 chariots and 1,210 horsemen), and 10,000 Israelites (with 2,000 chariots), together with contingents from Arvad, Ammon, Musre,[1] and other smaller states, encountered the Assyrians at Karkar, a city lying to the north of Hamath near the Orontes (B.C. 854); and these were defeated with heavy loss (if the Assyrian account may be trusted), 14,000 men being slain. This broke up the confederacy, and Hamath was left to its fate. A further consequence was the crippling of Damascus, which was more exposed to Assyrian vengeance than some of its neighbours; and this in turn affected the relations of Israel and Judah. The latter no longer had an ally to counterbalance the preponderating strength of the Northern Kingdom; and in consequence had to make terms with its adversary, and accept the position (which seems to be indicated in 1 *Kg.* xxii. 4, 2 *Kg.* iii. 7) of a dependent state. As already mentioned, the peace was cemented by the marriage of Jehoshaphat's son Jehoram to Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab.

The union between Ahab and the Zidonian princess Jezebel gave, as has been previously implied, a strong impulse to the cult of the Zidonian Baal. Baal did not, indeed, take the place of Jehovah as the national god, or even attract to himself the entire worship of the court, as appears from (*a*) the names (compounded with JAH or JO) which were borne by some of Ahab's children (Ahaziah, Jehoram, Joash, Athaliah), (*b*) the attendance upon Ahab of Obadiah (who both by his name and by his own confession (2 *Kg.* xviii. 12) was a servant of Jehovah), and (*c*) the assembling in his presence even at the close of his reign, of prophets who professed to speak in Jehovah's name (1 *Kg.* xxii. 12). But the influence of Jezebel not only led to the protection[2] and toleration of Baal worship, but to its active dissemination, and to the persecution of those prophets of Jehovah who opposed her religious zeal. The chief of these was Elijah, a native of Tishbeh in Gilead,[3] a man of passionate temperament and dauntless spirit, who, reared in the freedom

[1] See below, p. 343.

[2] Cf. 1 *Kg.* xviii. 19 (end).

[3] In 1 *Kg.* xvii. 1 for *of the sojourners* (of Gilead) the LXX. has ἐκ Θεσβῶν, Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 13, 2) ἐκ πόλεως Θεσβώνης.

which prevailed in the uncultivated districts E. of the Jordan, and accustomed to a rough garb and hard fare, was equally proof against favour and fear. Many stories in which he is the central figure, testify to the impression he made upon the nation at large, and depict, more or less faithfully, leading incidents in the contest he maintained against an alien religion.

According to the narrative contained in *1 Kg.* xvii.–xix., Elijah predicted, as a penalty for the nation's disloyalty to Jehovah, a three years' drought;[1] and thereupon was directed to hide himself by the brook Cherith E. of Jordan (which was seemingly not yet dried up) where he found water, and was fed for a time by ravens. On the brook becoming dry, he went to the city of Zarephath (lying between Tyre and Zidon) where he was received by a poor widow, whose scanty store of meal and oil he declared should not fail until rain came. During his sojourn with her, the widow's only son died, but was restored to life by the prophet. In the third year, Elijah, whom Ahab had sought for everywhere, suddenly presented himself before the king, and challenged him to summon the prophets of Baal[2] to mount Carmel, and there let a solemn decision be made between their god and Jehovah. Ahab consenting, the prophets assembled and sacrifices were prepared, and in the presence of the people appeal was made to Baal by his votaries and to Jehovah by Elijah to demonstrate their power by consuming the offerings by fire. Elijah's confidence was signally justified; and he thereupon bade the people put the idolatrous prophets to death. The victory thus gained for the national faith was further confirmed by an immediate fall of abundant rain upon the thirsty land. But when Jezebel heard of the slaughter of Baal's prophets, Elijah once more had to flee for his life, and withdrew in dejection to the wilderness of Beersheba (in Judah). Thence he was bidden by an angel to proceed to mount Horeb, where, after wind and earthquake and fire had passed and failed to convey to him a sense of the Divine presence, a sound of gentle stillness[3] revealed Jehovah. By Him he was told that his despair for the cause of Jehovah in Israel was baseless; and was bidden to return and anoint Hazael to be king over Syria, Jehu to be king over Israel, and Elisha of Abel-meholah[4] to succeed himself in his prophetic office. The last-mentioned he found following the plough, and cast his mantle upon him, which Elisha took as a sign to leave his home and become Elijah's minister.

These chapters form part of a series of narratives concerning Elijah, which,

[1] Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 13, 2) quotes Menander as recording the occurrence of a drought in the reign of the Tyrian king Ithobalus (Ethbaal), lasting a year.

[2] The *prophets of the Asherah* named in xviii. 19 are not mentioned subsequently in ver. 22, 25, and 40; and the clause has been suspected to be interpolated.

[3] In c. xix. the passage 9b–11a substantially anticipates 13b–14, and the address of Jehovah to the prophet seems out of place before the theophany described in ver. 11b. Wind, earthquake, and fire are elsewhere often the accompaniments of God's presence (*Ex.* xix. 18, *Ps.* xviii. 8–10, *Ezek.* i. 4, *Job* xxxviii. 1), but here a more refined representation is substituted, though the conception is still physical, not purely ethical (LXX. *φωνὴ αὔρας λεπτῆς*).

[4] In the neighbourhood of Bethshan (*1 Kg.* iv. 12).

s incorporated by the historian of *Kings*, are not quite complete. Thus the eason for the drought is left to be inferred, no account is given of the persecu-ion of Jehovah's prophets by Jezebel (alluded to in xviii. 3), and the execution of he command to anoint Hazael and Jehu is not related (for the anointing of ehu by the direction of *Elisha* in *2 Kg.* ix. is manifestly a different re-resentation).

But Ahab not only tolerated, if he did not favour, the worship f Baal; he became guilty of an act of high-handed tyranny. Desiring to possess a vineyard belonging to a man named Naboth, t, or near, Jezreel (where Ahab had a palace), he endeavoured to btain it by purchase or exchange. The owner, however, refused o part with his patrimony ;[1] and Ahab did not conceal his dis-ppointment. Jezebel, on learning the facts, at once promised to rocure what he wanted; and accordingly wrote to the elders of ezreel, and bade them suborn witnesses who should charge Naboth with blasphemy and treason.[2] On their testimony the nan was put to death, together with his sons, and all his property vas confiscated to the king's use. This judicial murder called orth from Elijah, who met Ahab, attended by his officers Jehu nd Bidkar, on his way to take possession of the estate, a de-unciation of doom against the king, the queen, and the whole oyal house. The words of the prophet were not lost upon Jehu, vho (it may be conjectured) was first prompted to the course he fterwards followed by hearing the prophet's sentence of judg-nent. But as Ahab humbled himself before Jehovah, and xhibited sorrow for his sin, the evil to come (it is related) vas declared to be postponed until the reign of his son.

The account given in *1 Kg.* xxi. of the incident of Naboth's vineyard eparts slightly from that which is implied in the narrative of the sequel *2 Kg.* ix. According to the former Ahab coveted Naboth's *vineyard* Jezreel, where after the owner's execution he was found by Elijah; but ccording to the latter the king desired *the portion of Naboth's field near* zreel, and to it he was going down in his chariot accompanied by Jehu and idkar, when encountered by the prophet: and the two passages relate lijah's sentence of judgment in different terms.

It is now necessary to revert to Israel's foreign relations. Moab, hich had received severe treatment from Omri, renewed hostili-

[1] Cf. *Num.* xxxvi. 7.

[2] The direction that Naboth, on the occasion of the public fast that was oclaimed, should be set on high among the people (*1 Kg.* xxi. 9) was obably intended to disarm suspicion.

ties in the reign of his son, and Mesha the Moabite king captured numerous cities in the territories of Reuben and Gad, amongst them being Medeba, Ataroth, Nebo, Jahaz, and Horonaim.[1] This revolt, according to *2 Kg.* i. 1, did not take place until after the close of Ahab's reign; but the inscription of Mesha implies that it was begun in Ahab's lifetime. In regard to Syria, though the purpose of the alliance between it and Israel was frustrated by the defeat at Karkar,[2] peace between the two countries was maintained for nearly three years. Then Syria's failure to restore Ramoth Gilead, which Israel claimed, and which was probably one of the cities which Benhadad had engaged to surrender after the disaster at Aphek, led to war. The place was valuable from its nearness to the trade route which ran from Damascus to the Red Sea and Arabia; and Ahab called upon Jehoshaphat of Judah, who was presumably bound to supply him with auxiliaries in his wars, to aid him to recover it. Jehoshaphat acceded;[3] and Ahab was encouraged by a number of prophets, who professed to speak in the name of Jehovah, to anticipate success. Only a single prophet was found to predict a disastrous issue to the expedition, Micaiah the son of Imlah; but his presage was fulfilled by the event. Ahab, to avoid the death which Micaiah declared he would meet with, entered the battle in disguise; but though he thus escaped being marked for attack by the Syrians (who mistook Jehoshaphat for the king of Israel, until something in the cry that he uttered corrected their error), he was struck by a chance arrow, which inflicted a mortal wound. He bravely persisted in remaining to the end of the engagement, but expired at the close of the day; and his death was followed by the dispersion of the army. His body was brought to Samaria and buried there.[4]

Ahab was succeeded by his son AHAZIAH, who imitated his father in his unfaithfulness to Jehovah, and, as was natural in a

[1] See the Moabite Stone, Appendix B. [2] See p. 335.

[3] According to *2 Ch.* xix. 1–3 he was rebuked by Jehu, the son of the seer Hanani, for doing so.

[4] There is a discrepancy between *1 Kg.* xxi. 19 and xxii. 38 in regard to the place where the dogs licked up the blood of Ahab. In the former passage Elijah predicts that this will occur in *Jezreel*, the scene of Naboth's murder; but according to the latter, the prediction was fulfilled at *Samaria*. Instead of the statement *the harlots washed themselves* (*there*) the LXX. has καὶ αἱ πόρναι ἐλούσαντο ἐν τῷ αἵματι.

on of Jezebel, countenanced Baal worship (1 *Kg.* xxii. 53). His eign was a very brief one, and marked by no event of importance, ave the continuation of the Moabite war. Israel's connection ith, or rather supremacy over, Judah was still maintained, and was in conjunction with Ahaziah that Jehoshaphat, whose con- ol over Edom was as yet unimpaired, built ships at Ezion-geber, n the Gulf of Akaba, to develop the trade with Ophir.[1] The ips, however, were destroyed by a storm; and the attempt, in pite of the wishes of the Israelite king, was not renewed.[2] haziah left no children, and in consequence one of his brothers ecame heir to the throne.

One of the stories that gathered round the prophet Elijah is connected with haziah. The king having fallen through the lattice of his upper chamber nt to enquire of Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron, whether he would recover om the injury he had received. In consequence of this disloyalty to Jehovah, lijah, meeting with the royal messengers, foretold the king's death. In ger, Ahaziah sent a body of fifty men to seize him in his dwelling (*2 Kg.* i. 9 arg.) on the summit of a hill;[3] but the prophet called down fire from heaven hich destroyed them. A second body of fifty met with the same fate; but e captain of a third troop interceded for his soldiers' lives and his own; and lijah, by the direction of an angel, allowed himself to be taken to the king's esence, and there repeated his prediction, which was duly accomplished *Kg.* c. i.).

This is the last incident related of Elijah's career. For his faithfulness he as not suffered to die like the rest of mankind, but was taken up into heaven a whirlwind. When the time of his departure drew on, he went down om Gilgal, through Bethel, to Jericho and the Jordan, attended by Elisha, io persisted in accompanying him in spite of repeated injunctions to remain hind. When arrived at the Jordan, Elijah divided the river by smiting it th his mantle, and he and Elisha went over on dry ground. The region to hich they came had been the scene of Moses' death. When arrived there ijah bade his minister ask of him a final boon, and Elisha desired that a uble portion of his master's spirit might rest upon him (a double portion of e inheritance being the customary share of the firstborn son).[4] He was d that his petition would be granted only if he stayed till the end. And as ey talked, there appeared horses and chariots of fire,[5] which parted them th asunder; and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven. And Elisha w it, and he cried, "My father, my father, the chariots of Israel and the rsemen thereof."[6] Then taking up the prophet's mantle,[7] he returned to

[1] See p. 300.

[2] *2 Ch.* xx. 35 foll. strangely describes Jehoshaphat as making ships at ion-geber (on *the Red Sea*) to go to Tarshish (in *Spain*), and states that the pwreck was attributed by the prophet Eliezer to the share which the idola- us Ahaziah had in the proposed expedition.

[3] Perhaps Carmel. [4] See p. 156. [5] Cf. *2 Kg.* vi. 17. [6] Cf. *2 Kg.* xiii. 14.

[7] The mantle was the symbol of prophetic authority; see *1 Kg.* xix. 19, *Ch.* xiii. 4–5.

Jordan, and smote the waters with it, invoking the God of Elijah, and the again divided and he went over. At Jericho he was met by a body of th sons of the prophets, who acknowledged him to be his master's successo These men sent to search for Elijah, in spite of the protest of Elisha, but di not find him. Elisha whilst tarrying at Jericho, healed an unwholesom spring by casting salt into it, and cured the soil about it of barrenness. O proceeding thence to Bethel he was mocked by some youths, whom he curse and in consequence a number of them were torn by two she-bears. Thenc he went to mount Carmel, and from thence to Samaria (*2 Kg.* c. ii.).

JEHORAM, the brother and successor of Ahaziah on th throne of Israel, appears not to have been a personal worshippe of Baal (*2 Kg.* iii. 2–3, but contrast x. 26), though Baal worshi was still prevalent in the land, and perhaps tolerated by the kin (*2 Kg.* iii. 13). His first undertaking was an attempt to regai the mastery over Moab, which (as has been related) had rebelle against Ahab, and had annexed several Israelite cities on th E. of Jordan. The fortification of these rendered difficult a advance into Moab from the N.W. by way of the Jordan, an accordingly the route decided upon was around the souther extremity of the Dead Sea. This was made feasible by th supremacy which Israel still exercised over Judah; and Jehosha phat the Judæan king, with his vassal the king of Edom,[1] furnishe as usual, a body of auxiliaries. But in the desert region whic the united forces had to traverse, they had a narrow escape perishing by thirst. They were saved from disaster by heav rains in the country of Edom behind them, which brought dow water sufficient to fill a number of trenches which the proph Elisha, who was with the host, and had foretold the event, ha directed to be prepared. Meantime the Moabites had gathere in force to oppose the invasion. Unaware of the rainfall whic had so providentially brought relief to the Israelites and the allies, they mistook the pools of water (coloured perhaps by th red soil of Edom, or glinting in the morning sun) for blood, an concluded that the invaders had quarrelled and destroyed eac other by mutual slaughter. They consequently rushed upon th camp, expecting an easy prey; but were met by a determine attack, which in their confusion they were unable to withstan They were defeated and pursued; and the Israelites, advancin

[1] Edom had only recently obtained a king of its own; cf. *2 Kg.* iii. 9 wi *1 Kg.* xxii. 47.

ıto the heart of the country, ravaged it in all directions. The ɔrings were stopped up, the fruit trees felled, and the cities dis-ıantled, Kir-hareseth alone being excepted. To this the king of Ioab had probably withdrawn, and was shut up there. He made n effort to break out, counting upon the connivance of the king f Edom, whose presence with the army of Jehoshaphat was oubtless due to compulsion; but the attempt failed, and in his istress, he sacrificed his eldest son to propitiate Chemosh the Ioabite deity. The further course of the war is not recorded; ut from the enigmatic language of the historian (*2 Kg.* iii. 27, ıd), it would appear that the invading army met with some erious reverse, which caused it to evacuate the country.

The tenor of events next succeeding is very difficult to trace. 'he historian's narrative has the prophet Elisha as its principal gure; and many of the incidents recorded of him touch the olitical movements of the time only remotely, whilst the few eferences to them which actually occur are far from helpful. It ɔpears, however, that the war was renewed with Syria, which, for while, was of a desultory nature, and conducted chiefly by means f raids; though eventually it assumed a more regular character, ıd resulted in Syrian successes.

The stories related of Elisha resemble some of those already narrated of lijah. Thus he is said to have multiplied the oil of a poor woman, widow one of the sons of the prophets,[1] in order that she might therewith pay her editor, who was on the point of seizing and selling her children for bond-en (*2 Kg.* iv. 1–7, cf. *1 Kg.* xvii. 8–16). Next, receiving hospitality from Shunammite lady, who was childless, and whose husband was old, he fore-ld that she should have a son. The son that she bore in accordance with s prediction subsequently died whilst yet a child; but was restored to life the prophet (*2 Kg.* iv. 8–27, cf. *1 Kg.* xvii. 17–24). Elisha is then corded to have rendered harmless a mess of poisonous pottage, and to ve fed to the full a hundred men with a small supply of bread (*2 Kg.* 38–44). His fame having penetrated to Syria through the agency of captive Israelite maid, the king of Syria sent Naaman the captain of his st, who was a leper, to be healed by him. Bidden by Elisha to wash ven times in Jordan, he at first out of pride refused; but eventually yielding the remonstrances of his servants, he did so, and the leprosy departed ɔm him. On leaving for his own country he begged for two mules' burden earth taken from the soil of Israel (as being Jehovah's ground) that he ght build an altar to the God who had restored him to health. Elisha ving refused to receive any present from the grateful Syrian, Gehazi, his

[1] Identified by Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 4, 2) with the widow of Obadiah, though ere is nothing in *1 Kg.* xviii. 4 to show that Obadiah was one of the sons of e prophets.

servant, determined to enrich himself, and running after Naaman when th
latter was on his homeward journey, obtained a gift under cover of a lie
but on returning to his master's presence, was taxed with his deceit, an
in retribution was smitten with the disease from which Naaman had ju
been cured (*2 Kg.* c. v.). On another occasion Elisha was with the sons
the prophets as they were building a new dwelling-place, when it chance
that a borrowed axe-head fell into the water. In answer to an appeal fro
the man who lost it, the prophet made the iron to swim, and so enable
it to be recovered. Again, in the course of the war with Syria, he informe
the king of Israel from time to time of the enemy's plans and movement
In consequence, the king of Syria sent horses and chariots to take him i
the city (Dothan) where he dwelt; so that when Elisha's servant rose in th
morning, he found the city compassed with an army. In answer to h
alarmed cry, his master bade him have no fear; and at Elisha's praye
the young man's eyes were opened and he saw horses and chariots of fi
gathered on the neighbouring mountain to defend the prophet. Then Elish
prayed that the Syrians might be smitten with blindness; and in that cond
tion he led them to Samaria, and so placed them in the power of the
enemies. He would not, however, allow the king of Israel to destroy then
but bade him treat them kindly, and then sent them away to their ow
land; so that the bands of Syria came no more into the land of Israe
After this, Benhadad, the king of Syria, besieged Samaria, and so closel
was the city invested that it became a prey to famine, and the inhabitan
were reduced to the most terrible extremities. The king in his despair soug
to wreak vengeance upon Elisha, but the messenger despatched to slay hi
was detained until (apparently) the order was countermanded by the kin
who followed behind,[1] and the prophet foretold that relief was close at han
His words were received with incredulity by one of the king's captains
who was thereupon told that he should see it, but not share it. Elisha
prediction was fulfilled by the Syrians suddenly raising the siege, in co
sequence of an alarm that the Hittites and the Egyptians had been hire
to attack them. In their panic they abandoned their camp, which wa
discovered to be deserted by four leprous wretches who found their way in
it; and its supplies became the spoil of the beleaguered citizens. Th
incredulous officer was appointed by the king to have charge of the ci
gate, and so great was the throng of people who poured through it that h
was crushed to death, thus verifying the word of Elisha (*2 Kg.* c. vi., vii.
Next, Elisha gave warning to the woman, whose son he had raised to lif
of the approach of a seven years' famine; whereupon she retired to th
land of the Philistines. At the end of the period she returned, but fou
her property appropriated by others. The king of Israel was being told
Gehazi of Elisha's great deeds when the woman made her appeal for th
restoration of her possessions; and when Gehazi informed him of wh
Elisha had done for her, the king commanded that all she had lost shou
be made good. After this Elisha went to Damascus, where Benhadad th
king of Syria was sick; and the latter sent his servant Hazael to him
enquire whether he would be restored to health. In answer, Elisha declar
that he would recover of his disease,[2] but would nevertheless surely di
and then, weeping, explained to Hazael, who asked why he wept, that

[1] In *2 Kg.* vi. 33 it has been proposed to read *the king* for *the messeng*
(the difference in the original being slight); cf. Jos. *Ant.* ix. 4, 4.

[2] So one reading in *2 Kg.* viii. 10 (followed by Jos. *Ant.* ix. 4, 6); b
another reading gives *Say, Thou shalt not recover.*

was destined to do much evil to Israel, and would become king over Syria. Hazael reported to Benhadad the first part of the prophet's prediction, and next proceeded to bring about the second part by smothering the sick man with the coverlet of his bed; and then became king in his room (*2 Kg.* viii. 1–15).

These stories are somewhat disconnected, and in places inconsistent. For instance the alleged cessation of the Syrian invasions (vi. 23) is contradicted by the siege of Samaria (ver. 24), whilst of the life-long leprosy of Gehazi affirmed in v. 27, no consciousness is shown in the later narrative viii. 1–6. The king of Israel is nowhere named; but presumably Jehoram is meant.

The war with Syria that has been alluded to seems to have borne a general resemblance to the earlier conflict which took place in the reign of Ahab. Samaria, for the second time, sustained a siege, and for the second time the besieging forces failed to reduce it. On the last occasion, if one of the stories just related is to be accepted in its main details, the withdrawal of the Syrians is represented as due to the fear of a relieving force of Hittite and Egyptian mercenaries. The combination, however, is rather a strange one; and it has been conjectured that *Egypt* (*Mizraim*) is a mistake for *Musre*, a country near mount Amanus, and adjoining the land of the Hittites, which is mentioned in the Assyrian account of the battle of Karkar (p. 335). The raising of the siege of Samaria, however brought about, must have been followed by the almost complete evacuation by Syria of the Israelite territory, for the scene of the next incident in the war was the remote eastern frontier.

Meanwhile Jehoshaphat, the king of Judah, had been succeeded by his son JEHORAM. As has been already stated, he had married Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab; and her evil influence quickly showed itself in the deterioration of the national religion. His reign was marked by two disasters. An outbreak of hostilities on the part of the Philistines resulted in the loss of Libnah; whilst Edom, which had doubtless been long disaffected, revolted, and in spite of a defeat inflicted upon it by Jehoram at a place called Zair,[1] where he was surrounded by the enemy, succeeded in gaining its independence. These public calamities were accompanied by personal bereavements, all his sons, with the exception of the youngest, being cut off by a raid made by some Arabian marauders (*2 Ch.* xxi. 16–17).

[1] Identified by some with a wâdy on the S.W. shore of the Dead Sea; the name is omitted in *Chronicles* (*2 Ch.* xxi.).

Broken by misfortunes and disease (*2 Ch.* xxi. 18–19), he seems to have occupied the throne only a few years.

According to *2 Ch.* xxi. 2–4 Jehoram had six brethren, who are said to have received from their father Jehoshaphat gifts of money and fenced cities; but Jehoram, as soon as he came to the throne, put them all to death. The calamities which befell him subsequently are further related to have been announced in a writing which came to him from the prophet Elijah, in which they were described as a punishment both for his fratricides and his idolatry. The fact that *Elisha* figures in the history of Jehoshaphat, Jehoram's father, makes it very improbable that Elijah was at this time alive. The statement (*2 Ch.* xxi. 20) that Jehoram was not buried in the sepulchres of the kings is opposed to the natural sense of *2 Kg.* viii. 24; and is open to suspicion (cf. the similar discrepancies between *2 Ch.* xxiv. 25 and *2 Kg.* xii. 21, and between *2 Ch.* xxviii. 27 and *2 Kg.* xvi. 20).

Jehoram's successor was his only surviving son AHAZIAH (or JEHOAHAZ[1]), who became king at the age of twenty-two. His mother was Athaliah the daughter of Ahab, and to the religious practices which she had introduced into the nation the new king adhered. But his reign was too short to be eventful, and the only incidents in it which claim attention are those connected with his death.

It has already been related how Benhadad the king of Syria was murdered by his servant Hazael, who thereupon raised himself to the throne. His accession made no change in the hostile relations which had so long prevailed between the Syrians and Israel; and the possession of Ramoth Gilead was once more disputed between the two nations. The city at this time appears to have been in the hands of Israel; but it was attacked by Hazael, and in the war that ensued Jehoram, like his predecessors, called upon the king of Judah to furnish him with help. In the course of the campaign Jehoram received wounds which necessitated his return to his palace at Jezreel,[2] the defence of Ramoth Gilead being entrusted to his officers. In the king's enforced retirement from the army the resentment provoked amongst the followers of Jehovah by Jezebel's persecution of the prophets and her murder of Naboth at length found its opportunity. Amongst those present with the army at Ramoth was

[1] See *2 Ch.* xxi. 17. In *2 Ch.* xxii. 6 he is called (probably by a textual error) *Azariah*. His age at his accession is stated as forty-two, though his father was only forty when he died.

[2] The *Ramah* of *2 Kg.* viii. 29 must be the same as Ramoth Gilead.

Jehu,[1] who had been one of the body-guard of Ahab, and who had heard Elijah's denunciation of the execution of Naboth (p. 337); and to him Elisha sent a messenger declaring him divinely commissioned to destroy the house of Ahab, and to avenge the murdered prophets. The envoy privately anointed him king; and when Jehu related to his fellow-officers what had happened, he was by them at once acknowledged as sovereign. Thereupon preventing any from leaving the city to carry tidings of the revolution, he proceeded with all haste to Jezreel, where Jehoram lay. Ahaziah of Judah had come down to visit his relation and ally; and when the messengers, despatched to enquire the import of Jehu's hasty approach, were detained by the usurper, the two kings went forth to meet him. Jehu soon revealed the purpose of his arrival; and as Jehoram turned to flee, he slew him with an arrow, directing his body to be cast on to the land so wrongfully appropriated by his father Ahab, to become, like Naboth's, the prey of dogs. Ahaziah, as he endeavoured to escape, was pursued by Jehu and by his orders smitten in his chariot. He fell mortally wounded, and died at Megiddo, whence his corpse was afterwards taken by his servants to Jerusalem and buried there. Jehu then returned to Jezreel, and as he entered the city he was observed by Jezebel from a window, who tauntingly saluted him as a second Zimri. Jehu thereupon ordered some eunuchs, who appeared in answer to his call, to throw her down; and this being done, he drove his horses over her body, which, like the king's, was devoured by the dogs.[2]

In regard to the death of Ahaziah the Chronicler differs from the writer of *Kings*, and states that he had concealed himself at Samaria, and being captured there, was brought to Jehu, who ordered him to be executed (*2 Ch.* xxii. 9). His death is represented as a judgment for allying himself with Joram.

With the double purpose of completing the vengeance due for the murder of Jehovah's prophets and of securing his newly-won

[1] Jehu, though often styled the son of Nimshi (*1 Kg.* xix. 16 etc.), was really son of Jehoshaphat and grandson of Nimshi (*2 Kg.* ix. 14).

[2] In *2 Kg.* ix. 36 Elijah is represented as stating that the dogs should devour Jezebel *in the portion of Jezreel* (LXX. ἐν τῇ μερίδι Ισραήλ), but in *1 Kg.* xxi. 23 the scene of her doom is by the *rampart* of Jezreel (LXX. [xx. 23] ἐν τῷ προτειχίσματι τοῦ Ἰσραήλ).

throne from possible rivals, Jehu next proceeded to destroy all the remaining descendants of Ahab. These, numbering seventy per sons (many of them, no doubt, sons of Jehoram), were at Samaria under the care of guardians; and by them were all executed under Jehu's orders, who thus made some of the leading citizens of the capital[1] accomplices in his overthrow of the royal house. He then put to death all the friends and adherents of the dead king whom he found at Jezreel. Jehu's bloodthirstiness did not stop here. Going in person from Jezreel to Samaria, he encountered certain relatives of Ahaziah, king of Judah, forty-two in number,[2] who, unaware of what had happened, were on their way to pay a visit to the court at Jezreel, and directing them to be seized, had them slaughtered, and their bodies thrust into a well. He next took measures to carry out the religious reformation which the dynastic revolution was intended to promote; and in this work he joined to himself a certain Jehonadab, son of Rechab, belonging to a Kenite family, which had not only remained faithful to Jehovah during the recent apostasy, but even dissociated itself altogether from the vintage festivals which were a special feature of Baal worship (*Jer.* xxxv.). To accomplish his purpose he stooped to craft. Professing to be, like his predecessor on the throne, a votary of Baal, he summoned all the prophets, priests, and devotees of the deity[3] to a festival in a large temple, of which he secured the doors; and then sent in a body of his guards with orders to massacre them. The symbols and shrines connected with Baal worship were afterwards destroyed, and the site of them desecrated.

The religion of the Phœnician Baal, together with the dynasty that introduced it, was thus extirpated by bloodshed; and the approval which the violence attending its suppression received from the prophets shows what fierceness still entered into the religion of Jehovah. Another generation had to pass before

[1] In *2 Kg.* x. 1 *the rulers of Jezreel* must be an error for *the rulers of Samaria* (see ver. 6) as read by the LXX. The Vulgate has *optimates civitati*.

[2] Described in *2 Ch.* xxii. 8 as sons of the brethren of Ahaziah, *i.e.* sons of the eldest sons of Jehoram who had been slain by Arabian marauders (*2 Ch.* xxii. 1).

[3] In spite of the statement respecting Jehoram in *2 Kg.* iii. 2, the influence of Jezebel still maintained in the land the cult of the Zidonian Baal, and it was this that Jehu proceeded to extinguish.

a higher conception of God began to prevail in Israel, or Jehu's mercilessness met with a fitting condemnation from His ministers (see *Hos.* i. 4). At the same time it must be recognised that the religion of Baal, under the influence of the foreign princess Jezebel, had become highly aggressive; and that in the contest which the prophets of Jehovah waged against it, the severe measures they employed are, even if judged by a higher standard than theirs, not without excuse.

JEHU, when securely seated on the throne, restored the worship of Jehovah to its former supremacy. But it retained the sensuous form under which it was practised in the time of Jeroboam, the golden calves set up by that king being still the objects of popular veneration. The continued association of Jehovah's service with such coarse emblems must have materialised, if not brutalised, the religion of the nation, and proved a serious obstacle to ethical and spiritual progress. And if Jehu's usurpation thus failed to accomplish a complete religious reformation, it had, from a political point of view, wrought positive mischief. The overthrow of Ahab's house was not effected without the destruction of many of its adherents; and the loss of strength which this entailed on the nation weakened it for the conflicts with foreign powers which were in store for it. As has been already stated, Assyria had become active in the reign of Jehoram, though it was not Israel but Syria which first became embroiled with it. In 842 Shalmaneser II. inflicted a severe defeat upon Hazael, the Syrian king, in the neighbourhood of mount Senir (Hermon), and besieged Damascus. He then advanced to the coast and received tribute from several Phœnician cities, Tyre, Zidon, and Byblus. The relations which had existed between Ahab and Zidon would prevent Jehu from uniting with the latter in defence of Phœnicia; and the hostility of Shalmaneser towards Syria, which had so long been Israel's most formidable enemy, would dispose the Israelite king to make friends, if possible, of the invader. Accordingly Jehu also gave tribute to the Assyrian king; and on one of the cuneiform inscriptions of Shalmaneser[1] there appears a list of the gifts he sent—bars of silver and gold, a golden bowl, golden goblets,

[1] On the Black Obelisk found at Nimroud, and now in the British Museum.

golden pitchers, and other articles. The enumeration suggests that the "tribute" (as the inscription terms it) was rather of the nature of a present, made with a view to secure the favour of Assyria. Any hope, however, which Jehu cherished of obtaining Assyrian protection against Syria proved illusory. Hazael, when he recovered from the defeat alluded to above, attacked Israel, and overran the whole of Gilead and Bashan (*2 Kg.* x. 32–33), committing great barbarities (*Am.* i. 3, cf. *2 Kg.* viii. 12). Details of the war, however, are lacking,[1] and the rest of Jehu's reign is passed over by the historian in silence. He was succeeded by his son JEHOAHAZ, who, in the conduct of religion, followed in his father's footsteps. Under him the political fortunes of Israel sank to a very low ebb. The Syrian war was continued by Hazael and his son Benhadad III.; and eventually Jehoahaz was reduced to a condition of subserviency, being only allowed to maintain an army of a certain strength (10,000 infantry, 50 horsemen, and 10 chariots). It is possible that to this reign also belongs the barbarous raid of the Ammonites referred to in *Am.* i. 13; but no particulars of the disasters sustained have been preserved.

Meanwhile, the family of Ahab, after losing the throne of Israel, continued to enjoy, on the death of Ahaziah, a short period of power in Judah, and sheltered there the Baal worship which for a time had been extinguished in the Northern Kingdom. ATHALIAH, the daughter of Ahab, had, as the queen-mother of Ahaziah, already occupied a position of influence and dignity; but on the death of her son, her ambition led her to seize the crown. She secured her possession of it by putting to death all her surviving grandchildren with the exception of the youngest, Joash, who was saved by Jehosheba, half-sister[2] of the dead king and wife of Jehoiada the chief priest (*2 Ch.* xxii. 11), and was concealed by her in the Temple. Of Athaliah's tenure of power nothing is recorded save her protection of Baal worship, by the side of which, nevertheless, the religion of

[1] The loss of the cities of Jair, mentioned in *1 Ch.* ii. 23, probably took place at this time.

[2] This is implied by Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 7. 1) who styles her Ὀχοζίᾳ (Ahaziah) ὁμοπάτριος ἀδελφή. The Chronicler gives her name as *Jehoshabeath* (*2 Ch.* xxii. 11).

Jehovah maintained its existence. Her usurpation was brought to an end by a revolution organised by the priest Jehoiada. He formed a plot with the captains of the Carian guards and other officers who were on duty at the Temple, and appealed to their instincts of loyalty by showing them the youthful heir to the throne. After having concentrated at the Temple a larger number of their troops than usual by arranging that those whose turn it was to be relieved should not withdraw, and placing some of them to watch the communications with the Palace and the other entrances of the Temple, whilst disposing the rest around the person of the young prince, he proceeded to crown the latter[1] and to display him to the people who thronged the Temple courts. Athaliah, hearing the shouts with which the king was saluted, hastened to the scene, crying "Treason!"; but by the direction of Jehoiada, she was at once seized and hurried forth from the sacred precincts, and then put to death.

The arrangements made by Jehoiada in connection with the coronation of Joash and the death of Athaliah, as described in *2 Kg.* xi. 4–16, are obscure. In ver. 5, 6, the "three parts" of the guards are probably subdivisions of the one company which, in ordinary course, was to relieve the other two which kept watch at the Temple on the Sabbath. Some think that this company was posted at the Palace, to confine Athaliah there, whilst the two, which would otherwise have been relieved, were alone kept at the Temple. But ver. 9 suggests that all the guards were collected at the Temple, and ver. 13 shows that Athaliah was free to leave the Palace. The presence, in the Temple and by the altar, of soldiers and even foreign mercenaries is altogether inconsistent with the regulations of the Priestly code of the Pentateuch; and the Chronicler, in consequence, whilst naming the "captains of hundreds" represents them as collecting from all Judah a body of *Levites*, who, with the priests, were alone to enter the Temple to protect the king (*2 Ch.* xxiii. 1–15).

The accession of JEHOASH or JOASH was followed by a religious reformation. During the king's minority (he was only seven when he came to the throne) the chief power was in the hands of the priest Jehoiada, who acted as his guardian; and the first care of the latter was to put an end to the false worship which had gained an entrance into the land during the previous three reigns. He then brought about a renewal of

[1] In *2 Kg.* xi. 12 for *put upon him the crown and* (*gave him*) *the testimony* should probably be substituted, by a slight alteration in the Heb., *put upon him the crown and the bracelets* (for the combination of *crown and bracelets* as the insignia of royalty cf. *2 Sam.* i. 10); see Wellhausen, *Proleg.* p. 393 note.

the solemn covenant whereby the king and the people bound themselves to serve Jehovah; made a compact between the sovereign and his subjects; and effected a restoration of the Temple, which had fallen into disrepair, and even (according to *2 Ch.* xxiv. 7) been wantonly injured. Of the external history of the country during this reign little is recounted in detail. But before the close of it the inroads of the Syrians into the territory of Israel (previously related) began to threaten Judah. Hazael, advancing along the maritime plain, penetrated southwards as far as the Philistine city of Gath, whence he contemplated an attack upon Jerusalem. He only relinquished it on receiving from Joash a quantity of treasure, to provide which both the Temple and the royal palace had to be despoiled. Joash subsequently fell a victim to assassination. Two of his servants, named Jozacar and Jehozabad, conspired against him and slew him; but as he was succeeded in the normal way by his son, the murder was probably due to private malice and not public discontent.

In regard to the repair of the Temple undertaken in this reign, it is represented in *2 Kg.* xii. 4 foll. that the priests were expected to apply to the purpose the money which they ordinarily received for (1) the provision of articles dedicated to the Temple service, (2) the redemption of vows (cf. *Lev.* xxvii. 2 foll.), (3) free-will offerings. They failed, however, to devote the money to this object, and the duty of restoration was accordingly taken out of their hands, whilst they were forbidden to receive from the people anything except what was paid for guilt- and sin-offerings. Then the expense of the repairs, instead of being met as originally intended, was defrayed by offerings contributed by the people for this special end, and put into a chest placed near the altar. According to *2 Ch.* xxiv. 4 foll., the king at the outset sent the priests and Levites throughout the country to collect the money; but they were so dilatory that the king made arrangements for the people's contributions to be received at the Temple gate. In their contributions (according to the same authority) the half-shekel paid by every Israelite (see *Ex.* xxx. 13) was also included.

Of the latter part of the reign of Joash a much more extensive account is furnished by *Chronicles* (*2 Ch.* xxiv. 17 foll.) than is contained in *Kings*. After the death of Jehoiada, the princes gained the king's ear, and idolatry began to prevail again; and when Zechariah the son of Jehoiada raised his voice against it, he was stoned in the Temple court by the command of the king. The Syrian invasion mentioned above (which is described as consisting of a small company, into whose hands Jehovah delivered a very great host of Judæans) is regarded as a judgment upon Joash; and his death by his two servants (here called Zabad and Jehozabad) is ascribed to revenge for the son of Jehoiada. The historian of *Kings* not only does not relate, but could not have known what is here stated, which else must have prevented him from applying to Joash even the qualified praise implied in xiv. 3.

In Israel Jehoahaz[1] was succeeded by JEHOASH, under whom the degradation which the Northern Kingdom had suffered at the hands of Syria began to be removed. This was largely due to the renewal of activity on the part of Assyria. The successors of Shalmaneser II. were **Samsi-ramman IV.** (823–811) and **Ramman-nirari III.** (810–782), and in 803 the last-named besieged Damascus; and the pressure of this war made Syria less able to retain its hold upon the territory of Israel. Jehoash, though, like his predecessors, he maintained the calf-worship, had friendly relations with the prophet Elisha, who was now a man of advanced age; and to the king Elisha announced that he would obtain a series of victories over the oppressors of his country. As he lay on his death-bed, he sent for Jehoash, and directing him to take bow and arrows, he bade him shoot through the window eastward; and as he shot, the prophet predicted Israel's coming success over the eastern power. Then he commanded the king to smite with the arrows upon the ground, and Jehoash smote thrice and stayed; whereupon Elisha, angry at his desisting, declared that the king's victories should be limited to three. The result of these triumphs was the recovery from the Syrians of those Israelite cities on the E. of the Jordan[2] which they had captured from Jehoahaz. It is probable that Jehoash, in the course of this contest with Syria, found it expedient to tender his submission to the Assyrians; and Ramman-nirari, in his inscriptions, represents Israel, together with Tyre, Zidon, Edom, and Philistia as paying tribute to him, though the tribute may well have been merely nominal.

The Syrian war carried on during this reign gave the Moabites an opportunity for inflicting injury upon their Israelite neighbours, of which they were not slow to take advantage; and it seems probable that their raiding expeditions extended even to the district west of Jordan.

[1] See p. 348.

[2] The *Aphek* named as the scene of Joash's victory in *2 Kg.* xiii. 17 is probably identical with the Aphek of *1 Kg.* xx. 26, which was on the E. of Jordan.

It is related that during one of the Moabite raids, alluded to above, a party of men who were carrying a corpse to burial, on perceiving the approach of a plundering band, hurriedly cast the body into the grave of Elisha (now dead), and that on touching the bones of Elisha, the dead man revived. The site of Elisha's sepulchre is not stated, but if he was buried at his native place Abel-meholah, which was situated near Bethshan, the presence of Moabites in its neighbourhood indicates that the invaders had crossed the Jordan.

The contemporary of Jehoash on the throne of Judah was AMAZIAH, who succeeded to the crown on the death of his father. The murderers of the latter he at once executed; but the higher ethical standard of this age, as compared with earlier times, is shown by the fact that the punishment which was inflicted upon the guilty conspirators was not extended to their children. The first military venture of the new king had as its object the re-conquest of Edom. This country, as mentioned above, seems to have felt the power of Assyria; and Amaziah, in consequence, may have found his task of subjugating it lightened. He defeated the Edomites with great loss, and captured the city of Sela (Petra),[1] which he re-named Joktheel. This success, coupled with the calamities sustained by Israel in the reign of Jehoahaz, encouraged Amaziah to renounce the subservient position which Judah had so long occupied towards the Northern Kingdom; and he proposed to Jehoash a deliberate trial of strength with a view to settling their political relations. In spite of the candid advice which Jehoash gave him in the form of an apologue (*2 Kg.* xiv. 9), he persisted in his purpose; and the forces of the two nations met at Bethshemesh. In the battle which ensued, Amaziah was not only defeated but captured. The victorious enemy proceeded with him to Jerusalem, where part of the wall facing the north was dismantled,[2] so that the Judæan capital might be undefended on that side; and Jehoash only returned home when he had received a heavy indemnity, as well as hostages as security against further provocation. Amaziah himself, when the conditions of peace were fulfilled, was restored to the throne, and if the synchronism of *Kings* is even approximately correct, outlived his conqueror by several years. Eventu-

[1] The loss sustained by the Edomites is placed at 10,000, and the same number are said (*2 Ch.* xxv. 12) to have been killed in cold blood.

[2] *2 Kg.* xiv. 13 *from the gate of Ephraim unto the corner gate, four hundred cubits.*

ally a conspiracy was formed against him at Jerusalem, to escape which he fled to Lachish. He was pursued thither and slain, but his body was brought back to the capital and buried in the sepulchre of his fathers (*2 Kg.* xiv. 1–22, *2 Ch.* xxv).

In *2 Ch.* xxv. 6 foll. it is related that Amaziah, when making preparations for the invasion of Edom, hired for 100 talents of silver a body of 100,000 Israelites to reinforce his own army of 300,000 men; but on the remonstrance of a prophet, who urged that Jehovah was not with Israel, discharged the troops he had engaged. The abrupt dismissal enraged the Israelite soldiers, and they took their revenge by attacking and despoiling several Judæan cities (strangely described as lying between Samaria and Beth-horon, but see xv. 8) on their homeward march. The numbers given above are obviously out of all reason; but it is conceivable that the account is a distorted version of the fact that the Israelite king, as suzerain of Judah, sent troops to take part in the conquest of Edom, and that the dismissal of them by Amaziah was preliminary to a formal renunciation of Israelite paramountcy. The disaster which attended Amaziah in the subsequent war is attributed to his having brought home the gods of Edom, and offered worship to them.

Jehoash of Israel was succeeded on the throne by JEROBOAM II., under whom the progress in material strength which the nation had made during the reign of his father was more than maintained. Unfortunately it is impossible to follow in detail the course of events by which this king won back for his people the possessions of which they had been despoiled. Taking advantage of the weakness of Syria, he not only secured the trans-Jordanic province of Gilead (which in *Hosea* vi. 8, xii. 11 is regarded as being as much a portion of the kingdom as any other district) but extended his rule southward to the "brook of the Arabah" (*Am.* vi. 14) (generally identified with the *Wâdy el Ahsa*, flowing into the lower end of the Dead Sea). This implies the subjugation of the Moabites, whose raids (as has been related) harassed Israel in the time of his father, and who (if *Is.* xv., xvi. 1–12 has in view this time) now made an appeal for protection to Judah, which seemingly was unsuccessful. Northward his territory reached to "the entering in of Hamath" (the gorge between the Lebanons). In *2 Kg.* xiv. 28 his conquests are even represented as including Damascus and Hamath itself, but this is probably unhistorical. Damascus is spoken of by *Amos* (i. 3–5) as an independent state; and the acquisition of the more remote Hamath is inherently unlikely. This enlargement of Israel's dominions to their former limits was, no doubt, largely due to

the ability of the Israelite sovereign; but it was facilitated by the ill-fortune or incapacity of the three contemporary Assyrian kings **Shalmaneser III.** (781–772), **Asshur-dan-il** (771–754), and **Asshur-nirari II.** (753–745). These, who in the order named succeeded Ramman-nirari III., made no effort to maintain the claims which the latter had asserted over the smaller Palestinian states, and their indifference gave Jeroboam an opportunity which he showed himself capable of turning to account. The successes he obtained are said to have been predicted by a prophet, Jonah, son of Amittai, of Gath-hepher on the border of Zebulun (*Josh.* xix. 13), but the prophecies which announced them are not preserved.

Happily a different fortune has befallen the utterances of two other prophets who lived during this reign. Of both **Amos** and **Hosea** written records have survived; and from them much information is obtainable respecting the social and moral condition of the Northern Kingdom. Amos was a native of Judah, but Israel was the country in which both laboured, and which both made the chief subject of their prophetic utterances. Amos was rather the earlier of the two; for whilst his prophecies seem all to have been comprised within the lifetime of Jeroboam, Hosea's, though begun in Jeroboam's reign, were continued into the reigns of his immediate successors. From the review of contemporary life thus afforded, it is manifest that it was to Jehovah that the religious service of the people was, for the most part, directed; and it was in the permanence of the bond between Jehovah and Israel that the nation placed its confidence in time of adversity. But little distinction was popularly drawn between Jehovah and the local *Baalim*, and little appreciation shown of Jehovah's character. The golden calves were still retained as symbols of Him; and the worship rendered to Him was formal and unspiritual, and was even profaned by licentious rites imitated from Canaanite usage. Nor was it the worship of Canaanite deities alone that contaminated that of Jehovah: the relations which the earlier sovereigns of Jehu's dynasty had had with Assyria had led to the introduction of Assyrian gods, and Amos expressly alludes to two of these as objects of Israel's adoration (*Am.* v. 26). And whilst religion, even when loyal to Jehovah, was identified with external ceremonial, the laws of social morality were outraged by

violence and cruelty. The appropriation of the land by the harsh exaction of debts (*Am.* ii. 6–7, v. 11), the growth of luxury and debauchery (vi. 3–6), the refusal to heed the protests raised in the name of religion (ii. 12, v. 10), dishonesty in trade (viii. 5–6), and corruption in the seat of judgment (v. 7) are amongst the counts of the prophetic indictment. And in consequence of the perversion of justice and the oppression of the poor that everywhere prevailed, both prophets declared that vengeance awaited the guilty nation, which was to undergo captivity in a foreign land. The prediction of Amos came to the ears of Amaziah the priest of Bethel, who informed the king that the prophet had conspired against him, at the same time advising Amos, with contemptuous kindness, to get him back to Judah and prophesy there—counsel to which Amos retorted by describing in explicit terms the fate which, in the overthrow of the country, would overtake Amaziah himself.

In the Southern Kingdom the murdered Amaziah[1] was succeeded by his son UZZIAH (or AZARIAH),[2] who, since it is specially noticed that he was chosen by the people (*2 Kg.* xiv. 21), was probably not the natural heir. In respect of religious worship, whilst he receives a favourable estimate from the historian of *Kings*, he appears to have followed traditional usage, the high places being still retained. In the field of external politics, the only incident recorded by the same writer is the recovery and fortification of Elath, where a renewed attempt was doubtless made to develop the Red Sea trade.[3] The author of *Chronicles*, however, adds a number of other particulars relating both to the conduct of foreign wars and the provision of internal defences. He engaged in hostilities with the Philistines, in the course of which he dismantled the fortifications of Gath, Jabneh (perhaps the Jabneel of *Josh.* xv. 11 and the later *Jamnia*), and Ashdod, further ensuring himself against aggression by erecting fortresses to command the enemy's country. His operations in this quarter brought him also into conflict with the Arabians of Gurbaal and the

[1] See p. 353.
[2] For the same two names applied to one individual see *1 Ch.* vi. 24 and 36.
[3] Cf. p. 339.

Meunim (LXX. Μεῖναιοι), who are probably to be identified with the Minæans of S. Arabia. He received presents from the Ammonites; and it is to this reign that the appeal sent by the Moabites under stress of invasion, as described in *Is.* xv. xvi., may reasonably be assigned.[1] To complete the defence of the realm he constructed additional fortifications in the capital, and repaired the damage caused by Jehoash of Israel.[2] The army was carefully organised and equipped (its numbers being given as 307,500, under 2,600 officers, "heads of fathers' houses"); whilst the protection of the pastoral districts in the Lowland and the Wilderness was secured by the erection of watch-towers (*2 Ch.* xxvi. 5 foll.). There is no serious improbability, though there may be exaggeration (especially in the figures of the army) in the description here given. It is not suggested that any change was effected in the relations of Judah to Israel which Amaziah previously had sought, with so little success, to re-adjust, and during the lifetime of Jeroboam II. the attempt to alter them was likely to meet with failure. If the unsuccessful appeal of the Moabites to a Judæan king, quoted in *Is.* xv. xvi., just referred to, was really made to Uzziah, the rejection of it agrees with the supposition that Judah was still subservient to Israel, and that her king could not venture to protect Moab against his own suzerain. Such enterprises as Uzziah is actually credited with were all confined to the South, where his interference with the Philistine states only anticipated the policy of Hezekiah. And the prosperity of the country which is related in *Chronicles* receives independent corroboration from the prophet **Isaiah** (see c. ii., especially ver. 7, 15, 16), whose ministerial call is dated from the last year of Uzziah (vi. 1). But the prophet's description in c. ii. (which probably in strictness belongs to the reign of Uzziah's immediate successor), whilst confirming the account of Judah's material progress, qualifies the impression left by the book of *Kings* of the religious condition of the people. Isaiah implies that the country had become infected with the practices of idolatry and sorcery (perhaps from intercourse with the Philistines and eastern tribes like the Ammonites, see ii. 6), and that arrogance, luxury, and the oppression of the poor were rife in

[1] See p. 353. [2] See p. 352.

it (ii. 8, 11). Judah, in fact, reproduced many of the features which Amos and Hosea show to have prevailed in Israel; and in consequence Isaiah anticipated for his countrymen a severe judgment from an offended God. A premonition of the Divine anger was doubtless discerned in the occurrence of a shock of earthquake which took place in this reign (*Zech.* xiv. 5, *Am.* i. 1), and which possibly suggested the imagery of Isaiah in ii. 19–21. Uzziah[1] in his later years was afflicted with leprosy, and the duties of government were discharged for him by his son Jotham, who held the office of treasurer or steward.[2]

In the books of *Chronicles* (*2 Ch.* xxvi. 16–21) Uzziah's leprosy is attributed to his having attempted to usurp the office of the priesthood by burning incense in the Temple. Possibly the king's action (if the account is based on fact) was rather the assertion of an old right than the assumption of a new one. There is evidence (as has been seen) that in earlier times the kings sometimes exercised sacerdotal functions,[3] which their successors had come more and more to resign to the official priesthood.

Uzziah's relinquishment of the reins of power into the hands of his son as regent probably synchronised roughly with the death of Jeroboam, who was succeeded by his son ZECHARIAH. Israel now entered upon the final stage of its history. The throne became the prize of a succession of conspirators, whose tenure of it was, for the most part, very brief (cf. *Hos.* vii. 7, *Is.* ix. 19, 20); and whose rivalries and misgovernment aggravated still further the moral and religious corruption of the people. Hosea, part of whose book (c. iv.–xiv.) probably relates to this time, paints a lurid picture of the conditions prevailing in the country, which he describes as stained with the worst crimes, perjury, debauchery, and bloodshed (iv. 2, vi. 9, vii. 1–5). And the internal disorders were accompanied by external dangers, the strife of factions affording opportunity for foreign interference. During this period Assyria, under **Pul** or **Tiglath Pileser III.**[4]

[1] The Assyrian king Tiglath Pileser (744–728) mentions in one of his inscriptions that he received tribute from *Azriyahu of Jaudi*, and by some scholars Uzziah (Azariah) of Judah is supposed to be meant; but many authorities take *Jaudi* to denote a country in N. Syria and deny the proposed identification: see Maspero, *Passing of the Empires*, p. 150, note.

[2] For the office filled by Jotham cf. *Is.* xxii. 15.

[3] See pp. 283–4.

[4] In *1 Ch.* v. 26 *Pul* and *Tiglath Pileser* (there called *Tilgath Pilneser*) are represented as two different persons.

(745–728), the successor of Asshur-nirari, was again becoming aggressive. Pul seems to have been a usurper, who, on coming to the throne, assumed the title of an earlier Assyrian sovereign; but he proved himself a vigorous ruler, and under him the weakness displayed by Assyria in the course of the three previous reigns was arrested, and its earlier successes were renewed. In his reign the Assyrian invasions of Palestine ceased to be isolated inroads, ending, at most, with the imposition of tribute, and had as their object the thorough subjugation of the country. This forward policy awoke the fears of Egypt, which now, after a long interval of quietude, once more began to interest herself in the affairs of Palestine. It was to one or other of these powers that the different parties into which the Northern Kingdom now became split, turned for support (cf. *Hos.* vii. 11, xii. 1). Zechariah after a reign of only a few months was murdered by SHALLUM, who mounted the throne, but occupied it for a still shorter period. He was attacked in Samaria by MENAHEM, who had seized Tirzah, and there slain. His successful rival, however, was not able to gain possession of the crown without a further struggle, in the course of which he stormed the town of Tiphsah (a place not otherwise known[1]), and committed there great barbarities. To render his position more secure he placed himself under the protection of the Assyrian king (cf. *Hos.* v. 13), paying him a thousand talents of silver, which he exacted from the wealthiest men of the kingdom. By means of the help thus purchased, Menahem was able to maintain himself in power for some years, and finally to transmit the crown to his son PEKAHIAH. The new king had only a brief reign, and fell, with two of his attendants, Argob and Arieh, by the sword of one of his officers, PEKAH, the son of Remaliah, who with a body of Gileadites attacked him in his palace at Samaria. Pekah represented a faction which was anti-Assyrian, and pursued a policy which brought Israel for the last time into conflict with Judah.

In that country JOTHAM, who was first the vice-gerent, and afterwards the successor, of his father, is represented as following

[1] In *2 Kg.* xv. 16 for *Tiphsah* (which cannot be the city named in *1 Kg.* iv. 24) it has been proposed to read *Tappuah* (*Josh.* xii. 17).

in the footsteps of Uzziah, remaining faithful to Jehovah's worship, and strengthening the defences of the kingdom. The writer of *Kings* ascribes to him the construction of the upper gate of the Temple-court (probably the gate of Benjamin, *Jer.* xx. 2): and the Chronicler (*2 Ch.* xxvii. 4 foll.) adds that he built much on the hill of Ophel, and in various parts of the land. The latter writer further states that he also engaged in war with the Ammonites, and compelled them to pay a tribute or indemnity in silver and corn. Before the close of his reign, the contest with Pekah of Israel, previously alluded to, became imminent. This contest differed in character from those in which the Northern Kingdom had taken part for so long, the change noted in the policy of Assyria producing a *rapprochement* between the various Palestinian states (previously mutually hostile) which felt themselves chiefly endangered. Syria and Israel, in particular, had been bitter foes for more than a century, and had inflicted upon each other much suffering and humiliation. But the fear of Assyria at last drove them to unite (as they had once before done in defence of Hamath); and Pekah the Israelite king formed a league with Rezin (or Rezon) the sovereign of Damascus, with a view to common action. This confederacy they desired to strengthen by the inclusion in it of Judah, which had so long been subservient to its northern neighbour; and they were prepared to enforce their wishes by an appeal to arms. Jotham, however, died before the crisis actually occurred; and hostilities did not break out until the accession of his son AHAZ (or JEHOAHAZ).[1]

Ahaz, who succeeded his father probably at an early age,[2] proved a weak and corrupt sovereign. In respect of religion, he is condemned by the historian in terms which are applied to few of his predecessors; and though he doubtless did not renounce the worship of Jehovah (as the name of his son Hezekiah, among other things, indicates), he introduced some of the worst practices of the neighbouring nations, not only making molten images for the *Baalim*, but causing one[3] of his sons to pass through the

[1] This is the form in which the king's name appears in the Assyrian inscriptions. [2] He was twenty, according to *2 Kg.* xvi. 2, cf. *Is.* iii. 4.
[3] *2 Ch.* xxviii. 3 has *his children*.

fire. Upon the state of religion and morals in the country at large light is thrown by the prophecies of Isaiah and Micah. The former, in those parts of his writings which may be assigned to the early part of this reign (viz. c. iii.–v.), assails the luxury and extravagance prevalent among the upper classes (iii. 16–23, v. 11–12, 22) and encouraged by the youthful and frivolous king (iii. 12), and the grinding oppression to which as a consequence the poor were subjected (v. 8, 23): whilst Micah bears even stronger testimony to the social iniquities of the time (ii. 2, iii. 2–3). The principal political event of the reign was the conflict with Israel and Syria, by which these two nations sought to coerce Ahaz into joining their coalition against Assyria. Ahaz, encouraged by the weakness produced in Israel by the recent conflicts for its throne, defied his suzerain and refused to enter the combination; and in consequence Pekah and Rezin proceeded to invade Judah and its dependency Edom, with the view of dethroning Ahaz and replacing him by someone more amenable to their wishes. The successor whom they had chosen is only known as the son of Tabeel, the latter name indicating that he was of Syrian extraction. The operations of the two invading armies were at the outset distinct, Rezin first advancing into Edom, where he seized Elath and restored it to the Edomites (see the LXX. of *2 Kg.* xvi. 6); whilst Pekah's approach would naturally be from the north, the two forces eventually uniting before Jerusalem. According to *2 Ch.* xxviii. 17 foll., the Edomites themselves also took part in the war, whilst the Philistines attacked the cities of the Lowland, and occupied Bethshemesh, Aijalon, Gederoth, Soco, and Timnah. The further details of the losses sustained by Judah which are given by the Chronicler must be greatly overstated;[1] but if *Is.* c. i. relates to this period,[2] it is clear that the country was ravaged by fire and sword; and Ahaz was besieged in his own capital. In his distress he determined to appeal for help to Tiglath Pileser. In taking this step, he

[1] Pekah is said to have slain in Judah 120,000 in one day, and to have taken captive 200,000, women, sons, and daughters. The latter, at the instigation of a prophet named Oded, were restored (*2 Ch.* xxviii. 5 foll.).

[2] It is doubtful whether *Is.* i. relates to the invasion by Syria and Israel in the time of Ahaz or to that by the Assyrians in the reign of Hezekiah (701 B.C.); but the description of the prevalent corruption (ver. 21–23, 29) seems to suit the former better than the latter (though see pp. 365–6).

disregarded the counsel tendered him by the prophet Isaiah. Isaiah, who, as has been said, entered upon his ministry at the close of Uzziah's reign, and had raised his voice against the increasing vices that manifested themselves in the reign of his successor, now came forward to advise Ahaz in the crisis that confronted him. Appreciating better than Ahaz the distracted condition of the Northern Kingdom, and recognising that Assyria would account for both Israel and Damascus from purely self-regarding motives, he recommended the king to trust in Jehovah and pursue a policy of detachment from external alliances, asserting in the name of Jehovah that the designs of the two confederates would miscarry. In order to dispel the king's distrust, he challenged him to ask a sign, the occurrence of which might reassure him: and on his declining, he himself offered as a sign[1] a prediction of the dispersal of the danger, then threatening, within a period of two or three years. Before a child, about to be born and to be named by his mother *Immanuel*, would begin to show tokens of intelligence, the privations which the land was undergoing would come to an end, and the two hostile countries would be kingless. But the prophet realised that Ahaz had decided to appeal to Assyria; and accordingly he added that evil was in store for Judah from the very source from which deliverance was anticipated (*Is.* c. vii.). These two predictions (1) that within so brief a period as the infancy of a child born at the time of the prophet's declaration Samaria and Damascus would be the spoil of Assyria, and (2) that Judah's request for Assyria's intervention would lead to evils exceeding in mischief those sustained from Israel and Syria, were renewed on other occasions and in other terms (*Is.* viii. 1–x. 4). But the prophet's assurances were unheeded; and the policy upon which Ahaz had resolved he carried out. A present of treasure was sent to Assyria to procure support; and the gift was accepted as tribute. Tiglath Pileser then proceeded to attack both Israel and Syria. In 734 he invaded the former, and made himself master of Gilead, Naphtali,[2] and the district of Galilee.

[1] See p. 433, note.

[2] The *Janoah* of *2 Kg.* xv. 29 is not the Janoah of *Josh.* xvi. 6 (which was on the border of Ephraim) but a place in Naphtali.

The Assyrians, who have been sometimes styled, rather undeservedly, the Romans of the East, were more concerned to secure their conquests than to convert them into contented dependencies, and with this end in view adopted the barbarous, if effective, expedient of deporting a subjugated population to a distant region, and replacing it by immigrants drawn from various quarters. This system was now applied to the conquered districts of Israel, whose inhabitants were carried away into Assyria.[1] In the year following this success, Tiglath Pileser directed his forces against Damascus, which he captured in 732, its people being deported to Kir,[2] and its king Rezin slain. At Damascus Ahaz appeared before his suzerain, and there was attracted by the altar used by the Assyrian king. The fashion of worship practised by so powerful a sovereign doubtless impressed him as being itself potent and effectual; and he therefore sent a copy of the altar to Urijah the priest at Jerusalem, with instructions to build one like it. On his return he ordered it to be used regularly for offering sacrifice,[3] the brazen altar erected by Solomon being retained only for purposes of divination. He made other alterations in the arrangements of the Temple, including the removal of the Molten Sea from off the twelve brazen oxen (*1 Kg.* vii. 25), and its replacement upon a pavement of stone. The brazen oxen and similar works of art were probably concealed, lest they should excite Assyrian cupidity.[4]

Pekah did not long survive his confederate Rezin. He fell a victim to a conspirator named HOSHEA, who was allowed by the Assyrians to raise himself to the throne on condition of paying tribute (*2 Kg.* xvii. 3). Tiglath Pileser himself died in 728

[1] Cf. *1 Ch.* v. 26. Tiglath Pileser in his inscriptions (Schrader, i. 248) exaggeratedly states that he deported the whole of the inhabitants of the "land Beth Omri." Some of the depopulated districts E. of the Jordan were eventually appropriated by the neighbouring Ammonites (see *Jer.* xlix. 1).

[2] The LXX. (B), however, omits *to Kir*, and the fact that Kir was the original home of the Arameans (*Am.* ix. 7) makes their deportation thither rather strange, though it is predicted by Amos (i. 5).

[3] The Chronicler strangely describes Ahaz as sacrificing to the gods of *Damascus*. The allusion is probably to the king's use of the altar seen at Damascus, which must, under the circumstances, have been *Assyrian* and not Syrian.

[4] They are mentioned amongst the spoils taken to Babylon subsequently (*Jer.* xxvii. 19–22, lii. 20).

nd was succeeded by **Shalmaneser IV.** (727–723). The change f sovereign finally tempted Hoshea to defy the Assyrian power nd to intrigue with Egypt for support. The latter country was ow under the rule of So or Sabako,[1] an Ethiopian, and the first overeign of the 25th dynasty. Hoshea's hope of Egyptian id, however, proved delusive; and in 724 Shalmaneser attacked nd besieged Samaria. The city offered a stubborn defence; nd Shalmaneser died before it surrendered. He was succeeded y **Sargon**;[2] and by him the Israelite capital was eventually taken n 722. Its capture was followed by the usual deportation f the inhabitants. More than 27,000 were conveyed to ifferent places in the Assyrian empire, among the localities to hich they were removed being Halah,[3] Habor,[4] Gozan,[5] and the ities of Media. The number withdrawn from the country does ot appear relatively large; and a considerable population must ave been left in it. Nevertheless in order to occupy the room f the exiled Israelites, settlers were introduced from Babylon, Cutha,[6] Avva,[7] Hamath, and Sepharvaim.[8] It is natural to conlude that these were brought in by Sargon himself, who in one f his inscriptions actually names Babylon as a city whose inhabiants he had transported into "the land of the Hittites."[9] But n another of the same king's inscriptions,[10] the peoples stated to ave been settled by him in Samaria are given otherwise than in *Kg.* xvii. 24; so that the cities named above may be those om which emigrants were drawn at a later time by Esarhaddon, ne of Sargon's successors (see *Ez.* iv. 2). Ultimately a third olonisation took place under Esarhaddon's heir, Asshurbanipal, ho is the *Osnapper* of *Ez.* iv. 10.

The kingdom of the Ten Tribes was brought to an end after

[1] The identity of the *So* of *2 Kg.* xvii. 4 with the Pharaoh Sabako is sputed by many scholars, who regard the former as the king of a small strict E. of the Delta; see Maspero, *Passing of the Empires*, p. 213.

[2] In *2 Kg.* xvii. 5–6 Shalmaneser and Sargon are not distinguished.

[3] The site is not precisely known.

[4] *i.e.* the river Chaboras.

[5] The district near the Habor.

[6] A city near Babylon, the chief seat of the worship of the god Nergal.

[7] Unknown.

[8] *i.e.* the two Sippars, some twenty-five miles N. of Babylon.

[9] See Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, i. p. 268. [10] *Id.*, i. p. 269.

a separate existence of not much more than 200 years. That its downfall preceded that of the inferior state of Judah was really due to the very causes which gave to it its greater importance. Its superiority to the Southern Kingdom was the consequence of its advantages in respect not only of extent and fertility, but of trading facilities, inasmuch as it was traversed by the principal commercial routes leading from Egypt to Phœnicia and the Euphrates. But its wealth and productiveness excited cupidity, whilst its situation upon the great arteries of traffic which swelled its prosperity, rendered it accessible to invasion, as is shown by the repeated sieges sustained by its capital Samaria. Judah, on the other hand, though smaller and weaker, was much less vulnerable. It lay off the main line of march pursued by the armies of the greater Eastern powers; and when penetrated offered little to repay the cost of acquisition. Judah's isolation and comparative poverty were thus sources of strength, and enabled it to outlast (as will be seen) by nearly 150 years its more favoured rival.

Of the condition and experiences of the conquered territory (henceforward known as the *province of Samaria*) only a few particulars occur. In *2 Kg.* xvii. 25 the colonists are related to have suffered from the depredations of lions, which they attributed to their ignorance of the right way of worshipping Jehovah, the God of the land; whereupon an Israelite priest was obtained to instruct them, with the result that there ensued a fusion of the service of Jehovah with that of the deities of the various nationalities represented in the immigrant population (ver. 33, 41). An inscription of Sargon names Samaria among a number of cities which in 720 B.C. revolted at the instigation of Jahubidi (or Ilubidi), king of Hamath; but the insurrection was quelled by the defeat and death of its author.[1] When at a later time the power of Assyria declined, its influence over the province of Samaria grew less, and, as will be seen, some of the Judæan kings extended their authority over part of it. Its further history, so far as it is important, then comes under notice in connection with that of Judah, and does not call for independent treatment.

[1] Schrader, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 8.

On the throne of Judah Ahaz was succeeded by his son EZEKIAH, who must have been quite young when he began reign.[1] In character, he was a great contrast to his father. e initiated an active religious reform; and was the first king to alise that the chief seats of the immorality which in previous igns had sometimes defiled the worship of Jehovah were the high places." He accordingly proceeded to abolish them as ligious sanctuaries (*2 Kg.* xviii. 4, xxi. 3), and also destroyed ch symbols as the *Asherim* and the pillars. He even molished the brazen serpent reputed to have been made by oses (which was designated by the name *Nehushtan*, "a piece brass"), because it had hitherto been the practice to offer cense to it. The historian of the books of *Kings*, who, in mmending the best of the earlier sovereigns, takes exception their retention of the "high places," declares, in consequence this zeal of Hezekiah for the purity of Jehovah's service, that ere were none like him among all the kings of Judah, either fore or after. Hezekiah must have been greatly aided in his rk of reform by the prophets Isaiah and Micah, who, as has en seen, had attacked the corruption that spread over the land ring the previous reign in language of stern warning, and ose ministry continued into this reign (cf. *Jer.* xxvi. 17–19). it the progress of reformation was naturally slow, and the itings of the first-named prophet indicate that, even late in ezekiah's reign, there was much that was defective not only in e moral life of the community, but even in the usages of ligion. The prophet's invectives point to the continued evalence of oppression and selfish luxury (xxx. 12, xxxii. 9); hilst graven and molten images were still objects of the people's oration (xxx. 22, xxxi. 7).

Some scholars have discredited the statement of *2 Kings* xviii. 4 that the olition of the "high places" was undertaken early in Hezekiah's reign, lding that the reformation was only a consequence of the disasters that a much later period befell the provincial sanctuaries in the course of the syrian invasion of 701 as contrasted with the deliverance experienced by

[1] In *2 Kg.* xviii. 2 Hezekiah is represented as being twenty-five at his cession; but as Ahaz, according to *2 Kg.* xvi. 2, was twenty when he began reign, and reigned sixteen years, he would be only thirty-six at his death, d could scarcely leave a son aged twenty-five. Hezekiah's alleged age is l more impossible if Ahaz reigned less than sixteen years (see p. 321).

Jerusalem. This view is contradicted by xviii. 22, which then has to be rejected as an interpolation. At the same time the evidence of a contemporary prophet (as exhibited above) shows that, prior to the invasion referred to, even idol worship still prevailed, whilst *2 Kg.* xxiii. 13 implies that the "high places" built by Solomon for the deities worshipped by his foreign wives were not destroyed till the reign of Josiah;[1] so that the reformation, if initiated at the beginning of Hezekiah's reign, cannot have been very thorough.

The Chronicler (*2 Ch.* xxix.–xxxi.) largely amplifies the account of *2 Kings*. He states that Hezekiah in the first month of the first year of his rule opened and repaired the Temple, and assembling the priests and Levites bade them sanctify it, and then offered a solemn sacrifice to make atonement for all Israel, which was followed by thank-offerings. Subsequently a Passover was held in the second month (because preparations were not completed by the first), to which the surviving members of the Northern Kingdom were summoned, it being assumed that Samaria by that time had fallen (although *2 Kings* places that event in Hezekiah's sixth year). Next, the destruction of all the pillars, *Asherim*, and high places was undertaken, not only in Judah and Benjamin, but in Ephraim and Manasseh likewise; and finally the services of the Temple and the dues of the priesthood were organised in accordance with the requirements of the Mosaic law. These details are obviously elaborated in the belief that the legislation of the entire Pentateuch was in existence at this time, and that so religious a king as Hezekiah would naturally enforce it.

At the outset of his reign Hezekiah probably continued to pay the tribute to Assyria which Ahaz had engaged to render, and which the overthrow of Samaria in 722, if nothing else, showed could not with safety be at the time refused. If the obscure oracle in *Is.* xiv. 28–32, directed against Philistia, refers to a change of sovereign on the throne of Assyria, as was the case in 722, it would appear that the Jewish king received overtures from the Philistines for a concerted movement against the Assyrians, and that Isaiah opposed his participation in it. It is even possible that Hezekiah not only followed the prophet's counsel, but even took up arms in the capacity of an Assyrian vassal: at any rate he appears to have engaged in war with his neighbours on the south-west, and was so far successful that he pushed his advance even to Gaza. But the continuance of Hezekiah's fidelity to Assyria was conditioned solely by the prospect of success in the struggle that would follow the renunciation of allegiance; and the knowledge he gained in this war may have suggested to him the expediency of a change of

[1] The altars on the roof of the upper chamber of Ahaz, destroyed by Josiah (*2 Kg.* xxiii. 12), may have been erected by Manasseh; the LXX., for *which the kings of Judah had made* (which must be taken to refer to Ahaz as well as Manasseh) has ἃ ἐποίησεν βασιλεὺς Ἰούδα.

titude. Some of the Philistine cities were divided, as Samaria ad been, between philo-Assyrian and anti-Assyrian factions; and ie relative strength of the two parties was an important factor determining the policy of neighbouring states.

As has been seen, it was towards Egypt that the enemies of ssyria generally turned for help, and in 720 Hanno of Gaza as actively intriguing with So (Sabako), the Egyptian Pharaoh. he latter took the field against the Assyrian king, but the hopes the intriguers were disappointed by his defeat at Raphia; and Ianno himself was captured. In 711, however, the revolt was enewed by Azuri, the king of Ashdod; who was, in consequence, eposed by Sargon, who appointed Achimit, his brother, to be ng in his stead. But the people rose against him, and placed certain Jaman on the throne; whereupon Sargon despatched s Tartan, or commander-in-chief, against Ashdod, which was ptured and its inhabitants deported. The disaster had been nticipated by the prophet Isaiah, who foresaw only too clearly e futility of any reliance upon the promises of Egypt (see *Is.* xx.), and whose policy it was to keep Judah from defying the ower of Assyria, and to bring about internal reforms. But in ite of Isaiah's counsel, Hezekiah seems to have excited the spicion of Sargon, who, in one of his inscriptions, mentions udah as being among "the plotters of sedition," who, in order stir up rebellion, "had brought gifts of friendship to haraoh."[1] It is possible, indeed, that the overthrow of Ashdod as accompanied by an inroad into Judah, for the Assyrian king another inscription claims to have subdued Judah; but the casion referred to is obscure.

In 705 Sargon died (seemingly by violence), and was suc-eded by **Sennacherib.** The accession of a new sovereign fered once more an opportunity to the vassals and tributaries Assyria to renew their efforts to regain their independence; d the first to move was the king of Babylon, Merodach laladan. This prince, who was not a native Babylonian,[2] had 721, by the aid of the Elamites, made himself master of

[1] Schrader, *C. I.*, ii. p. 100.

[2] He was by origin a Chaldean, Chaldea being the district lying S.E. of bylon, at the head of the Persian Gulf. In *2 Kg.* xx. 12 he is erroneously med *Berodach Baladan*.

Babylon; but had been compelled by Sargon to abandon it in 710. In 704–3, however, shortly after Sennacherib's accession, he emerged from his retirement and re-entered Babylon, and prepared for another struggle against the Assyrian oppressors. Hezekiah, shortly before this time, had fallen sick of the plague, and his life was despaired of; but in answer to his earnest prayer, he was providentially restored to health, the prophet Isaiah directing the remedy to be employed and foretelling his recovery from the malady. The prediction, it is said, was confirmed by a sign, consisting in the return of the sun's shadow, cast upon the dial of Ahaz, through ten steps or degrees. News of this reached Merodach Baladan, and he took advantage of the occasion to send an embassy, with letters and a present, to Jerusalem, ostensibly to congratulate Hezekiah, but, no doubt, in reality to concert with him a movement against Assyria. The Jewish king displayed to the envoys all his treasures; but Isaiah, who realised much better than many of his contemporaries the formidable strength of Assyria, censured Hezekiah for his conduct, and is related to have declared that to Babylon both his treasure and his descendants should be eventually carried away. Isaiah's estimate of the situation was fully justified by events. The Babylonian king met with defeat shortly afterwards and was driven from his capital; his palace was plundered; and a large number of cities (Erech, Niffer, Cutha, etc.) which supported him were captured, and their inhabitants deported.[1]

In the O.T. the narrative of Hezekiah's illness and the embassy from Babylon are placed at the close of his history (*2 Kg.* c. xx., *Is.* c. xxxviii.,

[1] It seems probable that *Is.* xxi. 1–10 has this assault upon Babylon (B.C. 704) in view. The section is often regarded as referring to the attack upon Babylon by Cyrus in 538 (chiefly in consequence of the mention of Media (ver. 2) as among the assailants, and the allusion to the tribulation of Israel (ver. 10)), and its Isaianic authorship is accordingly denied. But the sympathy displayed for Babylon contrasts strikingly with the exultant tone of the exilic sections xl.–lxvi. and xiii. 1–xiv. 23; whilst the description of the besieger as *the treacherous dealer* (ver. 2) is not only actually applied to the Assyrians in xxxiii. 1, but is quite inapplicable to Cyrus. The address to Elam and Media (ver. 2) comes from the Assyrian king assaulting Babylon, among whose vassals both countries were included, whilst in ver. 10 the tribulation of Israel is probably prospective and not present (see W. E. Barnes in *J.T.S.* for July, 1900, who, however, thinks that the siege depicted is that which Babylon sustained in 710, and regards ver. 1–5 as referring to an imminent attack upon *Jerusalem*).

xxxix.): but that they really took place before Hezekiah was openly involved in war with Sennacherib and compelled to sacrifice his treasures (see below, and *2 Kg.* xviii. 15) is clear from the fact that the Jewish king was still in possession of such treasures.

The prediction of Isaiah that the descendants of Hezekiah should be carried captive to Babylon has been suspected by some scholars to be a *vaticinium post eventum*. The fact that Babylon, rather than Nineveh or Assyria, is named is not fatally inconsistent with the statement proceeding from Isaiah, for Babylon was at this time generally subject to the kings of Assyria, one of whom, in *2 Kg.* xvii. 24, is represented as establishing in N. Israel settlers drawn from thence; cf. also *Mic.* iv. 10. But Isaiah elsewhere in his prophecies, in predicting that Jerusalem will be delivered from the assault of Sennacherib, shows no consciousness of a disaster destined to overtake it at a more remote period (such as is implied in xxxix. 6, 7), and seems to regard its salvation as permanently assured (see *Is.* xxxiii. 20–22).

The mission of Merodach Baladan was not the only one received by Hezekiah about this period. He was visited by certain Ethiopian envoys, sent presumably at the direction, or with the consent, of the Egyptian king, to arrange plans for concerted action against Assyria. Their proposals, like those brought by the Babylonian ambassadors, met with disapproval from the prophet Isaiah, who relied for the safety of his country less upon political combinations than upon the protection of Jehovah (*Is.* xviii.). But from the king it is probable that they obtained much more favourable consideration; and their offers of support doubtless pre-disposed him to adopt a bolder line of conduct towards Assyria as soon as a promising opportunity presented itself. This came in 701 when a general revolt broke out among the cities of Phœnicia and Palestine, instigated by Egypt, where So (Shabako) had now been succeeded by Shabatak. The anti-Assyrian party in the Philistine cities was at this time paramount; and in Ashkelon and Ekron the kings Sarludari and Padi, who supported Assyrian interests, were dethroned. A faction at Jerusalem, led perhaps by Hezekiah's treasurer Shebna (cf. *Is.* xxii. 15 foll.), had long opposed the policy of inactivity and isolation advocated by Isaiah, and had endeavoured to promote an alliance with Egypt (cf. *Is.* xxx. 2 foll.); and Hezekiah yielding himself to it, now threw off his vassalage and refused tribute (*2 Kg.* xviii. 7). In view of the attack which he knew would follow, he had strengthened the fortifications of Jerusalem (*2 Ch.* xxxii. 5) and secured its

water-supply (*2 Kg.* xx. 20, *2 Ch.* xxxii. 30, *Is.* xxii. 9–11),[1] at the same time stopping the fountains that were without the city to prevent the enemy from using them (*2 Ch.* xxxii. 3). As soon as he had committed himself to war by renouncing the Assyrian suzerainty, he proceeded to co-operate with the anti-Assyrian party in Philistia; and the Ekronites placed in his hands the dethroned Padi. Sennacherib, however, advanced rapidly towards the disaffected states, his first efforts being directed against Phœnicia, where Elulai, king of Tyre and Zidon, had been negotiating with Shabatak. The capture of his principal cities drove Elulai to seek refuge in Cyprus; and the independent towns of Arvad and Gebal thereupon submitted, and rendered tribute. Sennacherib then marched into Philistia, and obtained there the submission of Ashdod, together with that of the more distant countries of Edom, Moab, and Ammon. But Ashkelon and Ekron resisted, and were accordingly attacked and besieged. Ashkelon was the first to fall, Zidka, who had been made king in place of Sarludari, being captured and his predecessor restored. To relieve the siege of Ekron a large force advanced under the command of Tirhakah, at this time presumably the general, though subsequently the successor, of Shabatak; but at Eltekeh[2] (*Altaku*) it was met and defeated by Sennacherib, who then in succession captured Timnath and Ekron. Judah was now invaded; forty-six towns were taken and more than 200,000 persons (if the figures given in the inscriptions may be trusted) were deported, together with a large quantity of cattle.[3] Hezekiah was besieged in Jerusalem; and was compelled to deliver up the Ekronite king Padi, as well as his own daughters and other women, and to submit to the payment of a large fine (30 talents of gold and 300 talents of silver) in addition to the former annual tribute. The failure of Egypt at Eltekeh to resist the Assyrian forces, and the consequent humiliation thus inflicted on Judah, justified the previous warnings of Isaiah; whilst his political opponent

[1] The *waters of Gihon* (*2 Ch.* xxxii. 30) which Hezekiah stopped were those of the Virgin's fountain in the Kidron valley. There was probably at first a surface conduit, carrying the water to the pool of Siloam (cf. *Is.* viii. 6); but Hezekiah replaced this by a subterranean tunnel.

[2] See *Josh.* xix. 44. [3] Schrader, *C. I.*, i. pp. 284–6.

Shebna was proportionally discredited, and was now removed from his office (which was filled by Eliakim) and given the subordinate post of scribe (see *Is.* xxii. 15 compared with xxxvii. 2).

This surrender was construed by the inhabitants of the Jewish capital as securing the safety of the city (cf. Jos. *Ant.* x. 1, 1). But Sennacherib, on further consideration, seems to have concluded that it was inexpedient to leave so strong a fortress in the hands of an ill-disposed population when he himself was preparing to advance towards Egypt. For this, or some other reason, he disregarded the implied compact with Hezekiah (cf. *Is.* xxxiii. 8), and whilst engaged in attacking Lachish, he sent three of his officers, the Tartan, the Rabsaris, and the Rabshakeh,[1] to demand the capitulation of Jerusalem, and to hold out to the citizens the prospect of removal to another land as good as their own. Hezekiah in great despondency communicated the summons to Isaiah, who though he had protested against breaking with Assyria, neither deserted his country in the time of her need nor despaired of her eventual deliverance. Replying to the king, he encouraged him in the name of Jehovah to defy his enemy and to refuse the demand made of him. The messengers, who bore Hezekiah's refusal to Sennacherib, found the Assyrian king at Libnah (whither he had moved from Lachish), who thereupon sent by letter a second summons for the surrender of Jerusalem. Hezekiah, on receiving the letter, took it into the Temple and spread it before Jehovah, with a prayer for the safety of himself and his people. An answer came through Isaiah, who sent to the king a message in which he declared that Sennacherib (who had boasted in his letter of his own and his father's conquests) was only an instrument in Jehovah's hand; that his career was now to be checked; and that his threats against Jerusalem would come to naught. The prediction was strikingly fulfilled. The Assyrians, advancing towards Pelusium, there met with a sudden and overwhelming disaster, the precise nature of which can only be conjectured. Sennacherib returned to Assyria, and survived the failure of his

[1] The names *Tartan*, *Rabsaris*, and *Rabshakeh* are, more or less certainly, titles of military officers; the first meaning *commander-in-chief*, the last *chief of the captains*, and the second probably *chief of the princes*.

plans some twenty years; but he never renewed his attack upon Jerusalem, and was ultimately assassinated in 681 by two of his sons Adrammelech and Sharezer,[1] whilst worshipping in the temple of the god Nisroch.

The above account is based on a combination of the O.T. narrative, substantially as it stands, with that given in the Assyrian inscriptions, it being assumed that *2 Kg.* xviii. 13–16 is the Hebrew version of the capture of the forty-six Judæan towns and the imposition on Hezekiah of the additional fine mentioned by Sennacherib, and that xviii. 17–xix. 37 describes events which happened subsequently to those narrated by the Assyrian king. The two accounts, however, which almost certainly supplement one another, may be united in various ways. It is possible that the Hebrew account from xviii. 17 to xix. 34 (= *Is.* xxxvi. 2–xxxvii. 35) consists of a double representation of a *single* demand for the surrender of Jerusalem, the first, contained in xviii. 17–xix. 7 (= *Is.* xxxvi. 2–xxxvii. 7) describing the summons as having been conveyed from *Lachish* by *the Rabshakeh and his colleagues*, whereupon the king *sent Eliakim to Isaiah*, and received an answer from him; whilst the other, contained in xix. 8–34 (= *Is.* xxxvii. 8–35) but abbreviated and adapted to the preceding, relates that the summons was sent *in a letter* from *Libnah* by *messengers*, that Hezekiah *took the letter into the temple*, and that Isaiah *without previous communication from the king*, sent an oracle from Jehovah to him. This view is confirmed by the parallelism between xviii. 33–35 and xix. 11–13 and between xix. 7 and xix. 28: but if correct, the two versions have been adjusted to each other in xix. 8–9.

The calamity which overtook the Assyrian host is, in *2 Kg.* xix. 35, represented as the work of an angel, a description elsewhere applied to a pestilence (see *2 Sam.* xxiv. 15–16). Hdt. ii. 141 relates that when the Assyrian and Egyptian armies lay opposite one another near Pelusium, a multitude of field mice devoured the quivers and bow-strings of the invaders, who next morning commenced their flight, and great numbers fell. A stone statue of the Egyptian king (whom Herodotus calls Sethos) holding a mouse in his hand, existed in the temple of Ptah to commemorate the event.

The signal deliverance which Israel thus experienced can scarcely fail to have influenced the people to some extent for good. Announced and interpreted as it was by Isaiah, it must have both purified and strengthened for a time the national faith in Jehovah. But the impressions received by one generation are not often transmitted to the next in their integrity; and the most permanent conviction derived from the eventful history here recounted was the belief that Jerusalem, solely in virtue of its being the seat of Jehovah's Temple, was impregnable.

Hezekiah lived some years after the occurrences just recorded; but nothing further is related of his reign. He displayed literary proclivities, for a collection of proverbs ascribed to Solomon were

[1] *Sharezer* is probably abbreviated from *Nergal-sharezer* or *Asshur-sharezer*, see Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

"copied out" under his direction (*Prov.* xxv. 1), and a poem which he composed as a thanksgiving for his recovery from illness is preserved in *Is.* xxxix. 9 foll., though, if his, it has been adapted to liturgical use (see ver. 20). According to the Chronicler, he also organised the music of the Temple services (*2 Ch.* xxix. 30, xxxi. 2), and certain psalms (xlvi., xlvii., xlviii., lxxv., lxxvi.) have with some plausibility been assigned to his reign.

The successor of Hezekiah was his son MANASSEH, who according to *2 Kg.* xxi. 1, was a mere boy of twelve when he came to the throne. His reign was marked by a great declension in the direction of idolatry. The "high places" abolished by Hezekiah were once more restored, altars were erected to Baal, and the adoration of the host of heaven (not hitherto laid to the charge of any Judæan sovereign, though mentioned in connection with the kingdom of Israel, see *Am.* v. 26, *2 Kg.* xvii. 16) was introduced. Even in the Temple an *Asherah* was raised, images of the horses and chariots of the sun were placed at the entry of it (*2 Kg.* xxiii. 11), and the immoralities generally associated with Canaanite worship were practised there (*2 Kg.* xxxiii. 7). Like his predecessor Ahaz, the king also made his son to pass through the fire, and had recourse to augury and enchantments. To crown his misdeeds, he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood, his victims doubtless including many of the prophets of Jehovah who uttered a protest against his crimes (*2 Kg.* xxi. 16, xxiv. 4, cf. *Jer.* ii. 30).

It is probable that of Manasseh's impieties the worship of the host of heaven was connected with his relations with Assyria. The extensive ravages of Sennacherib must have left Judah, at the beginning of Manasseh's reign, extremely weak; and though Sennacherib himself refrained from making any further expedition in the direction of Egypt and Palestine, his earlier policy was renewed by his successors **Esar-haddon** (681–668) and **Asshurbanipal** (668–626). Esar-haddon, after putting down the insurrection which resulted in the murder of his father, and driving his brother Sharezer into Armenia, advanced into Egypt, captured Memphis (Noph), and drove Tirhakah, who had killed Shabatak and now occupied the Egyptian throne, into Ethiopia. The countries which lay on the route taken by the Assyrian armies

could scarcely be left in independence; and the Assyrian king in his inscriptions records that he took Zidon, and claims as his vassals the kings of Tyre, Gebal, Arvad, Edom, Moab, Ammon, the Philistine cities of Gaza, Gath, Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Ekron, and the land of Judah under its king Manasseh.[1] This humiliation doubtless obliterated much of the impression produced by the deliverance experienced in the previous reign. The success of Assyria's soldiers argued to many minds the superiority of Assyria's gods; and there was always in Judah a section of the people that was prepared to lend a ready ear to such representations. Religious motives, too, would be reinforced by political considerations; and the respect extorted by the conqueror for himself it was prudent to extend to his deities. The fluctuation in the nation's fortunes were thus once more reflected in the condition of the national religion; and the inconstancy of the Hebrew people to their God received renewed illustration. Esarhaddon's son and successor Asshurbanipal, though, as already stated, he planted additional colonists in Samaria, does not appear to have interfered with Judah. The Jewish kingdom, however, must have watched with painful interest his invasion of Egypt. There Tirhakah had recommenced the war; but he met with no success, and Thebes was entered by the Assyrian forces, though on the surrender of its treasures it was left unharmed. On this occasion Asshurbanipal displayed towards the conquered a degree of clemency unusual in an Assyrian sovereign, and restored Necho, ruler of the feudatory kingdom of Sais, who had intrigued with Tirhakah, to his realm and honours. Tirhakah in 665 was followed on the throne by Urdamani (otherwise Rud-Amon or Tanuatamanu); and on his revolting, Asshurbanipal again invaded Egypt, and this time he sacked Thebes (the No-amon of *Nah.* iii. 8–10). Manasseh, who enjoyed an exceptionally long reign, reached the close of his life in tranquillity; and at his death was buried in the garden of his own house (apparently called also the garden of Uzza) (*2 Kg.* xxi. 1–18, *2 Ch.* xxxiii. 1–20).

Of actual conflict between Manasseh and the contemporary Assyrian sovereign no record occurs in the book of *Kings*. But the Chronicler relates

[1] Schrader, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 41.

that in consequence of his sins Jehovah brought upon him the captains of the host of the king of Assyria who carried him in chains[1] to Babylon; that there he humbled himself before Jehovah,[2] and his repentance and supplication being accepted, he was restored once more to his kingdom; that on his return to Jerusalem he strengthened the defences of the city by the construction of an outer wall and other fortifications, and placed able officers in command of the provincial fortresses; and that he also effected a religious reformation, removing the idols from the Temple and renewing the worship of Jehovah, though the high places were retained. If this statement is historical, the captivity of Manasseh is most plausibly referred to the reign of Asshurbanipal. The latter's brother Shamash-shum-ukin, who had been made by Esar-haddon viceroy of Babylon, rose in insurrection against Asshurbanipal (to whom Esar-haddon had assigned Assyria) shortly before 648 B.C.; and found sympathisers in certain of the Palestinian states, amongst whom Manasseh may have been included. The insurrection, however, was suppressed; and the Jewish king may have been punished for complicity. His removal to *Babylon* may readily be explained by the assumption that Asshurbanipal had previously proceeded thither to receive in person the submission of the Babylonian insurgents; whilst a parallel to the alleged restoration of the Jewish king is afforded by the fact that Asshurbanipal, after carrying in chains to Nineveh the Egyptian princeling Necho, subsequently (as just related) replaced him on the throne. But besides the absence in *2 Kings* of any account of the events recorded in *Chronicles*, the narrative of the latter is difficult to harmonise with (1) the existence of Manasseh's idolatrous altars in the reign of Josiah (*2 Kg.* xxiii. 12), (2) Jeremiah's declaration in the subsequent reign of Jehoiakim (xv. 4, cf. *2 Kg.* xxiii. 26) that Manasseh's sins had not yet been expiated, (3) the belief of the citizens in Jeremiah's time (vii. 4) that the Temple ensured the protection of the capital—a belief which could scarcely have been entertained if Jerusalem had so recently been entered and its king taken.

Manasseh was succeeded by his son AMON, who is said to have been only twenty-two when he began to reign. His tendencies in religion, so far as they had time to manifest themselves, are described by the historian as being similar to those of his father, though it is noteworthy that the syllable JAH enters into the name of his son. But his career was cut short by a conspiracy amongst his servants, who killed him in his own house after a brief reign of two years. Like his father, he was buried in the garden of Uzza. The conspirators who destroyed him found no support among the people, who put them to death, and raised to the throne his young son JOSIAH.

Ever since the time of Jotham (if the short reign of Amon be ignored) the worship of Jehovah had been predominant and re-

[1] *2 Ch.* xxxiii. 11 marg. *with hooks.* On a monument of Esar-haddon two captive princes are represented with hooks or rings in their lips, to which a cord is attached which the Assyrian king holds.

[2] A composition, stated to be the prayer which Manasseh offered up when a prisoner at Babylon is preserved in the *Apocrypha.*

trogressive by turns under the rule of successive kings; and the sequence of alternation was still maintained under that of Josiah. He was only seven years old when he ascended the throne of his murdered father. During his minority, no doubt the affairs of the kingdom (including the state-worship) were directed by those who had possessed the confidence of Amon; but the training of the youthful sovereign perhaps fell to the care of guardians who were more in sympathy with the traditional faith of the nation. Moreover, as he grew up, the people at large were roused to the need of a religious reform by the prophet **Jeremiah**, the son of Hilkiah, a native of Anathoth, who began his ministry in the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign, and by his rebukes of the prevalent idolatry and immorality sought to bring about a change for the better. Force was given to Jeremiah's announcement of a judgment impending over the nation, if impenitent, by the threatening approach of hordes of Scythians, who, as will be mentioned later, were at this time overrunning the neighbouring countries. In consequence of the prophet's earnestness, Josiah began the work of reformation in the eighteenth year of his reign by repairing the Temple, and Hilkiah, the high priest (perhaps identical with the father of Jeremiah), was directed to apply to this purpose the money received from those who entered the building.[1] In the course of the repairs an incident occurred which greatly strengthened the king's purpose. A book of the Law was found which Hilkiah delivered to Shaphan, the royal scribe; and he, after perusing it, conveyed it to Josiah. The latter ordered the book to be read to him; and he was so impressed by the denunciations recorded in it against idolatry, that in alarm, he rent his clothes and sent a deputation to consult a prophetess named Huldah. She in reply (if the narrative reproduces her actual words)[2] declared that the guilt of the nation was so great that the Divine wrath was unappeasable; but that in view of Josiah's contrition, the threatened vengeance would be deferred till after his death. On receiving the response of the

[1] Cf. the arrangements in the time of Joash (*2 Kg.* xii. 4, 9 foll.).

[2] Some have thought, from the zeal shown by the king and people, that the reply of the prophetess was less disheartening than it is represented to have been in *2 Kg.* xxii. 16–20; and that her words have been modified in the light of after events. Perhaps ver. 18–20 are original.

rophetess, the king made the contents of the book public y ordering it to be read at an assembly gathered at the Temple. he fact that the book was brief enough to be thus read at single assembly[1] suggests that it did not comprise the whole f the Pentateuch (which there is likewise reason to believe was ot completed by this date); and the description of it as "the ook of the covenant" (*2 Kg.* xxiii. 2) identifies it with one or ther of the two which are implied in *Ex.* xxiv. 7 and *Deut.* xix. 1 (cf. xxxi. 24). But the threatening tone of it (*2 Kg.* xii. 13) agrees better with the contents of *Deuteronomy* (see *Deut.* i. 15, xxviii. 15–68, xxix. 10–29); and its substantial identity ith the latter is practically put beyond doubt by the fact that the ost characteristic injunctions of *Deuteronomy* formed the basis f the reformation which Josiah at once undertook.[2] The king nd the people, having first solemnly agreed to stand by the ovenant described in the book, then proceeded to execute the ommands of Jehovah set forth therein. The *Asherah* and ie various vessels used for idolatrous purposes were removed om the Temple (cf. *Deut.* xii. 3); the priests called *Chemarim*,[3] ogether with those who burned incense to Baal and to the host f heaven were put down (cf. *Deut.* xvii. 3 foll.); the immorali- es practised in connection with religion were suppressed (cf. *Deut.* xxiii. 17–18); Topheth (the place in the valley of Hinnom here children were made to pass through the fire) was defiled f. *Deut.* xviii. 10); and finally, the "high places" were abolished f. *Deut.* xii. 5–14). Some of these had been dedicated to the orship of such beings as Satyrs;[4] but many were doubtless still tensibly devoted to the service of Jehovah, as had been the se in previous reigns. They afforded, however, such scope r abuses (cf. *Jer.* ii. 20, iii. 2, *Ezek.* vi. 13) that it was now etermined to carry out completely the reformation which had

[1] Contrast *Neh.* viii. 18.

[2] Whether the book found in the Temple included the *whole* of *Deuteronomy* is doubtful. The fact that the introduction iv. 44–49 is preceded by other in i. 1–5 makes it probable that the latter, together with the rest of i.–iv. 43, is a subsequent addition, whilst c. xxxii. and xxxiv. certainly ntain passages of different, and in some instances later, origin (cf. *Introd.* 8).

[3] Cf. *Hos.* x. 5, *Zeph.* i. 4.

[4] In *2 Kg.* xxiii. 8 for the unintelligible *high places of the gates* should be bstituted *high places of the he-goats* (or *Satyrs*); see *Lev.* xvii. 7, *2 Ch.* xi. 15.

been attempted by Hezekiah, and in accordance with the requirements of the book recently discovered, to confine all public worship of Jehovah to a single sanctuary. This could only be the Temple at Jerusalem, the superiority of which over all competing holy places had not only been implied in the pre-eminence assigned to it in the prophetic utterances of Isaiah and Micah (*Is.* ii. 2, xviii. 7, xxviii. 16, *Mic.* iv. 2), but evidenced (as was believed) by the immunity which it had enjoyed from the devastation brought upon the rest by Sennacherib. The new departure had important, and rather complex, consequences for the religious future of the people. In the first place it helped to safeguard the faith and service of Jehovah from the contamination to which these were exposed in country localities. Not only was the level of religious thought and practice likely to be higher at the capital than in the provinces, but the existence of only one place of worship was in itself a standing protest against the worship of a plurality of gods. In the second place, it prepared the way for the eventual dissemination of less materialistic notions of worship than those connected with animal offerings, for owing to the distance separating the central sanctuary from the more remote parts of the land, it was no longer possible to treat every instance when a domestic animal was slaughtered for food as an act of sacrifice (*Deut.* xii. 15). But thirdly, it contributed to strengthen and perpetuate the conceptions of local limitations attaching to the Divine presence, and consequently in this respect, trammelled and checked the development of spiritual religion. Incidentally the measure inflicted some hardship upon the priests who were accustomed to minister at the local shrines; for in spite of the directions of the newly-found Law-book (*Deut.* xviii. 6–8) they were not admitted to a share in the sacrifices offered at the central sanctuary at Jerusalem, but had to remain in their former abodes and be supported by their brethren (*2 Kg.* xxiii. 9). The land was likewise cleared of wizards, and such as professed to have familiar spirits; and the *teraphim* used in divination were destroyed. The authority at this time exercised by Assyria over what had once been the kingdom of Israel was small; and Josiah extended his work of reformation beyond his own borders (which reached on the north to Geba). At Bethel he defiled the alta

rected by Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, by burning on it bones
ken from the adjoining sepulchres, only refraining from disturb-
g the tomb of the prophet who is related to have denounced
e worship which Jeroboam inaugurated (*1 Kg.* xiii.). The
ing's zeal not unnaturally led him to keep the Passover in his
ighteenth year with a splendour which in the estimate of the
istorian made it eclipse all preceding celebrations of that feast.
n accomplishing his purposes Josiah must have received great
upport from the denunciations and exhortations addressed to
e people not only by Jeremiah but also by **Zephaniah**, whose
rophetic ministry fell within Josiah's lifetime.

The account of Josiah's reforms contained in *Chronicles* (*2 Ch.* xxxiv., xxv.) differs from that furnished by *2 Kings* in stating that the purification of udah from the "high places," the *Asherim*, and the images, began in the velfth year of his reign (preceding by six years the discovery of the Law-ook); see *2 Ch.* xxxiv. 3–7.

Meanwhile the political world was witnessing a considerable ifting in the balance of power. The extension of Josiah's nfluence over the former territory of Israel is an indication (as lready observed) of the waning of Assyrian authority which egan after the death of Asshurbanipal. That king died in 26, and was succeeded by **Asshur-etil-ilani**; and during his eign and that of his son, whose name has been conjectured o be **Sin-shar-ish-kin**, the Assyrian empire rapidly declined. Its ventual downfall was accomplished by the Medes. This people, hich occupied the country between mount Zagros and the aspian Sea, had been converted from an aggregate of tribes ving in villages into a united nation under a leader styled by the reek historians Deïoces, who became their first king. He was ucceeded by Phraortes (Fravartish), who invaded Assyria about e close of the reign of Asshurbanipal, but was overthrown, nd perished with the greater part of his army. His son yaxares (Havakshatara), however, having improved the organisa-on of his forces, renewed the attack and defeated the Assyrians an engagement before Nineveh, which he besieged. But efore he succeeded in reducing it, he was compelled to with-aw by an inroad of the Scythians, a race of nomads, who ccupied settlements beyond the Caucasus. This people, leaving eir European homes, now entered Media in vast numbers, and

vanquishing Cyaxares, spread over a large part of western Asia. They traversed Palestine and penetrated as far as the borders of Egypt, whence the reigning Pharaoh, Psammetichus, induced them to return. According to Herodotus (i. 106) their overthrow was effected through the treacherous murder of their chief by Cyaxares, at a banquet to which he had invited them. But this as it may, their domination ultimately came to an end; and the Medes, recovering their power, renewed their attacks upon Nineveh. In this undertaking, Cyaxares found an ally in Babylon, over which a Chaldean called **Nabopolassar** (Nabu baluzur) had been made viceroy by Asshurbanipal. Nabopolassar, assuming independence of his suzerain, combined with the Median sovereign in his assault upon Nineveh; and the city fell before their united forces in 607 B.C. (cf. *Nah.* i.–iii., *Ezek.* xxxi. 3 foll.).

In the west the retreat of Assyria was accompanied by a corresponding advance on the part of Egypt. There Psammetichus, who was son of the Necho towards whom Asshurbanipal had displayed such exceptional clemency,[1] took advantage of the Assyrian troubles, and about 664 acquired independence for Egypt, and established once more a native dynasty (the 26th). His successor, Necho II., came to the throne in 610 when the Assyrian empire was on the brink of its overthrow; and the Egyptian king, desiring to share its spoil, marched northward to attack it. As has been already observed, Assyrian control over Palestine by this time had become relaxed; and Josiah was unwilling to see the extension of his authority endangered by the Egyptian advance. He accordingly determined to oppose Necho, as he proceeded northward by the main route which crosses the ridge of Carmel, and encountering him at Megiddo there met his end. The manner of his death is not related by the historian of *Kings;* but the Chronicler asserts that he was killed in battle, and is confirmed in a measure by the statement of Herodotus (ii. 159) that Necho fought with, and defeated, the Syrians at Magdolus (which probably represents Megiddo). His dead body was brought to Jerusalem for burial, and his death was bitterly bewailed by his subjects, the

[1] See p. 374.

mentation raised over him being long remembered (*2 Ch.* xxv. 25). The disaster was in truth irretrievable. It brought o a close a life which was inestimable to his country; for Judah as now exposed to an aggrieved and successful enemy, and here was no one left capable of offering an adequate defence. Moreover, the overthrow and death of so devoted a servant of Jehovah could scarcely fail to discourage the party of moral and religious reform. It must have seemed to many that Jehovah ad forsaken His land (cf. *Ezek.* viii. 12, ix. 9); and the Divine nger might even be plausibly explained as provoked by the estruction of the country sanctuaries. Henceforward (as will ppear) the weakness and corruption of the nation met with o arrest.

According to *2 Ch.* xxxv. 20 foll., Necho deprecated Josiah's hostility, and eclared that he was come not against him, but against the nation (Babylon) ith which he had war, and against which he had been bidden by God to arch, at the same time warning the Judæan king not to provoke God by his terference. Josiah, however, disregarded the counsel, and entered the ttle in disguise like Ahab before Ramoth Gilead. In the engagement he as mortally wounded by the archers, and being carried from the battlefield, ed at Jerusalem. The narrative looks like an explanation devised to account r the death of so exemplary a king.

To succeed Josiah the people chose his son JEHOAHAZ, who as also known as SHALLUM (*Jer.* xxii. 11, *1 Ch.* iii. 15). Ie was not the eldest son of Josiah; but was selected by opular acclamation, perhaps because of all Josiah's four children *Ch.* iii. 15)[1] he seemed most likely to carry out his policy. so, the hopes raised were disappointed. After reigning for nly three months, he was forced to appear before Necho at iblah (a town on the Orontes, between Damascus and Hamath), nd there put in chains and carried to Egypt (cf. *Jer.* xxii. 10–12, *zek.* xix. 1–4). A fine of a talent of gold (LXX. 100 talents) nd 100 talents of silver was imposed on the country; and echo placed on the throne Jehoahaz' half-brother Eliakim, in hose loyalty to himself he presumably had greater confidence, the same time changing his name to JEHOIAKIM.

Jehoiakim was very different in character from his father osiah; and throughout his reign oppression, violence, and olatry were rife. The tribute required by the Egyptian king

[1] Josiah's eldest son was named Johanan.

was obtained from the people by taxation, not defrayed out c the treasures accumulated in the Temple and the royal palace Strange and repulsive rites began to be practised, many of th prevalent varieties of worship being imported from abroad The success of Necho over Josiah had attracted attention t the beliefs and usages of Egypt, and figures of animals, such as were venerated in that country, were pourtrayed on th walls of the Temple (*Ezek.* viii. 10); whilst among othe observances which obtained at this time were the adoratio of the sun (*Ezek.* viii. 16)—a cult previously introduced b Manasseh (*2 Kg.* xxiii. 5, 11)—and the weeping for Tammu a Babylonian and Syrian hero or demi-god, corresponding t the Greek Adonis. Against the prevailing evils the prophe Jeremiah raised his voice, and denounced doom upon the guilt land. Unlike his predecessor Isaiah, he declared that Jerusalem in the event of its inhabitants failing to repent, would be a totally destroyed as Shiloh, the prediction exciting the violen anger of the priests and prophets who cherished the belief tha the safety of the capital was assured by the existence withi it of the Temple (*Jer.* vii. 4). He was judged worthy of death but was saved by the intervention of certain elders, notabl Ahikam, who recalled the different treatment meted out t Micah in the time of Hezekiah, when he announced a simila destiny for the city (*Jer.* xxvi. 1–19). Another prophet, Uria of Kiriath Jearim, whose utterances were of the same tenor a those of Jeremiah, was not equally fortunate. He fled to Egyp but the relations between Jehoiakim and his suzerain Nech were amicable enough to enable the former to procure h surrender; and he was then put to death. Politically, ther was a strong party in the country which advocated the mai tenance of a good understanding with the Egyptians; but th confidence reposed in Egypt was not shared by Jeremiah, wh foretold that a judgment was in store for that nation and th surrounding peoples, who, he declared, should all serve the kin of Babylon (*Jer.* c. xxv.). The same year (the fourth o Jehoiakim's reign) witnessed a partial fulfilment of his pr diction, for Nebuchadrezzar,[1] the son and general of Nabopolass

[1] In *2 Kg.* xxiv. 1, etc., spelt mistakenly *Nebuchadnezzar*.

he conqueror of Nineveh, defeated the Egyptian forces under Necho at Carchemish (*c.* 605). As a result of this overthrow udah, with the other territories in Palestine claimed by Egypt, vas placed at the mercy of the Babylonians. Nabopolassar, owever, died shortly after the battle of Carchemish; and his leath prevented his successor **Nebuchadrezzar** from pursuing is success at once. This respite encouraged Jehoiakim in his lefiance of the warnings addressed to him by Jeremiah. In he year following the engagement at Carchemish Jeremiah lirected his attendant Baruch to read a roll of his prophecies t the entrance of the Temple before the multitude. Word f this was carried to the king who ordered the roll to be rought to him, and after perusing part of the contents, destroyed , and commanded both Jeremiah and Baruch to be arrested; ut they were providentially hidden (*Jer.* c. xxxvi.). The king's onduct now convinced Jeremiah that the Divine judgment in s severest form would overtake the city. In his previous tterances at the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign he had enter- ained and expressed hopes of the nation's repentance and onsequent preservation (see xxvi. 3, cf. xviii. 11, xxxvi. 3): ut in the enlarged copy which he made of the roll that was estroyed he affirmed unconditionally the overthrow of the ountry and the dishonoured end of its ruler (xxxvi. 29–31). When Nebuchadrezzar was at last free to concern himself with alestine, Jehoiakim submitted to him, and remained his vassal or three years. On the lapse of that period, he rebelled, and he land was in consequence overrun by the Babylonian forces, he work of devastation being helped by bodies of Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites. The country population was driven ithin the walls of the capital, among the refugees being the omadic Rechabites (see *Jer.* xxxv. 11); and the capital itself as probably threatened. Further details of Jehoiakim's reign re unfortunately lacking, and his end is obscure; but from the ccount in *2 Kg.* xxiv. 6 it may be concluded that he died a atural death.

In *2 Ch.* xxxvi. 6 it is asserted that Jehoiakim was captured by Nebuchad- zzar and bound in chains to be carried to Babylon; and that with him ere also taken some of the vessels of the Temple. Nothing of this appears *2 Kings*, and the statement harmonises ill with the siege of Jerusalem

in the following reign, only three months later. It is, however, repeated in *Dan.* i. 2 though with a discrepancy in the date (Jehoiakim's capture being placed in his *third* year, contrary to the evidence of *Jer.* xxxvi. 1, 9 and *2 Kg.* xxiii. 36), where it is further represented that Daniel, together with three companions, subsequently known as Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego were among the captives.

On the other hand, Josephus (*Ant.* x. 6, 3) states that Nebuchadrezzar being admitted into the city, broke his pledges, slew Jehoiakim, and cast out his body before the walls of Jerusalem without burial (cf. *Jer.* xxii. 19) and that on retiring he carried with him as captives 3,000 of the principal citizens, including the prophet Ezekiel.

Jehoiakim was succeeded by his son JEHOIACHIN (called also JECONIAH and CONIAH), who was only eighteen (*2 Ch.* xxxvi. 9, (by a mistake) eight) years of age at his accession, and reigned no more than three months (*2 Ch. l.c.* three months and ten days). Jerusalem was now invested; and when Nebuchadrezzar in person took the direction of the besieging force Jehoiachin capitulated. He himself, his family and his household, were carried to Babylon, and with him was deported a large body of the most capable and upright citizens,[1] though the historian's statement that none were left except the poorest of the people requires, in the light of the sequel, some qualification. With the captives were also taken the treasures of the Temple and of the royal palace. The prisoners were settled by the banks of the Chebar, a river in Babylonia, among them being the prophet **Ezekiel** (*Ezek.* i. 2).

Josephus (*Ant.* x. 7, 1) relates that Jehoiachin was made king by Nebuchadrezzar; but that the latter, fearing that Jehoiachin would resent the death of his father (see above), shortly afterwards besieged him in Jerusalem whereupon the king, in order to save the city, surrendered himself, though the conditions of surrender were afterwards ignored by the conqueror.

The number of captives is variously given in different passages. In *2 Kg.* xxiv. 14 it is put at 10,000 mighty men, besides artisans; whilst in ver. 1 it is stated at 7,000 mighty men and 1,000 artisans. This capture was effected in the *eighth* year of Nebuchadrezzar's reign (*2 Kg.* xxiv. 12), whilst in *Jer.* lii. 28 mention is made of 3,023, who were taken in Nebuchadrezzar's *seventh* year, without any allusion to a deportation of prisoners in the following year.

Over the remnant of the population left in Jerusalem Nebuchadrezzar appointed as king Mattaniah, uncle of Jehoiachin and own brother to Jehoahaz, and changed his name t

[1] Jeremiah represents that those who were taken to Babylon were morally the best, and those who were left at Jerusalem were morally the worst, of the population (see c. xxiv.).

ZEDEKIAH. He is characterised unfavourably by the historian of *Kings;* but his misconduct seems to have been due as much to weakness as to wickedness; and certain incidents in his relations with Jeremiah show that he had a merciful disposition. During the early part of his reign the new king submitted peaceably to his suzerain, to whom he was bound by oath (*Ezek.* xvii. 13, *2 Ch.* xxxvi. 13); and even sent a small party to Babylon with a letter from Jeremiah, counselling the exiles, taken thither with Jehoiachin, to be quiet subjects of the Babylonian sovereign (see *Jer.* xxix.). Subsequently, however, he was approached by envoys from Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Zidon, who wished to concert with the Judæan king a general rising against Babylonian supremacy (*Jer.* xxvii., and cf. xlviii. and xlix.). Against the proposal a warning was raised by Jeremiah, who declared that the undertaking could only result in greater evils; and possibly Zedekiah's visit to Babylon (mentioned in *Jer.* li. 59) was the result of a summons to clear himself of suspicions which had been raised. But the faction hostile to Babylonian authority was both active and confident (cf. *Ezek.* xi. 2–6); and when hope was eventually entertained of getting support from the king of Egypt, with whom, indeed, Zedekiah, in spite of his engagements with Nebuchadrezzar, entered into negotiations (see *Ezek.* xvii. 15), rebellion was finally decided upon. In consequence, Jerusalem was once more beleaguered, the siege lasting a year and a half.[1] In the course of it, an Egyptian force advanced to its relief, and the investing army for a time retired. Jeremiah continued to protest against the policy pursued, and declared that the Egyptian forces would retreat and the siege be renewed (*Jer.* xxxvii. 1–10). In the interval, however, between the raising of the siege and the return of the Babylonian army, he attempted to leave the city to go to his patrimony at Anathoth, and was, in consequence, charged with desertion, and in spite of his denial, was lodged in prison, from which he was only delivered by the interposition of Zedekiah himself, who committed him to the court of the guard (*Jer.* xxxvii. 11–21). But though he could deny any intention on

[1] From the tenth month of Zedekiah's ninth year to the fourth month of his eleventh year.

his own part of passing over to the enemy, he had counselled others, who wished to save their lives, to do so (*Jer.* xxi. 1–10), and some of the leading princes, who seem to have domineered over the king (see *Jer.* xxxviii. 5), clamoured for his death, on the ground that he weakened the defence of the city. He was accordingly flung into a foul dungeon, from which he was once more rescued, with the king's consent, by an Ethiopian called Ebed-melech. He remained in the court of the guard, and was there visited by the king, whom he urged to surrender (*Jer.* xxxviii). During the progress of the siege the city suffered severely from famine (*Jer.* xxxvii. 21, *2 Kg.* xxv. 3); and ultimately a sally, in which the king took part, was made by night in the hope of an escape by the way of the Jordan valley into Gilead. But the fugitives were pursued and captured in the plains of Jericho; and Zedekiah was brought before Nebuchadrezzar at Riblah. There he underwent a kind of trial, at the close of which his sons were put to death before him, his eyes were put out, and he was then carried, blind and fettered, to Babylon (*2 Kg.* xxv. 7, cf. *Ezek.* xii. 13). A month later, Nebuzaradan, captain of Nebuchadrezzar's guard, was sent to destroy Jerusalem. The Temple, the palace, and the principal houses, were burnt, the walls were dismantled, and all the vessels and ornaments of the Temple were either broken in pieces or carried away. Certain leading men, some seventy in all (including the chief priest Seraiah), were taken to Riblah, and there put to death. A considerable body of the remaining citizens was then led into captivity (apparently in more than one draft, see *Jer.* lii. 30).[1] Others effected their escape into the neighbouring lands of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, whose people, however, though they had instigated the Jewish king to rebel against Babylon, could not so far overcome their ancient animosity as to refrain from triumphing over the final downfall of their rival; and their rejoicings gave an added bitterness to Judah's humiliation. Edom in particular, alike by its vindictive joy at the destruction of Jerusalem, and by its encroachments upon the conquered territory, earned the lasting hatred of the Jews (see *Obad.* i. foll.,

[1] According to *Jer.* lii. 29, in Nebuchadrezzar's eighteenth year, 832, in his twenty-third year, 745; but *2 Kg.* xxv. 8 only mentions a deportation in Nebuchadrezzar's nineteenth year.

Ezek. xxv. 12–14, xxxv., "*Is.*" xxxiv. 5 foll., 2 *Is.* lxiii. 1–6, *Ps.* cxxxvii. 7). As governor of the despoiled country, where the poorer population, engaged in tillage, was suffered to stay, Nebuchadrezzar chose a native Judæan named Gedaliah, the son of Jeremiah's protector Ahikam.[1] Jeremiah, who had been carried away in chains, like the other captives, as far as Ramah, was there set at liberty by the direction of Nebuzaradan, and given his option either of proceeding to Babylon or of remaining in his native land. He chose the latter, and was commended to the care of Gedaliah, with whom he took up his abode (*Jer.* xl. 1–6).[2]

Thus perished the last surviving branch of the Hebrew kingdom founded by Saul and consolidated by David. Able as both Israel and Judah were to resist the aggressions of the smaller Palestinian states, they were inevitably crushed as soon as they were brought into collision with the great empires beyond the Euphrates. But Judah, sheltered by its situation, might perhaps have escaped annihilation by refraining from defiance, if it had not been for Egypt. The strength of its capital, Jerusalem, made it unsafe for Nebuchadrezzar, as for Sennacherib,[3] to leave it unmolested when prosecuting his designs against the Egyptians unless assured of its neutrality, if not its friendliness; and this the Pharaoh took care to render impossible. Egypt was thus the evil genius of the Hebrew people to the close of their history; and events fully justified the deep distrust which both Isaiah and Jeremiah, living in successive centuries, never ceased to entertain of it.

Gedaliah's seat of authority was at Mizpah; and his appointment inspired such confidence that many of the Jews who had fled into the adjoining countries were encouraged to return. Among those who likewise came back, but with a sinister purpose, was a certain Ishmael, son of Nethaniah, a man of royal descent, who had been an officer of Zedekiah's, and after his capture, had taken refuge with Baalis, the king of Ammon.

[1] See p. 382.

[2] A slightly different account is given in c. xxxix. 11–14, where it is represented that Jeremiah was released from prison by Nebuzaradan immediately on the capture of the city, and committed at once to the care of Gedaliah.

[3] See p. 371.

By Baalis he had been incited to murder Gedaliah, possibly because the latter, or his father Ahikam, had been opposed, like Jeremiah, to the confederacy which the Ammonites had wished king Zedekiah to join (see *Jer.* xxvii. 3). Accordingly, he, together with others, came to Gedaliah, and were urged by him to settle in the country. They pretended to acquiesce; but their design had become known to one Johanan, and he disclosed it to the governor, who, however, discredited the information. The assassin, who had a band of ten men with him, thus found no difficulty in carrying out his purpose, which he accomplished at a feast, slaying at Mizpah Gedaliah and all his immediate attendants, both Jews and Babylonians. At Mizpah the sanctuary of Jehovah, which had once existed there, appears to have been restored; and a body of eighty men, who were coming to visit it from Shiloh, Shechem, and Samaria, were likewise, from some motive unexplained, almost all butchered, a few only saving their lives by revealing some hidden stores of grain, oil, and honey. Ishmael then made prisoners of the late king's daughters, and some others; and with them proceeded to return to Ammon. On the way the party was overtaken at Gibeon by a body of forces under Johanan, who recovered the captives, but Ishmael himself, attended by eight men, succeeded in effecting his escape. The fear lest Nebuchadrezzar would at once take indiscriminate vengeance for the murder of his officer led Johanan and all those with him to determine to retire to Egypt; but before doing so, they asked counsel of Jehovah at the mouth of Jeremiah, professing to be willing to abide by his reply. He earnestly dissuaded them, protesting that they would be safe if they remained in the land, but if they went to Egypt, would be overwhelmed in the ruin destined to be brought upon that country by the Babylonian king. Johanan and his companions, however, refused to heed his words, asserting that there was no divine authority behind them; and charging him with desiring to deliver them into the hands of the Babylonians. They accordingly proceeded to Egypt and carried with them both Jeremiah and his friend Baruch. By this time Necho had been succeeded on the throne of Egypt by Psammetichus II., and he in turn by Uah-ab-ra (Uahibri), the Pharaoh Hophra of the O.T. and the Apries of

Greek historians. The refugees settled first at Tahpanhes (Daphnæ), and subsequently became dispersed among other Egyptian cities, such as Migdol and Memphis. There they practised idolatrous rites in honour of the queen of heaven,[1] which called forth the solemn remonstrances of Jeremiah. But to his assertion that their disasters were due to their devotion to such forbidden worship in the past, they retorted that it was only while they burnt incense to the queen of heaven in their own land that they had enough and saw no evil, whereas since they had forsaken her, they had been consumed with sword and famine. All that Jeremiah could reply to this was that the Divine judgment would eventually overtake them in the land of their exile, for Jehovah would deliver Hophra, their protector, into the hands of his enemies. After this a veil falls over the life of the prophet and of those with whom he dwelt, and his end can only be conjectured. It seems probable that he died in Egypt.

The Hebrew people were now divided into three sections One section was still in possession of its native soil, the remnant of the Ten Tribes (largely intermingled with the colonists introduced into the country by the Assyrian monarchs) occupying Samaria and its neighbourhood, whilst the rural population of Judah (less contaminated than the survivors of Israel by a foreign element) retained their homes in the south. A second section, as has been just related, had taken refuge in Egypt, and there formed the nucleus of the colony which subsequently, through the LXX. translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, exercised a most important influence over their fellow-countrymen. The third section was settled in Babylonia; and it is with its fortunes that the remainder of the history is principally concerned.

Of the condition of the Jews in Babylon but little explicit information is forthcoming. That they were not at the outset enslaved, but enjoyed considerable freedom is apparent from the advice tendered to them by the prophet Jeremiah in a letter already referred to, which was sent by him from Jerusalem, before its final surrender, to those who had accompanied Jehoiachin

[1] Probably Ishtar (Ashtoreth).

into exile. In it he counselled them to live peaceably in the land whither they had been carried away, to build houses, plant gardens, make for themselves homes, and seek the peace of the conquering nation (*Jer.* xxix. 4 foll.), his language implying that the attitude of their rulers towards them left them at liberty to pursue their ordinary avocations, if they were disposed to do so. There is evidence, too, that such advice was followed. The exiles threw themselves into the commercial life of Babylon, and applied themselves to the acquisition of gain (*Ezek.* xxxiii. 31); they became possessed of servants and attendants (*Ez.* ii. 65); they were organised under the rule of elders (*Ezek.* viii. 1, xiv. 1); and at the time of the Return (as will be seen), were able to contribute considerable sums towards the restoration of the Temple (*Ez.* ii. 69, cf. *Zech.* vi. 10–11). In the lenient treatment experienced by the people at large the captive king Jehoiachin eventually shared; for after a captivity of some thirty-six years, he was released from the prison, to which he had been at first consigned, by Evil Merodach, the successor of Nebuchadrezzar, and received from him an allowance until his death (*2 Kg.* xxv. 27–30). At the same time there were disturbing agencies at work tending to unsettle and embitter the banished people. Jeremiah, in the letter alluded to (xxix. 8–9, cf. xxvii. 16), refers to prophets who inspired their countrymen with false promises and encouraged them to expect an immediate deliverance. These were so indignant at Jeremiah's counsel, that a message was sent by one Shemaiah to the priests at Jerusalem, bidding them put the prophet in the stocks and in shackles (*Jer.* xxix. 24 foll.). Such must have made many of the people restless and impatient subjects; and whilst bringing upon themselves a cruel punishment (see *Jer.* xxix. 22), doubtless rendered the condition of others worse than it had previously been. Moreover, the captive population in general must often have betrayed their satisfaction when Babylon suffered from invasions, and when these were attended with ill-success, the misery of those who had sympathised with the invaders could not fail to be aggravated. The language of some of the writers of a generation later than Jeremiah implies the imposition upon the exiles of hard service

("*Is.*" xiv. 3) and the infliction of much cruelty (*2 Is.* xlvii. 6), which probably followed upon the insubordination which they had manifested. The pain of banishment from their beloved land was further increased by the scornful attitude assumed towards them by those who remained in Palestine, who, though the dregs of the nation, and sunk in idolatry and immorality (*Ezek.* xxxiii. 24–26), plumed themselves upon being the favoured inheritors of their ancestral soil, and repeated the language used in the time of Zedekiah towards those who had shared the exile of Jehoiachin (see *Ezek.* xi. 15). Disappointed hopes, unworthy taunts, and actual suffering must have reduced numbers to a condition of despair (*Ezek.* xxxiii. 10, *2 Is.* xl. 27, xlix. 14), which, at times, vented itself upon the nobler spirits among them who counselled resignation and faith. It is evident, too, that upon some of the Jewish community the seductions of the Babylonian capital had their effect (*Ezek.* xxxiii. 31, *2 Is.* lxv. 11), and that those who upheld a higher standard of religion and morality exposed themselves to persecution at the hands of their countrymen (*2 Is.* li. 7, cf. lxvi. 5). The emotions kindled in many of the exiles by their various trials occasionally found expression and relief in elegies like *Lamentations*, and in such psalms as lxxix., lxxx. and lxxxix.

Nevertheless there were not lacking sources of consolation and confidence. The anticipations which even the earlier prophets had entertained that the overthrow of their country which they had foretold would be followed by the people's restoration to the Divine favour[1] were revived by the prophets who had witnessed the actual enactment of the predicted judgment. Jeremiah, whilst discouraging his countrymen from trusting to the vain promises of an imminent deliverance with which some had flattered them, and whilst indicating by a conventional figure[2] that a long period had yet to elapse before their release would come, yet affirmed most positively its ultimate realisation (*Jer.*

[1] See *Mic.* ii. 12–3, iv. 6–7.

[2] Seventy years (*Jer.* xxv. 11, cf. *2 Ch.* xxxvi. 21). The real duration of the Captivity was sixty years, if reckoned from Jehoiachin's exile in 596, and only fifty if calculated from the fall of Jerusalem in 586.

xxv. 11–13, xxix. 10). At a later date, when some years of the Captivity had expired, Ezekiel confidently described in vision the sanctuary where Jehovah once more purposed to dwell for ever in the midst of His people (*Ezek.* xliii. 7). And as the events matured which heralded the accomplishment of these expectations, the prophet whose compositions constitute c. xl.–lxvi. of the book of *Isaiah*, addressed to his countrymen in the name of Jehovah utterances calculated to raise in them the highest hopes for the future. There were thus forces at work which kept alive the people's trust in their God and their destiny, and prevented them from losing, as the exiles of the Northern Kingdom had lost, their sense of separateness from the rest of the population of the vast empire in which they had been incorporated.

Among the results following the suppression of the independence of the Jewish people was the bestowal of increased care and attention upon the collection and completion of the records of their past history, with all its numerous lessons; whilst the cessation of the Temple services rendered it necessary, in the event of their ever being restored to their home, to preserve carefully the memory of the traditional ritual associated with them. It is probable that during this period many of the historical narratives contained in the O.T. assumed their present form; and that the Law, which had insensibly been expanded and developed in the course of the preceding centuries, now began to be systematised and codified (cf. *Introd.* pp. 7, 8). This work brought into existence the class of Scribes (distinct from the officials previously attached to the courts of the kings), who devoted themselves to the study of the annals and legislation of their race, and became the editors, copyists, and interpreters of the documents concerned.

Of the history of Babylon during the period covered by the Exile a brief summary will suffice. Nebuchadrezzar, who, after capturing Jerusalem, had spent many years in besieging Tyre (cf. *Ezek.* xxvi.–xxviii., xxix. 18)[1] and had then made an expedi-

[1] Tyre appears to have capitulated on honourable terms; see Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 549.

ion against Egypt (cf. *Ezek.* xxix., *Jer.* xlvi. 14 foll.),[1] was succeeded in 561 by **Evil Merodach.** The latter, who liberated from prison the Jewish king Jehoiachin (*2 Kg.* xxv. 27), was murdered in 560, and was followed on the throne by his assassin **Nergal-sharezer (Neriglissor)** (perhaps the prince named in *Jer.* xxxix. 3); and he, in turn, was succeeded by **Labashi-merodach,** a young boy, who was displaced in 554 by a usurper named **Nabunahid (Nabonidus);** and it was in the reign of the last-mentioned sovereign, an inactive and incapable monarch, that the power of Babylon was brought to an end.

Nabunahid, at the outset of his rule, initiated a policy by which he alienated the sympathies of many of his subjects. This was the removal to his capital of the images of the various gods to whose service the several cities of Babylonia were devoted; and the disaffection which such a course of action created bore fruit when the country was attacked by an invader. This was **Cyrus** (Kurush), a Persian by origin, whose immediate ancestors, as vassals of the Assyrians, had aided the latter in their wars against Elam and made themselves kings of Anshan, a province of that country, and who himself became its ruler in 558. In 549 he vanquished Astyages, king of a northern race which had conquered and become united with the Medes (cf. p. 379); and before 546 he had also brought Persia under his sway. In 547 he attacked Babylonia unsuccessfully; but in 538 he invaded the country again, defeated Nabunahid, and captured the city of Sippara. The Babylonian king retired to his capital, whither he was followed by Gobryas, the lieutenant of Cyrus; and to him the city was surrendered without resistance. Nabunahid himself was taken, but no mention is made of his meeting a violent death, though his son Belshazzar seems to have been slain subsequently by Gobryas.[2] Babylon, a few months after its capitulation, was entered by Cyrus, who thenceforward claimed to be "king of Babylonia." The new ruler, as soon as he was firmly seated on

[1] According to Josephus (*Ant.* x. 9, 7) he killed Pharaoh Hophra (Apries): but Herodotus (ii. 169) represents Apries as being murdered by his own subjects.

[2] See the inscription quoted in Driver, *Dan.* pp. xxix.–xxx.

the throne, proceeded to reverse the policy of preceding Babylonian kings by allowing many of the peoples deported by them to return to their homes, and by restoring to their sanctuaries the gods whose images had been brought by Nabunahid to Babylon and it was in consequence of the line of action thus adopted that the Jewish exile came to a close.

In *Dan.* c. v., it is represented (contrary to the evidence of contemporary inscriptions, which has been followed above) that Babylon was taken by storm and that Belshazzar, who is described as its last king, was slain in the attack whilst the conqueror is called "Darius the Mede." Herodotus (iii. 150–160) also relates that the city was taken by storm; but it has been supposed that he has ascribed to Cyrus the investment and capture that the city really underwent in the time of Darius Hystaspis, after its revolt on the death of Pseudo-Smerdis.

CHAPTER XIII

ELIGION FROM THE ACCESSION OF SOLOMON TO THE CLOSE OF THE EXILE

THE history of a people being a continuous movement, the lines of division between the periods into which it may be convenient to separate it are necessarily somewhat arbitrary, one age displacing another insensibly and bringing its distinguishing characteristics to light only by degrees. Nevertheless, the reign of Solomon really marks with some precision the beginning of a new phase in the record of Hebrew religion, two factors then coming into existence which profoundly influenced after times. One of these was the entrance of Israel into a wider arena of international relations, with its accompaniment of enlarged knowledge, more complex interests, and increased temptations. The position among the peoples of the Palestinian sea-board and adjoining regions to which the military successes of David had raised it involved it in political connections which, in view of the intimate bond between a community and the deity it worshipped, could not leave the religion of the nation unaffected. The perils to which Israel's faith in Jehovah was now exposed differed from those that threatened it in the preceding age. During the time of the Judges it was endangered chiefly by the open triumph of external enemies, and the consequent *prestige* which, in the thought of those days, attached to their gods. From the weakness long inseparable from its situation, and its comparative lack of unity and cohesion, the Hebrew people ran some risk of being overwhelmed by, and submerged beneath, the rallying forces of the Canaanites, the marauding inroads of the Arabs, or the organised invasions of the Philistines. But under the monarchy very different conditions prevailed. The nation had

been secured, at least for a time, against external dominatio
and the dangers that now menaced it came as much from peac
ful alliances as from hostile aggression. The ties of friendshi
contracted with foreign peoples involved the toleration of foreig
rites of worship and a willingness to countenance their introduc
tion into the land. Moreover, the corrupting influence of cult
adopted from powerful and independent neighbours with whom
the nation stood on terms of amity was much greater than tha
of practices prevalent among the ill-disposed and conquere
Canaanites. Accordingly the prophets of Israel who ha
previously devoted themselves to inspiring the nation's resistanc
against its enemies now began to assume in general an attitud
of criticism towards their own countrymen, and, in particula
censured any policy which was calculated to impair the people'
allegiance to its God. At the same time the more extensiv
acquaintance with the surrounding world and the larger oppo
tunities for observing contemporary history, afforded by the ne
situation in which Israel now found itself, profoundly influence
their own minds, and contributed to the formation of those view
of Jehovah's character and purposes which are manifested in thei
teaching. The second factor which helped to control th
religious development of the people was the erection of th
Temple. At first, indeed, it was merely the sanctuary of th
capital, not of the kingdom; it was pre-eminent but not uniqu
Even after the Disruption, other local shrines existed beside i
But from the outset it was bound, by reason alike of its positio
in the capital and the splendour of its structure, to attract to i
the thoughts and aspirations of religious Israelites. And whe
after the secession of the ten tribes the territory of Solomon'
dynasty was reduced to a single tribe, the sanctuary he had bui
must have still further dwarfed in importance all other seat
of worship in Judah. Consequently, when the practices tha
prevailed at the local shrines rendered a religious reformatio
necessary, the existence of the Temple at Jerusalem suggeste
the lines which the reformation should follow. The limitatio
which was then imposed, of public worship to one spot materiall
modified in the centuries that followed both the religion and th
fortunes of the Jewish people.

The period now under review naturally falls into four subdivisions, each of which presents certain special features, and is illustrated by the lives and teaching of certain prophets. These, with the prophets conspicuous in them, are :—

(1) The Age of the Syrian wars and the alliance with Zidon—Ahijah, Elijah, Elisha.

(2) The Age of Assyrian supremacy—Amos, Hosea, Is. i.–xxix. (with omissions), Micah.

(3) The Age of Babylonian supremacy—Nahum, Zephaniah, Jer. i.–xlix., Habakkuk, Obadiah, Ezekiel i.–xxxix.

(4) The Age of the Exile—Ezek. xl.–xlviii., "Is." xiii. 1–xiv. 23, xxxiv.–xxxv., xl.–lxvi., "Jer." x. 1–16, l., li. 1–58.

1. The Age of the Syrian wars and the alliance with Zidon.

The building of the Temple, as has been said, did not effect any immediate change in the external conditions of religious worship in Israel. Though the new sanctuary acquired special sanctity by the removal to it of the Ark, and though its situation in the capital lent to it a dignity which no other could command, it did not extinguish the numerous "high places," the presence of which in various parts of the country has been noticed in the survey of the preceding period. The most eminent of these was at Gibeon, where Solomon, before the building of the Temple, is recorded to have sacrificed. The practice of worshipping at "high places" at this time is excused by the writer of *1 Kg.* (iii. 2) on the very ground that the Temple had not yet been erected; but the historian himself attests that it prevailed throughout the reigns of Solomon's immediate successors on the throne of Judah, not excepting those of Asa and Jehoshaphat. The retention of them by such sovereigns confirms the conclusion, drawn already from what is known of preceding usage, that it was regarded as quite legitimate, and that the centralisation of worship at a single shrine was not yet recognised as a religious requirement. In Northern Israel after the Disruption, the mention by the prophets of the 8th century of "high places" in various localities, such as Tabor, Mizpah, Shechem (*Hos.* v. 1, vi. 9), and Gilgal (*Am.* iv. 4) attests their existence not only for contemporary times but for the age preceding. It may be inferred, too, from the

reference to the altar of Jehovah on Mount Carmel in *1 Kg.* xviii. 30 that that hill was also a "high place"; whilst Elijah's allusion in xix. 10 to Jehovah's *altars* (in the plural) corroborates the statements of the prophets just adduced.[1] In both of the Hebrew kingdoms material symbols were employed in association with the rites conducted at the "high places." In Judah in the reign of Rehoboam pillars and *Asherim* were erected at them, in connection (it can scarcely be doubted) with the worship of Jehovah. The use of such, however, seems to have been considered to be contrary to the principles of the national religion, and they were destroyed by Asa and Jehoshaphat, who also suppressed the unchaste practices which had been introduced in imitation of Canaanite usage. In Israel, on the other hand, the employment of emblems in the worship of Jehovah was more persistent, as the emblems themselves were more elaborate, than in Judah. One of the first measures of Jeroboam, on obtaining the sovereignty of the ten tribes, was to set up at Bethel and Dan the effigies of two bull-calves,[2] as objects of worship. That by the calves Jehovah was signified is clear not only from the king's statement that they represented the God that brought Israel out of Egypt (*1 Kg.* xii. 28), but from the circumstances under which they were made, for it was a rival attraction to the Temple and not a rival religion that Jeroboam desired to establish. The fact that the exile, into which he had been driven by Solomon, was spent in Egypt has suggested that the idea of the calf-worship was derived from that country, where the living bulls Apis and Mnevis were adored. But the calves of Jeroboam cannot be disconnected from the golden calf constructed by Aaron, of which they were presumably an imitation; and for it a different origin has been shown to be probable.[3] Upon the constitution of the Priesthood little light is thrown by the history of the period; and it seems reasonable to suppose that the system that prevailed previously still obtained. At

[1] According to the Moabite Stone *vessels of Jehovah* were captured by Mesha at Nebo, which seems to imply the existence of a sanctuary there.

[2] In *Hos.* x. 5 and by Jos. *Ant.* viii. 8. 4 they are represented as *feminine*—perhaps by way of contempt. They are masculine in *Hos.* xiii. 2 and elsewhere.

[3] See p. 160.

Jerusalem Abiathar the High Priest was deposed by Solomon and his place was filled by the appointment of Zadok; but both alike belonged to the family of Aaron, though to different branches. Elsewhere the priests were probably in general drawn from the tribe of Levi without any distinction being made between descendants of Aaron and others; in *1 Kg.* viii. 4 the distinction which is implied in the Hebrew text is not maintained in the LXX. (B) and is not marked in the parallel passage *2 Ch.* v. 5. In the Northern Kingdom, indeed, the sacerdotal office was not even confined to Levites, Jeroboam selecting priests for his sanctuaries from all the tribes indiscriminately (*1 Kg.* xii. 31). Certain others of the characteristic regulations of the Priestly code of the Pentateuch find equally little place in the usage of this time. Thus Solomon, on the occasion of the Feast of Tabernacles dismissed the people on the eighth day (*1 Kg.* viii. 66), though in *Lev.* xxiii. 36, this day is required to be kept as a closing festival, and a solemn convocation is appointed for it.[1] At a later date the principle involved in the injunctions of *Num.* xviii. 4, excluding all strangers from approach to the Mosaic tabernacle (cf. *Num.* xvii. 13), was not observed in connection with the Temple, into which soldiers, consisting in part of foreign mercenaries, were brought by the priest Jehoiada when Athaliah was dethroned (*2 Kg.* xi. 4 foll.). These facts, so far as they go, favour the belief, already expressed, that the distinctive laws of the Priestly code had not yet been formulated.

From what has been said, it may be gathered that whilst some of the features in the religion of this period which receive the censure of the O.T. historian were really infractions of acknowledged principles, others were long-established practices which no law yet existed to condemn. And even in the case of proceedings which must be allowed to be breaches of the earliest code of laws that has been preserved, it was, in general, the manner, not the object, of worship that was illicit. But at certain intervals within this time there really occurred an intrusion into Israel not only of forbidden religious rites, but also of an alien religious faith. The marriage alliances which Solomon formed inevitably familiarised his people with the cults of the

[1] In *2 Ch.* vii. 9 Solomon's conduct is brought into agreement with *Leviticus*.

several nationalities to which his wives belonged. His queens with their retainers were allowed to erect sanctuaries to the various deities to which they offered adoration, such as Chemosh, Milcom, Ashtoreth, and perhaps others: and under such conditions the worship of these divinities could scarcely fail to attract votaries. Amongst the prophets, who, as has been seen, were even in David's time outspoken censors of the sovereign's errors, this departure from the loyalty due to Jehovah must have occasioned deep indignation. To Ahijah, Shemaiah and their contemporaries the gods worshipped by Solomon's wives were doubtless no non-entities, but Jehovah's active rivals, for Hebrew prophetic thought probably had not attained yet to a belief in Jehovah's sole existence. And that He had an exclusive claim to Israel's service and devotion had long been the prophets' traditional creed; and consequently the admission of other powers to a share in the people's homage was a lessening of His rights and prerogatives. But there was also involved a real danger to the national character; for the worship of the Zidonian Ashtoreth, at least, was (it can scarcely be questioned) of a demoralising nature. Under such circumstances it is not improbable that Jeroboam in his successful attempt to detach the northern tribes from Solomon's successor had the sympathy and support of certain of the prophets, though the variant versions of his insurrection given by the Hebrew and the LXX.[1] render it difficult to determine alike the actors and the incidents in the preliminary stages of the conspiracy.

It was not, however, until a later date that the religion of the Zidonian Baal and Ashtoreth threatened to dispute actual supremacy with that of Jehovah within the limits of Israel. The union of Ahab with the Zidonian princess Jezebel was the event which revived in an acute form the dangers which had menaced the country in the later years of Solomon. Jezebel, an imperious and masterful character, was not disposed to submit patiently to the opposition which the practice of her religion met with at the hands of the prophets of Jehovah. As has been observed previously, it is not probable that there was anything like a general proscription of the worshippers of Jehovah. The fact

[1] See pp. 308–9, 313–4.

that the syllables JAH and JO were constituents of the names of certain of Ahab's children, and the attendance at his court, before his fatal expedition to Ramoth Gilead, of numerous prophets of Jehovah, are sufficient to show that the religion of Jehovah was not suppressed.[1] But it was characteristic of the true votaries of the God of Israel that they would not brook for Him a divided allegiance. Consequently their attitude of antagonism provoked persecution; which issued in the struggle (recounted in the last chapter) of Elijah and Elisha with the house of Ahab, and the final destruction of Ahab's family by Jehu. Under the rule of Jehu and his dynasty the nation reverted to its traditional faith and to the mode of worship inaugurated by Jeroboam. The infection of Baal-worship had previously spread to Judah in consequence of the marriage of Jehoram with Ahab's daughter Athaliah; and though Athaliah's son Ahaziah fell, like his uncle Jehoram (son of Ahab), before Jehu, the religion which Athaliah protected and fostered maintained its ground a few years longer as the result of her usurpation of the crown. When she was overthrown, the worship of Jehovah was restored in Judah, as in Israel, to its former predominance. The measures taken for the purification and repair of the Temple in the reign of Joash indicate that that sanctuary became once more the object of national interest and care; but notwithstanding this, the historian notices that the "high places" were still retained in the reign of Amaziah, the successor of Joash; and there was as yet no movement in the direction of making Jerusalem the sole seat of national devotion.

In the accounts of the conflict between the religions of Jehovah and Baal in which Elijah figures so prominently, there is nothing to prove that that prophet any more than his predecessors had arrived at a complete monotheistic faith. He and his contemporaries were, no doubt, tending towards such; and it has been urged that Elijah's mocking language on Carmel respecting Baal (*1 Kg.* xviii. 27) is practically inconsistent with a belief in Baal's real existence. But the message which he sent to Ahaziah of Israel on the occasion of the latter's enquiring of the oracle of Baal-zebub at Ekron shows no consciousness of the king's folly

[1] Cf. p. 335.

in seeking information of an imaginary god, but only of his distrust of Jehovah and his confidence in an alien deity. On the other hand, the absence of any protest on the part of the prophet against the calf-worship that prevailed in Northern Israel cannot be regarded under the circumstances as a sufficient indication that he saw nothing objectionable in it, or entertained an unspiritual conception of Jehovah. Where the supremacy of Israel's ancestral religion was at stake, the purification of it from corruptions might well seem, for the time, to be of secondary importance.

In connection with the conditions of prophecy in this period, some of the features observed in the preceding period still obtained. A state of ecstasy was sometimes artificially stimulated by means of music, as was done by Elisha when accompanying Jehoram and Jehoshaphat on their invasion of Moab (*2 Kg.* iii. 15, cf. *1 Sam.* x. 5). The same prophet is found, like Samuel at Ramah (*1 Sam.* xix. 20), in company with certain bodies of young men, known as *sons of the prophets*. These bodies, which have been compared with the mediæval "guilds," seem to have consisted of youths who were organised and trained by the leading prophets to serve as their ministers and envoys, being instructed presumably in music, oratory, and the historical traditions of their race, besides being grounded in the national faith. Doubtless eventually they lost much of the fanaticism which prevailed in an earlier age, though a certain wildness of bearing continued to mark them even in the days of Elisha (*2 Kg.* ix. 1, 11). In process of time the prophets became the recognised exponents of the Divine purposes, oracles being sought from them in place of being obtained by the priestly Ephod and *Urim* and *Thummim*.[1] This substitution of the human spirit for the hazard of a die (or something similar) in the interpretation of Jehovah's counsels was an advance of no slight magnitude. Revelation now had in the human mind and character its fitting channel; and there was at once rendered possible a progress in the comprehension of, and insight into, the nature of God and His relations with His people, which becomes increasingly apparent in the periods that succeed.

[1] The two classes of priests and prophets were not mutually exclusive, the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel being likewise priests.

2. The Age of Assyrian Supremacy.

Northern Israel had relations with Assyria as early as the time of Jehu; but it did not, so far as can be judged, come under the influence of Assyrian religion until the reigns of Jehu's successors. The earliest indication of the spread in Israel of distinctively Assyrian cults occurs in Amos (who wrote in the reign of Jeroboam II.), where allusion is made to the worship of Siccuth or Saccuth and of Chiun or Kaiwan (*Am.* v. 26). The first of these is an appellation of the god Adar, the Assyrian deity of war and fire; whilst the second is the name of the planet Saturn, and the mention of the latter points to the prevalence in Israel of star-worship. The adoration of the "host of heaven" during the closing years of the Northern Kingdom is further attested by the historian of *2 Kg.* (xvii. 16). Judah was perhaps infected by Assyrian forms of worship shortly afterwards; for when Ahaz the contemporary of Pekah submitted to Tiglath Pileser and was summoned to Damascus, he brought back with him the copy of an altar seen there, which was probably Assyrian rather than Syrian (as stated by the historian) in character (*2 Kg.* xvi. 10–15). This suggests that he introduced an Assyrian cult amongst his people, conceiving the deities of Assyria to be powers whom it was expedient to propitiate. The same king is also the first who is described as having caused his son to pass through the fire (*2 Kg.* xvi. 3). Yet in neither Judah nor Israel was the worship of Jehovah altogether replaced by that of other deities. The recognition by Ahaz of Jehovah as the national God is evidenced by the name which Ahaz gave to his son (Hezekiah), whilst the Divine name appears as an element in the appellation of the Israelite kings Jehoahaz, Joash, Zechariah, and Pekahiah. In Israel the calves set up by Jeroboam as emblems of Jehovah still received adoration (*Hos.* xiii. 2). And it is apparent from the writings of the prophets that amongst the populace there prevailed a confident belief that Jehovah would intervene, as before in their history, to save them from all disaster, and a hopeful desire was expressed to see *the day of Jehovah* (*Am.* v. 18). There was, in short, notwithstanding the inroads of foreign rites and usages, much formal maintenance of the

people's traditional religion. But this formal service was accompanied by widespread social corruption. The external prosperity which Israel and Judah enjoyed during the rule of Jeroboam II. and Uzziah respectively was attended by many internal disorders. There was a growing separation of class from class. The luxury of the rich contrasted glaringly with the poverty of the poor. Landed property was becoming concentrated in a few hands; and the expropriation of the smaller by the greater landowners appears to have been marked by harshness and cruelty. Justice was wrested in the interest of the powerful; robbery and murder were rife; and the priesthood (at least in Israel), instead of being foremost in stemming the tide of wickedness, seems to have been as guilty as any other order in the community.

In Judah, where Ahaz, the grandson of Uzziah, was succeeded by Hezekiah, an attempt at reformation was made (if the statements of the writer of *2 Kg.* may be trusted), which aimed not only at the destruction of existing idolatrous emblems, but at the prevention of further innovations in the future. Hezekiah, besides breaking in pieces the pillars and *Asherim*, and even the brazen serpent described as having been made by Moses in the wilderness, likewise abolished the "high places" (*2 Kg.* xviii. 4, 22). The principal reason that made the abolition of these desirable was the facility with which the worship of Jehovah conducted at them could be contaminated by foreign elements. As has been said, the popular conception of Jehovah was not very remote from that entertained of the Canaanite deities; and titles like *Baal* and *Melech* could be, and were, applied as well to the God of Israel as to the gods of Peor or Zidon. Under such circumstances the deterioration of both faith and practice must have always been easy; and it was doubtless furthered in the country districts by the concentration at the Temple at Jerusalem of the most influential and best-instructed priests, the care of the local sanctuaries being left to the more ignorant members of the sacerdotal body. The attempted reformation, however, seems to have been only partially successful; and even idol-worship does not appear to have been wholly extirpated (*Is.* xxx. 22, xxxi. 7). If the account given

be historical in all its details, and the earliest restriction of worship to Jerusalem be rightly assigned to the beginning of Hezekiah's reign, it may have been first suggested by the temporary suspension of local services under pressure of the inroad made by Pekah and Rezin in the time of Ahaz; whilst those who reject the statements of *2 Kg.* consider that the idea first arose in consequence of the preservation of the capital from the destruction which overtook the provincial towns during the invasion of Sennacherib. The latter event, if it did not originate the reform, must at any rate have greatly promoted it when subsequently, after the idolatrous reaction under Manasseh, the centralisation of worship was again attempted by Josiah.

It is to the period of Assyrian supremacy that the earliest written prophecies that have been preserved as independent compositions belong. The existence of such written prophecies is a fact as important for the comprehension of the Hebrew religion at large as it is for the history of the particular centuries that produced them. The prophetical writings not only throw incidental light upon the condition of contemporary times, and enable the development of religious thought in Israel from this date onward to be traced much more extensively and accurately than is practicable at any preceding stage, but they make it possible for the character, purposes, and methods of prophecy in general to be studied at first hand. Under these circumstances, it will be desirable, before proceeding to mark the progress in moral and religious ideas effected in the successive ages into which this period has previously been divided, to consider briefly the prophetic office as understood by the prophets themselves, and the convictions which animated them in their exercise of it.

By this time the earlier conception of the prophets as seers and diviners, to be consulted in moments of difficulty or uncertainty, had almost disappeared. Application was, indeed, occasionally made to them by persons in doubt as to a course to be taken or an issue to be expected (*Is.* xxxvii. 2, *Jer.* xxxviii. 14, xlii. 2, 3); but they were, for the most part, asserters, in season and out of season, of the religious truths which they believed the nation especially to need, and which they considered themselves to be divinely instructed to proclaim. Their object

was to interpret Jehovah's will and Jehovah's ways to His people, to expound the principles and aims of His Providence, and to explain His nature, attributes, and character. This object they pursued not in philosophic abstraction, but with close reference to those events of physical and human history which excited attention and demanded elucidation. Ignoring secondary causes, they assigned all that happened to the direct agency of God; and traced in the fortunes of their nation and of the world in general the accomplishment of a moral purpose. They were thus primarily preachers of righteousness (cf. *Mic.* iii. 8), and defenders of true religion. Their utterances were evoked by the conditions which immediately confronted them; and the tenor of their prophecies varied with the circumstances and requirements of the times. Their message was addressed directly to their contemporaries, whose conduct they sought to influence and determine in conformity with the Divine Laws; and with this end in view they warned (cf. *Ezek.* xxxiii. 7), reproved, corrected, fortified, or consoled. Their predominant note, indeed, was one of censure and rebuke. They castigated the nation's sins and follies, and denounced equally social corruption and religious formalism. But on occasions their tone was one of hope and encouragement; and when the country was suffering under stress of disaster, whether from physical calamities, such as drought and famine, or from the inroads of foreign invaders, they seldom failed, whilst insisting on the punitive character of the affliction, to hold out to their countrymen, if repentant, the prospect of relief. As will be seen later, even in the hour of Israel's extinction as a nation there was not wanting the voice of prophecy to predict the restoration of a reformed and forgiven people.

In enforcing the lessons which they wished to convey, the prophets exhausted all the devices of oratory. From the days of Moses, their language abounded in figure and metaphor (see *Ex.* iv. 22), and Nathan on a well-known occasion used a touching parable to rouse David to a true sense of his sin (*2 Sam.* xii. 1 foll.). In the prophetic writings of the 8th and succeeding centuries, the relations of Israel with its God are represented under every variety of similitude;[1] indeed, to such an extent is

[1] Cf. *Hos.* xii. 10.

figurative speech employed by them that Ezekiel pleads that the people made it a reproach against him that he was a speaker of parables (*Ezek.* xx. 49). For instance, Israel, or Jerusalem, is styled a virgin, exposed to maltreatment by enemies (*Am.* v. 2, *Is.* xxxvii. 22). Or she is Jehovah's bride, and her worship of other gods is consequently whoredom and adultery (*Hos.* ii. 2, 7, 19, *Jer.* ii. 2, iii. 1, 9, *Ezek.* c. xvi., *2 Is.* l. 1, liv. 5–6). Again, Israel is Jehovah's son whom He taught to go, or carried in His arms (*Hos.* xi. 1, cf. *Jer.* xxxi. 9). Or else it is Jehovah's vineyard (*Is.* v. 7), or His vine (*Jer.* ii. 21, *Ezek.* xix. 10, cf. xv. 6), or a goodly olive tree (*Jer.* xi. 16). The nation is also compared to a flock of sheep ("*Zech.*" ix. 16, *Ezek.* xxxiv. 31), whose shepherds are the prophets; or to a lioness (*Ezek.* xix. 2) whose whelps, her kings, are trapped and caged. Even Jehovah Himself is likened to a lion (*Hos.* xi. 10), or to a bird protecting its young (*Is.* xxxi. 5). In *Daniel* (c. vii., viii.) the successive empires which dominated the eastern world from the 6th to the 2nd century are represented under various animal forms, some of them being of strangely composite character. The use of significant names was common in Israel, as in other Eastern nations; and the prophets often allude to such as conveyed a warning or a promise (*Hos.* i. 6, 9, ii. 22, *Is.* vii. 3, viii. 1, cf. viii. 18). Plays upon words are frequent, as when an almond tree (*shaked*) suggests that Jehovah is watching (*shoked*) over His word to perform it (*Jer.* i. 11–12, others are observable in the Hebrew of *Am.* viii. 2, *Mic.* i. 10, 14, 15). A device often employed by the prophets for attracting attention and impressing their communications upon the minds of observers was the use of symbolic actions. In earlier times, the accidental rending of Samuel's robe by Saul was interpreted by the prophet to indicate the rending from Saul of the kingdom; whilst Ahijah or Shemaiah intentionally tore the garment he was wearing into twelve pieces, of which he gave ten to Jeroboam to symbolise the partition of the kingdom of Solomon (*1 Sam.* xv. 27–28, *1 Kg.* xi. 29–31; cf. also *1 Kg.* xx. 35, xxii. 11). Of the later prophets, Isaiah, to discourage reliance upon Egypt, walked naked and barefoot for three years as a sign that the Egyptians and Ethiopians would be led away captive, naked and barefoot, by the king of Assyria (*Is.* xx. 2 foll.) The

writer of a section preserved in *Zechariah* took two staves, emblems of the two Israelite kingdoms, and broke them, to symbolise the breaking of brotherhood between Israel and Judah ("*Zech.*" xi. 7, 10, 14). Jeremiah, on one occasion, brought an earthen vessel and shattered it before the people to indicate the destruction of Jerusalem (*Jer.* xix. 1–13); and on another occasion, he placed bands and bars upon his neck, and then sent them to the kings of Edom and Moab and their allies (who were seeking to induce Zedekiah to rebel against Nebuchadrezzar) with the announcement that the Babylonian yoke would be laid upon all those countries (*Jer.* c. xxvii.). Similarly Ezekiel removed all his stuff out of his house as a token of the coming exile (*Ezek.* c. xii.); and shaved his head and destroyed the hairs, with the exception of a few, to illustrate the fate in store for the nation (*Ezek.* c. v.). In *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel* such symbolic acts are exceptionally common; further instances occur in *Jer.* c. xiii., xliii. 9–10, *Ezek.* iv. 4 foll.,[1] xxxvii. 15 foll.

The prophets in the discharge of their office always regarded themselves as the mouthpieces of Jehovah (*Jer.* xv. 19), and ascribed their utterances to the Deity Himself (*Jer.* i. 9; cf. *Deut.* xviii. 18). They believed themselves to be in His confidence (*Am.* iii. 7), to be commissioned by Him, and to be endowed with His Spirit (*Mic.* iii. 8, *2 Is.* xlviii. 16, *Zech.* vii. 12), even identifying themselves so far with Him that despite done to the prophet was despite done to God ("*Zech.*" xi. 12–13, cf. xii. 10). They were His instruments in shaping the destinies of mankind, in the sense that their words were the heralds of the Divine operations: by them Jehovah hewed His people (*Hos.* vi. 5), and by Him they were set "to pluck up and to break down, to destroy and to build up" (*Jer.* i. 10, cf. v. 14). The usual preface to their addresses is simply *Thus saith Jehovah;* but sometimes they indicate under various figures a sensible mastery of themselves by the Divine Spirit. Thus Ezekiel declares (iii. 22) "the

[1] In *Ezek.* iv. 5, 9 for *three hundred and ninety* there should probably be read, with the LXX., *one hundred and ninety*, which approximately represents the period between the Fall of Samaria in 722 and the (ideal) restoration of both Israel and Judah in 536.

It is possible that some of the symbolic acts attributed to the prophets were only described and not performed, as must obviously have been the case with that related in *Jer.* xxv. 15–17.

hand of Jehovah was upon me, and He said unto me, Arise"; and the movements of his mind are represented as directed by "the Spirit" (iii. 14, 24), whose influence is described under physical symbols (see especially viii. 3, "he put forth the form of a hand and took me by a lock of mine head"). The same prophet further speaks of "eating a roll" which a hand presented unto him, wherein were written lamentations and mourning and woe (iii. 2). Jeremiah similarly relates that Jehovah put forth His hand and touched his mouth; and like Ezekiel declares that he "did eat" Jehovah's words. Isaiah (vi. 1), Zechariah (i. 7), and others, indicate more or less exactly the time when the Divine revelations were imparted. And though Divine communications were sometimes sought in prayer (*Jer.* xlii. 4, cf. xxxiii. 3), it is often implied that it was with great unwillingness and self-distrust that Jehovah's message was received. Jeremiah (i. 6), for instance, represents himself as pleading to Jehovah, Who had appointed him to be a prophet unto the nations, that he could not speak, for he was a child; and a similar shrinking from a prophet's commission is suggested in Jehovah's address to Ezekiel (ii. 8), "Be not thou rebellious like that rebellious house." But the strong repugnance to undertake the duties laid upon them was overmastered by a still stronger force; for Jeremiah, in answer to his plea, received the reply, "Say not, I am a child, for to whomsoever I shall send thee thou shalt go"; and on another occasion he declared, "If I say, I will not make mention of Him, nor speak any more in His name, then there is in mine heart as it were a burning fire, shut up in my bones, and I am weary with forbearing, and I cannot contain" (xx. 9). The prophets thus appear as compelled to speak in virtue of a constraining power which was so far not themselves that it led them into perils from which they would otherwise have shrunk (see *Jer.* xi. 19, xv. 10), in spite of their prevailing consciousness of being under Divine protection (*Jer.* i. 8, xv. 11). A further indication of the distinction which they drew between the duties imposed upon them by the Deity and the course which their own reflection inclined them to adopt is furnished by *Jer.* xxxii. 6–25. The prophet believed himself forewarned by God that his uncle would offer him his field for sale; and as the offer was afterwards

actually made, he concluded that it was the Divine will that he should accept it, and accordingly did so. But the land at the time was menaced by the Babylonians who, Jeremiah was persuaded, would become masters of it; and consequently the prophet, in effecting the purchase, did what prudential considerations altogether condemned.

Another fact suggestive of an external influence in the Divine communications made to the prophets, namely their reported witnessing of visions, is of a more inconclusive nature. As has been seen, the early prophets not unfrequently fell into a condition of frenzy or ecstasy; and in such a state, their belief that they heard heavenly voices and saw heavenly sights is one which, whilst not exciting surprise, does not command implicit confidence. The same belief however was shared by the prophets of the 8th and following centuries. The term *vision*, indeed, is often used merely to denote a prophetic utterance (see *Is.* i. 1, *Obad.* 1, *Nah.* i. 1): but there are many explicit descriptions in the prophetic writings of visionary experiences. Amos (ix. 1), for instance, relates that he saw Jehovah standing beside the altar; and Isaiah, like Micaiah (*1 Kg.* xxii. 19), declares that he saw Jehovah sitting upon His throne and attended by His celestial court (*Is.* c. vi.). In *Ezekiel* and *Zechariah* i.–viii., accounts of visions are exceptionally numerous. The prophecy of the former opens with a detailed narrative of the appearance to him of the glory of Jehovah; whilst the latter relates various wonderful sights witnessed by him and interpreted to him by an angel. This testimony of the thoughtful and reflective prophets, who committed their beliefs and impressions to writing, is of a weightier character and claims greater consideration. In them an exalted state of feeling was combined with considerable intellectual powers and acute spiritual perceptions; and it seems unreasonable to deny altogether the reality of their experiences just because they are represented as transcending those of ordinary men. Nevertheless, that there was a certain subjective element, alike in the voices which the prophets heard, and in the visions which they saw, is indicated by several facts. Some of the visions reproduce objects with which the prophet who witnessed them was familiar

in his daily life. For example, the visions of the *cherubim* seen by Ezekiel (c. i.), who was one of the captives in Babylonia, repeat some of the features of the colossal winged lions and oxen bearing human heads, which have been found among the ruins of Nineveh. In this case there would appear to be a combination (as it has been observed)[1] into new forms, of the images and impressions with which the prophet's mind had previously been stored. It seems probable that some of the details of Isaiah's vision (c. vi.), such as the smoke, the altar, the tongs, were likewise derived from the surroundings of the Temple, which is expressly declared to have been the scene of it. In cases like *Am.* vii. 1, viii. 2, and *Jer.* xviii. 1–2, in which Jehovah is represented as showing one prophet a flight of grasshoppers or a basket of summer fruit, and directing another to visit a potter's house, the explanation presumably is that the circumstances in which the prophets found themselves, or the objects which they chanced to have before them, gave rise to the trains of thought and argument which they describe as occurring in their converse with the Deity. Similarly, when Ezekiel in Babylonia states that he was brought "in the visions of God" to Jerusalem to witness the idolatries practised there, it may reasonably be supposed that he reproduces, by a more or less conscious process of reflection, knowledge which he had gained when resident in his native land. A like account is still more probable in cases where no mention is made of any vision. In certain instances the prophets imply that it was only after *the word of Jehovah* had been confirmed by some subsequent occurrence that they realised the true origin of the impulse which seized them to speak or act in a particular way (see *Jer.* xxxii. 7, 8, already alluded to). And in view of the habits of thought prevailing amongst the Hebrews generally (see pp. 279–80) it is natural to conclude that Hosea, in relating that Jehovah commanded him to take "a wife of whoredom," was regarding his unhappy married life in the light of later knowledge, and describing his choice of a woman of unchaste disposition as being divinely ordered because his consequent experiences had conveyed to him a religious lesson of great value and wide

[1] See Driver, *Joel and Amos*, p. 201.

application. The prophets, it would appear, did not, and probably could not, discriminate perfectly between what was imparted from without and what was perceived from within, between what they observed and what they inferred, between the direct and indirect action of God. They were not ordinarily sensible of the *process* by which they reached the truths of which they became possessed, but, assured that the *result* reached was in accord with the Divine counsels, they were wont to ascribe it, however attained, to immediate revelation. They externalised their inward convictions, and blended together the suggestive sound or sight with the suggested thought. The germs of ideas and expectations and hopes which they inherited from the past they did not stay to disentangle from the particular conclusions in the present to which they contributed, but referred the whole to the agency of the Divine Spirit. In events which had a determining influence either upon their own individual lives or upon the national history they discerned a providential purpose, without caring to trace the proximate causes. And as their writings, certainly in some cases and probably in all, were produced after some lapse of time had separated them from the actual experiences recorded, it may be suspected that there entered into their accounts of what had been seen or heard an element that was purely imaginative. The literary art which is observable in them was possibly not confined to the employment of the ordinary devices of rhetoric, but extended to the use of deliberately chosen symbolism, even in connection with the Deity Himself.

But though it is impracticable for us to determine in what proportion subjective imagery and objective reality underlie the phraseology of the prophets, or to distinguish accurately where they themselves fail to do so, the resultant features of Hebrew prophecy are of a very exceptional nature, and demand an adequate cause to account for them. To explain the phenomena presented as produced by the co-operation of two factors—a human and a Divine—is perhaps open to the objection that such an explanation assumes a Divine origin too exclusively for what is abnormal, whereas all human faculties must in a measure be of Divine derivation. But it may be safely asserted that the

facts of prophetic history imply in the prophets a Divine endowment of a pre-eminent, if not a unique, kind. These facts are threefold. In the first place, there is the confident conviction of the prophets themselves that they were the spokesmen of the Almighty (which has already been considered). Secondly, there is the pure and lofty character of their teaching (illustrated in detail in the sequel), which, in general, ran counter to the popular tendencies, and is not readily explicable by national or racial qualities, their conceptions of the Deity being more spiritual, and the conceptions of His service being more ethical, than were those which prevailed amongst the people at large (who thought that Jehovah's favour could be obtained by external rites, and their country's security assured by material resources and political alliances, independently of any moral conditions). And finally, there is the fact of their uttering a series of predictions which, if not fulfilled as uniformly or exactly as is sometimes supposed, were nevertheless verified, on the whole, in a very remarkable degree.

That the prophets themselves believed that they were invested with the power of prediction is apparent not only from the evidence afforded by the histories in regard to the earlier prophets, such as Ahijah, Micaiah, Elijah, and Elisha (*1 Kg.* xiv. 12, xxii. 23, *2 Kg.* i. 6, iii. 17), but from the first-hand testimony of such of them as have left written compositions behind them. It was with the view of appealing to the verdict of subsequent experience that they directed certain of their utterances to be placed on record and carefully preserved (*Is.* viii. 1, 16 (marg.), xxx. 8, *Jer.* xxx. 1–3, li. 60, *Hab.* ii. 2). Among these were announcements concerning the immediate future which they made in order to accredit their statements respecting a period more remote. When king Ahaz was opposed by the united forces of Rezin and Pekah, Isaiah, to convince him of the truth of his own assurance that his fears were groundless, bade him ask a sign; and on his refusing, proffered as such the prediction that within the infancy of a child born very soon after the time at which he was speaking the danger to Judah would disappear (*Is.* vii. 7 foll.). When Jeremiah and Hananiah confronted each other with contradictory predictions respecting

Nebuchadrezzar, the former to authenticate his own assertions, foretold that his opponent would die the same year (*Jer.* c. xxviii). Similarly Ezekiel looked forward to the future to confirm his words, and so establish his authority (*Ezek.* xxxiii. 33). The prophets thus evinced their confidence in their pretensions to speak in Jehovah's name by committing themselves to predictions which their contemporaries would, for the most part, be in a position to verify. And in *Deut.* xviii. 22 it is specifically laid down that by the ability to foretell what is to come true and false prophets are to be distinguished. There, the occurrence or non-occurrence of a predicted event is expressly regarded as the criterion of a prophet's right to be considered a messenger of Jehovah.

And of predictions respecting both the nearer and the remoter future uttered by the writing prophets, the substantial fulfilment of which is a matter of history, a long series exists. It is not necessary to enumerate all of them here, but the most remarkable may be briefly noticed. Amos, the earliest of the prophets of whom written memorials have been preserved, declared to the people of Israel who desired to see *the day of Jehovah* that it would bring them darkness and not light; and in the name of Jehovah he asserted that they should go into captivity beyond Damascus (v. 27). This prediction was delivered in the reign of Jeroboam II., at a time when the nation was enjoying more prosperity than it had known since the days of Solomon, and when the Assyrians, the nameless power beyond Damascus, were inactive and quiescent. Yet less than forty years after Amos had prophesied, Samaria fell before Assyria and its inhabitants were deported. The prophet also declared that the neighbouring Syrians should go into captivity to Kir (i. 5); and in *2 Kg.* xvi. 9 is recorded their overthrow and their exile to Kir[1] some twenty or thirty years later. The same two events confirmed likewise the predictions of Isaiah, just referred to, in which he asserted that the designs of the then kings of Israel and Syria against Judah should not stand or come to pass (*Is.* vii. 7). In the case of Damascus, its overthrow must have taken place almost within the very narrow limits which (as has been seen) the

[1] In *2 Kg.* xvi. 9 the LXX. (B) omits the mention of *Kir*.

prophet designated for its accomplishment, though the downfall of Pekah of Israel was probably not effected quite so speedily. A still more signal prediction of the last-named prophet was his announcement, in the reign of Hezekiah, that Jerusalem should successfully defy the Assyrians under Sennacherib, when the latter invaded and made himself master of the Judæan territory in 701 B.C. (see *Is.* x. 5 foll., xiv. 24–27, xvii. 12–14, cc. xxxiii., xxxvi., xxxvii.). Such a prediction can be explained as little as that of Amos, just related, as a political calculation; for the only human power which was in any way a match for Assyria was Egypt, and of Egypt Isaiah had a profound distrust. Moreover, the prophet expressly told his countrymen that not in material resources and foreign aid, but in quietness and confidence in Jehovah would their strength be found (*Is.* xxx. 15). Yet the event bore him out, for the invader's army perished (probably of pestilence), and Jerusalem remained uncaptured. The approaching overthrow of Nineveh forms the subject of Nahum's brief prophecy; and the city is known to have fallen before the united forces of the Medes and Babylonians in 607; but as the precise date of Nahum is unknown,[1] it is possible that in this case coming events had already begun to cast their shadows before. The fall of Nineveh was followed closely by that of Jerusalem; and its capture was predicted by Jeremiah. His predictions were flatly opposed to those current among the nations which encouraged the Jewish monarch to conspire against his Babylonian suzerain (*Jer.* xxvii. 9); but they proved only too true. The city was taken and a large body of its inhabitants was carried to Babylon. But much more remarkable than this was his prophecy of the subsequent restoration of the exiles from the land of their captivity. There was nothing, according to all human reckoning, less likely than so strange a retrieval of fortune. Yet the assertion of it had occurred even in the utterances of the earlier prophets of the 8th century, who chiefly devoted themselves

[1] According to Hdt. i. 103, Nineveh was unsuccessfully attacked by Cyaxares some years before the siege which resulted in its capture in 607 (see p. 379); and Nahum's prophecy may have in view either of these two occasions. As i. 13, ii. 2 point to oppression of Judah by Assyria, its composition could scarcely be later than the early years of Josiah, in the course of whose reign the power of Assyria rapidly waned (see p. 378).

to denouncing their country's sins and predicting its punishment (*Am.* ix. 11–15, *Hos.* i. 11, iii. 5, *Mic.* ii. 12–13, vii. 11–12).[1] And as soon as the exile was an accomplished fact, both Jeremiah (xxv. 12–13, xxix. 10, xxxiii. 7 foll.) and Ezekiel (xi. 17, xxxvii. 12) repeated the assertion with emphasis. The period of the captivity was indicated by these two prophets respectively by the conventional numbers 70 (*Jer.* xxv. 11)[2] and 40 (*Ezek.* iv. 6). And just half a century after the capture of Jerusalem, Babylon, which had overthrown Assyria, itself fell before the Persians; and one of the first acts of the conqueror Cyrus was to grant to the Jews liberty to return to their homes.

In view of these facts, then, it would seem that the Hebrew prophets actually exercised, as they certainly claimed to possess, a power of prevision in a degree beyond the ordinary endowment of humanity. The predictions in question cannot easily be explained as entirely due to political sagacity in combination with strong religious faith, on account both of the form they assumed and of the circumstances under which they were delivered. The prophets in forecasting the future did not balance conflicting considerations against each other; they did not argue, but affirmed. And as has been seen, many of their announcements were made (so far as can be judged) in defiance of the probabilities of the case. Nevertheless their prescience, abnormal and singular though it was, stood in a certain relation both to the principles of the Hebrew religion and the conditions of the prophets' own times. On the one hand, the prophets were collectively penetrated with a firm belief in a Divine and providential ordering of the events of human history. They recognised in Jehovah the Director of the fortunes of mankind in general, and more especially of Israel, with whom He had entered into covenant. Their utterances, being declarative of His character and of the moral principles regulating His dealings with His people, involved in consequence a forecast of the results awaiting a certain course of action. And

[1] The authenticity of some of these passages has been questioned by certain scholars; see below, p. 428, note.

[2] The conventional character of the figure 70 employed by Jeremiah appears from the fact that he used it equally whether he was speaking in the reign of Jehoiakim (xxv. 11–12) or of Zedekiah (xxix. 10); cf. also *Is.* xxiii. 15, *Zech.* vii. 5. See p. 391, note, and p. 467.

inasmuch as their belief in Jehovah's righteousness was not more profound than their belief in His faithfulness towards the people chosen to be His own, their assurance respecting its future extended to the final issue of His beneficent purposes. On the other hand, the manner in which they anticipated that those purposes would be accomplished was to some extent determined by the physical or political forces which they observed at work. The precise form which their predictions took was in large measure decided by contemporary conditions: in their descriptions of the future they were guided by the prospect of it which was afforded by the present. Hence successive prophets, whilst repeating the general laws which their predecessors asserted to govern Jehovah's treatment of Israel, yet differed in their conceptions both of the way in which they would operate and of the nation which was the destined agent to put them into execution. For example, in the latter part of Hosea's lifetime Assyria and Egypt were the two most powerful neighbours both of Israel and of Judah; and it was a captivity in these countries that the prophet contemplated as being in store for his countrymen (*Hos.* ix. 3). On the other hand, Isaiah, at least in his later years, saw in the Assyrians alone Judah's chief source of alarm. The overthrow of Israel and the destruction of Samaria had shown the weakness of Egypt and the strength of Assyria; and the logic of events had made it clear how untrustworthy were the offers of support made to Judah by the former against the latter (*Is.* xxx. 1–7, cf. xxxvi. 6). In the early days of Josiah the invasion of the Scythians carried devastation into Western Asia; and it is probably they who are alluded to, in Jeremiah's opening chapters, as about to carry into effect God's judgment upon His people. Later, Babylon succeeded to the inheritance of Assyria; and it was to Babylon that Jeremiah eventually declared that Judah would be taken away captive. The same prophet's prediction (xlvi. 25–6) that the king of Babylon would invade and conquer Egypt might also be an inference from antecedent conditions; for Egypt, which not long before had opposed Babylon at Carchemish, had given still more recent provocation by sending forces to relieve Jerusalem when besieged by the Babylonian king. From the fact that the prophet's anticipations of the future were thus influenced

in respect of details by their knowledge of the present it follows that their predictions were in general less accurate in proportion as the future to which they related was more remote from, and less in touch with, existing conditions. Thus certain of the earlier prophets, whilst foretelling that a judgment was to overtake Israel for its sins, which was to be followed by a subsequent deliverance when the chastisement had served its purpose, did not explain *how* the predicted events were to be brought about. Amos, for instance, declared that Judah (as well as Israel) was destined to suffer disaster (ii. 4–5), from which it was eventually to be restored (ix. 11 foll.), but he did not indicate the means by which either issue was to be accomplished. Isaiah and Micah, whose prophecies were directly addressed to Judah, supplemented the vagueness of Amos about the dangers threatening that country by explicitly affirming Assyria to be the destined author of its calamities; but in going on to announce its recovery and final vindication at the hands of Jehovah, they betray no knowledge of the disasters, subsequent to the Assyrian scourge, which Judah was to suffer from Babylon. Nahum, writing perhaps in the reign of Manasseh, foretold more exactly the doom of Assyria and the destruction of its capital Nineveh; but he, too, shows no consciousness that the overthrow of Assyria only preluded the rise of Babylon, and that "the bringing again of the excellency of Jacob" (ii. 2) would not take place until after the last-named power had subjugated Judah far more completely than Assyria had ever done. Similarly among the prophecies which relate to foreign nations, instances occur of events being ante-dated. Isaiah's prediction (c. xx.) concerning Egypt, delivered shortly before 711 B.C., in which he anticipated the early invasion of that country by the Assyrians and the deportation of its inhabitants, was not fulfilled until long after the time originally designated; for Egypt, though often menaced by Assyria, was not successfully invaded until the reign of Esar-haddon (681–668). Nor again did the siege of Tyre, predicted by Ezekiel (c. xxvi.), and undertaken by Nebuchadrezzar, result on that occasion as the prophet expected, for at a later date he represents Jehovah as granting Egypt to Nebuchadrezzar because he had received no wages for his services against Tyre (xxix. 17–20). Moreover, certain events,

though they substantially confirmed the previous predictions of them, were not attended by the particular circumstances which the prophets contemplated. Babylon, for instance, really fell before its enemies the Medes, as foretold in "*Is.*" xiii. 17; but it was not then actually taken by storm, as there described. Other events that happened in accordance with prophetic announcements were not accomplished on the scale anticipated. Damascus, though it suffered temporary extinction, was not finally destroyed by Assyria, as depicted by *Isaiah* (xvii. 1–3); and the return of the Jewish exiles, as the evidence of the books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* shows (cf. *Hag.* i. 6), did not correspond altogether to the accounts which Ezekiel and the Second Isaiah gave of it beforehand. In the last instance, the prophet's descriptions were obviously elaborated under the influence of strong emotion, and allowance must be made for their rhetorical character; but even if they are not construed *au pied de la lettre*, they still appear out of proportion to the actual event. But it is more especially in connection with the final accomplishment of Jehovah's intentions towards His people that the limitations of the prophets' foresight both with regard to time and conditions are discernible. The consummation of Israel's destiny they expected to be realised much sooner than proved to be the case. In particular, they often placed it in close succession to some event in the near future which they more or less accurately foresaw, with the result that whilst part of the prediction was fulfilled, part was left to be re-affirmed again (usually in a somewhat different shape) by later prophets. Successive generations anticipated that there would occur within their own age the advent of a great Personality who should be the glory of the Israelite race, whilst history only brought with it repeated disillusions. But in spite of disappointment the hopes of the prophets continually revived afresh; and the assertions of previous ages were persistently renewed. Eventually, some 700 years after the earliest prophecies of an explicitly Messianic character had been delivered, Christ was born, and claimed to fulfil in Himself the predictions which these and others contained. And the strange combination of essential agreement and much circumstantial divergence, subsisting between the anticipation and the event, conspicuously illustrates the real

power of prescience, together with its very considerable qualifications, which the prophets possessed.

The partial contradiction which the immediate future gave to so many prophetic predictions did not produce either on the prophets themselves or on their contemporaries all the effect that might have been expected. Since such predictions had as their purpose and object the moral and spiritual reformation of those to whom they were addressed, they were necessarily, in virtue of this very fact, to a large extent conditional and not absolute (see *Jer.* xviii. 7–10, xxvi. 18 foll.). If a course of action that had been denounced was discontinued, the consequences (it was generally implied) might be averted: an alteration in the predicted fortune might be secured by a timely alteration of life. Accordingly the announcements of the prophets tended to defeat themselves; but though sometimes the merciful postponement of a Divine judgment was turned to the discredit of the prophets who gave warning of it (see *Ezek.* xii. 22), yet for the most part the true aim and intent of their utterances respecting the future was clearly understood. Conversely, if certain promised blessings were not realised, or the realisation fell short of the previous announcement, a sufficient explanation could generally be found in the imperfections and unworthiness of those to whom the promise was given. It was chiefly when the authority of the prophets to speak in God's name was challenged that they sought to vindicate it by an appeal to an absolute foreknowledge of things to come (see *Jer.* xxviii. 9, and cf. *Deut.* xviii. 22, *Num.* xvi. 28 foll.). Yet whilst this faculty distinguished them in general from false prophets, who prophesied lying dreams and spake a vision of their own hearts (see *Jer.* xxiii. 32, 16), it was recognised that it was possible for the predictions of others than those who were Jehovah's duly accredited messengers to prove correct occasionally. Consequently to guard against the erroneous conclusions which in such cases might be drawn from the coincidence between the announcement of an event and its occurrence, fidelity to the principles of the national religion was held to be an essential requisite of a true prophet. In *Deut.* xiii. 1–3 it is strictly enjoined that no prophet who urged the people to go

after other gods should be heeded; and any sign or wonder wrought by such is explained as due to Jehovah's desire to put His people to the proof. The prophets who for Israel were intended to be a substitute for the augurs and diviners common amongst other nations, are regarded in *Deut.* xviii. 14 foll. as resembling Moses and carrying on his work; and it was to the maintenance among the people of their ancestral faith that a long succession of loyal servants of Jehovah directed their efforts and devoted their lives.

But whilst the prophets were thus the defenders of a faith transmitted to them from the past, and whilst they always regarded themselves, in respect of what they taught, as reformers and not innovators, there was a distinct advance, as time went on, in their apprehension of the germinal truths implicit in the Mosaic religion. This advance was not always uniform or uninterrupted: contemporary prophets sometimes differed in their dispositions and consequently in their ideals (Jeremiah and Ezekiel are noteworthy instances); and a particular prophet might have less in common with others of his own epoch than with some who preceded or followed him. Even certain of those who are stigmatised as false prophets may have been honestly mistaken in their beliefs, clinging blindly to convictions which once required assertion, but which, in the presence of new aspects of the truth, had become a source of error and consequent peril (see *Mic.* iii. 11). Nevertheless, if attention be confined to the prophets whose writings are preserved in the O.T., and the writers of one age are collectively compared with those of another, a similar process of development, in respect both of moral and spiritual ideas, to that which has been observed in the earlier stages of the Hebrew religion is discernible; and the greater abundance and trustworthiness of the material which is available for investigation from the 8th century onwards makes it possible to follow it with increased fulness and precision. The development in question centres round two main problems, (1) the nature of Jehovah, His relation to the world, and the character of the service He chiefly requires, (2) the bond existing between Him and Israel, its true significance, and its ultimate purpose; and the contributions made to the solution

of these questions by successive generations of prophets must now receive consideration by the resumption of the narrative which this digression interrupted.

The prophets who were more or less contemporary with the period of Assyrian supremacy were **Amos, Hosea, Isaiah,** and **Micah**; and an account of their teaching is a necessary supplement to the description previously given of the external condition of religion in Israel during this age. As has been just observed, the prophets were the spiritual children of Moses, to whose ruling ideas they desired to recall their countrymen. Among the cardinal features of the Mosaic law were included exclusive devotion to Jehovah, worship without the medium of images, avoidance of Canaanite impurity, and the merciful treatment of the poor and unfortunate; and in the minds of those who were imbued with its principles a fuller appreciation of the conduct demanded of those who professed obedience to it had made itself felt in the course of time. On the other hand, among the people, as a whole, social oppression and religious infidelity largely prevailed, in flagrant defiance of Jehovah's known requirements. Such sins were seen to deserve, and certain to receive, condign punishment; and in the frequent calamities of earthquake, drought, and war the prophets of the 8th century saw the agents of the Divine judgment. In this, indeed, they did not go beyond their predecessors. But the wider outlook, which increased acquaintance with the more distant parts of the world gave them, and a closer observation of the general trend of recent political movements could not but enlarge their conceptions both of the sphere and the purpose of the Divine operations. The extent and power of the Assyrian empire in particular, must have affected their estimate of the place and importance of their own nation among the peoples of the earth, and given a decisive impulse to more comprehensive views of Jehovah and His relation to the world at large. Its far-reaching ambition familiarised them with the thought of a universal and world-wide sovereignty; and its actual aggrandisement at the expense of so many neighbouring countries, if it was not to be explained as due to the superiority of its gods over those of other peoples (Israel included), had to be embraced within a

profounder doctrine concerning Israel's own God; and it was by means of a fresh presentation of Israel's traditional faith that the prophets confronted the situation. They did not, indeed, by any means break with the fundamental conceptions of the past, or relinquish the belief that Israel was Jehovah's chosen people; but the growing conviction that Jehovah's interest was not completely confined to Israel inevitably modified their idea of the end which such a choice had been intended to subserve.

The two principal subjects upon which Hebrew thought underwent considerable development in the course of history have already been indicated, viz. (1) the character, supremacy, and requirements of Jehovah, and (2) the nature and purpose of the tie between Jehovah and Israel; and in regard to these the doctrine of the prophets of the Assyrian age, viewed collectively, possesses certain distinctive features.

1. (*a*) From the first there had entered into Israel's religion the belief that Jehovah was the author and vindicator of moral laws enjoining uprightness and humanity. But a noteworthy advance was made in this age by the revelation of Jehovah as a God not of righteousness only, but of love. This conception, indeed, was not so much an addition to, as a development of, previously existing ideas, for a belief in the Divine goodness was implicit in the thought that Israel was Jehovah's son (*Ex.* iv. 22); and Jehovah's compassion and graciousness are declared in *Ex.* xxxiv. 6–7. But in Isaiah and Hosea the loving-kindness of Jehovah finds outward expression in language of the tenderest affection. Jehovah proffers the fullest forgiveness to His sinful people (*Is.* i. 18); He invites them to return to Him from Whom they have revolted (xxxi. 6); and waits patiently that He may have mercy upon them (xxx. 18). To Israel, at one time as a fickle bride, at another time as a wayward child, are addressed appeals breathing all the spirit of human love, intensified by the underlying consideration that the Speaker is not man but God (*Hos.* ii. 14 foll., xi. 1, 8–9, xiv. 4). And concomitantly with this enlargement of the prophets' apprehension of the moral side of the Divine Being there is visible an increasing sense of His spirituality. Antagonism to image worship had always characterised the best Hebrew thought, except when that sin

had become relatively insignificant by the side of some worse declension from the nation's true faith. But in *Hosea* (viii. 6, xiii. 2), *Isaiah* (ii. 8, xxxi. 7) and *Micah* (v. 13) it is especially the uselessness and folly of men worshipping stocks and stones, the work of their own hands, that is dwelt upon. Isaiah, in particular, to describe the objects to which worship was paid alike by the unfaithful Israelites and by foreign peoples, employs a term which means "non-entities" (*Is.* ii. 8, 18, x. 10, 11, xix. 1 etc). The unlikeness of God to man himself is asserted (*Hos.* xi. 9): God is not flesh but spirit (*Is.* xxxi. 3). The comparatively familiar relations which once marked the converse of man with his Maker now give place to an attitude of greater reverence and awe. The increased consciousness of Jehovah's exalted nature manifests itself in the insistence upon humility (*Mic.* vi. 8), and the reprobation of anything savouring of human pride and arrogance (*Is.* ii. 12–17, x. 12–19), or of dependence upon material resouces (*Hos.* i. 7, viii. 14, xiv. 3, *Mic.* v. 10–11). The political intrigues and machinations in which contemporary statesmanship reposed such trust were equally futile and impious. Tranquil confidence in Jehovah was all that was necessary to ensure His people's safety, however threatening might be the danger (*Is.* vii. 8, xxviii. 16, xxx. 15).

(*b*) In the national belief that Jehovah was a God of righteousness there had, no doubt, always been implicit to some extent the truth that His rule was universal; but the thinkers of Israel had not hitherto thought of God as taking account of moral offences outside Israel except where their own nation was either the victim (as in the case of Egypt) or the avenger, of such (as in the instance of the Canaanites). Now, however, Amos censured in the name of Jehovah not only the barbarities committed by the Syrians and Ammonites upon the population of Gilead (i. 3, 13), but also the slave-raids of the people of Gaza, and the slave-traffic practised by Tyre, of which there is no indication that Israelites in particular were the victims (i. 6–8, 9–10); and he condemned even the vindictiveness of the king of Moab in burning into lime the bones of the king of Edom, a nation which had often been hostile to Israel (ii. 1). The prophets, indeed, continued to judge of the Divine purposes in current

events chiefly as they affected their own people (*Is.* v. 26, vii. 18, x. 5). But Divine providence was no longer viewed exclusively from a national standpoint. Jehovah's creative and informing activity was asserted in the most comprehensive terms, and dominion was claimed for Him over universal nature. It was Jehovah who framed the mountains, made the vault of heaven with its constellations, and ruled the waters of the sea (*Am.* iv. 13, v. 8–9, ix. 6),[1] and of His glory was the whole earth full (*Is.* vi. 3). His knowledge was as great as His power: He could tell man's secret meditations (*Am.* iv. 13), and beside His wisdom the understanding of the wise was folly (*Is.* xxix. 14). He was declared to have directed the movements and migrations of the Philistines and the Syrians equally with those of Israel (*Am.* ix. 7). The triumphs and disasters of foreign nations in their mutual conflicts were represented as due to His ordering. The king of Assyria, notwithstanding his boastful self-confidence, was but an unconscious instrument of correction in His hand, to be laid aside when the desired end was accomplished (*Is.* x. 5–15, xxxvii. 26–29). Ethiopia, Egypt, and Philistia were naturally objects of interest as actively influencing Israel's fortunes (*Is.* xviii.–xx., xiv. 29–32), but attention was not confined to these alone. States of minor importance in the politics of the time received consideration; and oracles were delivered by Isaiah respecting the destinies of Tyre, Moab, Edom, and Arabia (xxiii., xvi. 13–14, xx. 11–16).

(*c*) In the law of Moses no marked distinction was drawn between moral and ceremonial requirements. Jehovah was there represented as exacting equal obedience for all its enactments, whether regulative of public worship or civil justice. But the prophets of this era discriminated carefully between the value of ritual and moral service in the sight of Jehovah, and disparaged and denounced the former when divorced from the latter (*Am.* iv. 4–5, v. 21–24, *Hos.* vi. 6, viii. 13, *Is.* i. 11–14, *Mic.* vi.

[1] These passages by some scholars are thought to be insertions of later date; but it is only v. 8–9 which coheres awkwardly with its context (ver. 10 continuing the sense not of ver. 9 but of ver. 7) and is consequently suspicious. On the other hand, that passages of this kind were sometimes interpolated is shown by the occurrence of one such in the LXX. of *Hos.* xiii. 4, which is absent from the Heb.

6–8). That their conception of worship, indeed, was not purely spiritual, altogether independent of external conditions (*S. Joh.* iv. 21, 23), would be sufficiently manifest from the fact that they regarded Zion, which was so inseparably associated with the Temple and its organisation, as pre-eminently the centre of the Divine activity and the seat of the Divine revelation (*Is.* ii. 2 (= *Mic.* iv. 2), viii. 18, xviii. 7, xxviii. 16), even if sacrifice were not explicitly recognised as the fitting expression of a pious people's homage to Jehovah (*Is.* xix. 21). But they condemned in no uncertain language the substitution of assiduous and correct ritual for upright conduct in social life. They insisted that the holiness demanded by Jehovah, the Holy One, from His people was not physical or ceremonial but ethical, and were themselves filled with fear in the Divine presence not by reason of the physical act of looking upon God (like Manoah in *Jud.* xiii. 22), but because of their uncleanness in thought and word (*Is.* vi. 5). If the Deity had to be approached, the condition of drawing near was no longer unshodden feet, but moral purification (ver. 6, 7). In this age, too, the violent measures adopted by earlier prophets for suppressing a false religion by extirpating its votaries (cf. *1 Kg.* xviii. 40) were no longer approved; the sole means employed were appeals to the nation's intelligence and conscience. The sanguinary cruelties once committed in the cause of religion were expressly condemned and repudiated. By Hosea Jehovah was represented as avowing His purpose to avenge the blood shed at Jezreel by Jehu (*2 Kg.* x. 11), even though the victims were slain in the course of a religious reformation as well as of a dynastic revolution, and though the slaughter seemingly was countenanced by contemporary prophets (*2 Kg.* x. 30).

2. (*a*) This deeper sense of their countrymen's religious shortcomings, and this broader view of Jehovah's relations to the world at large, combined to modify the belief previously entertained of Jehovah's interest in, and dealings with, Israel itself. Jehovah had hitherto been thought to be exclusively on the side of Israel in its contests with other nations; and though He had occasionally allowed it to suffer adversity as a penalty for its sins, yet the popular conviction was that in any momentous

conflict He would intervene to deliver His own people and confound their enemies; and *the day of Jehovah* was therefore (as has been said) anticipated with eagerness and confidence (*Am.* v. 18). But the prophets, in virtue of their knowledge of God's real requirements and His people's failure to satisfy them, foresaw that a signal judgment was destined to overtake their country. Amos declared that *the day of Jehovah* would bring to the nation darkness and not light (*Am.* v. 18–20); and in the absence of any thorough reformation, both he and others anticipated for the people no temporary disaster, but captivity in a foreign land (*Am.* v. 27, vii. 17). The agent of the Divine judgment was not obscurely indicated. Hosea, who prophesied in Israel, refers to both Egypt and Assyria (ix. 3, 6), for whose support the factions in Samaria were alternately bidding. But Amos, who likewise addressed the Northern Kingdom, in declaring that the nation was to go into captivity *beyond Damascus* (v. 27), clearly had Assyria in his mind; whilst it was the same power which Isaiah and Micah foresaw threatened destruction to Judah. Isaiah, indeed, predicted, for the most part, that its capital, Zion, would defy the invader (xxxvii. 22, 33),[1] and that a remnant of her citizens would survive the coming ruin (vi. 13, x. 20–22); but he, like his contemporaries, contemplated banishment for the bulk of the population of the country (vi. 11). Yet the prophets, notwithstanding their sense of their people's unworthiness and their consciousness that God's care and interest were not confined to it, neither contradicted nor ignored their countrymen's belief in a bond or covenant, subsisting between themselves and Jehovah. Though the doom of the guilty nation was to be so severe, they declared that the house of Jacob should not utterly be destroyed (*Am.* ix. 8). Their conviction that Jehovah's righteousness would be vindicated to the utmost did not extinguish in them the inherited belief in Jehovah's faithfulness. They entertained and expressed a confident assurance that the fortunes of the nation, after a period of humiliation, would revive, and that eventually Jehovah would restore, even from exile, the people of His covenant (*Hos.* xi. 10–11 (cf. i. 10,

[1] In xxxii. 13 Isaiah seems to contemplate the desolation of the capital (*the joyous town* of xxii. 2); see also xxix. 3–4.

vi. 1–2), *Am.* ix. 14, *Is.* xi. 11, *Mic.* iv. 6–7 (cf. ii. 12–13, vii. 12)).[1]

This belief of the prophets in an ultimate deliverance in store for their country, whether it consisted in the survival on their native soil of a small section of the people or in the restoration

[1] The authenticity of many of the passages here cited from *Amos*, *Isaiah*, and *Micah* has been disputed.

1. *Am.* ix. 11–15 has been regarded as a later insertion because (*a*) elsewhere the prophet appears to contemplate the total destruction of Israel (see v. 2); (*b*) the accomplishment of the ruin of Judah (foretold in ii. 4–5) seems here to have taken place; (*c*) the predicted restoration is not explicitly declared to be dependent on, or inclusive of, a moral reformation. But it is difficult to think that a prophet who asserted the uniqueness of Jehovah's relations with Israel (iii. 2) could believe that the Divine purpose involved in such an intimacy could be permanently thwarted; whilst the moral change conditioning the restoration promised in this section of the book is sufficiently implied in all that precedes it.

2. *Is.* xi. 10–16 (with xii.) is held by many to be later than Isaiah chiefly on the ground (*a*) that the dispersion from which the exiles are to be gathered is wider than is likely to have been the case with those deported in Isaiah's time, (*b*) that the term *remnant* (ver. 11) in Isaiah generally refers not to those in exile but to those who are left on Israelite soil. A confident conclusion is difficult, for though on the one hand, the countries from which the exiles are restored are *Egypt* and *Assyria* (as in *Hos.* xi. 11) and their subject provinces (cf. *Is.* xxii. 6, xxxvii. 13), not *Babylon*, and as a large body of Judæans were actually led into captivity by Sennacherib (see p. 370), Isaiah may well have included their return among his forecasts of the future happiness in store for his country, yet on the other hand, Egypt and Assyria are named as the abodes of Jewish captives in the (probably) post-exilic section xxiv.–xxvii. (see xxvii. 13). If the passage is really later than Isaiah, it is probably post-exilic, the *second time* (ver. 11) presupposing the return from Babylon in the reign of Cyrus.

3. Of *Micah* portions of c. iv.–v., and the section vii. 7–20 have been questioned on various grounds. (*a*) In regard to iv., v., it may be argued that iv. 6–10 predicts the *capture* of Zion, the *exile* of its citizens in Babylon (which may be considered as a province of the *Assyrian* empire, cf. *2 Kg.* xvii. 24), and their eventual return, whereas in iv. 11–v. 9 there are foretold the repulse of the attack upon Jerusalem and the overthrow of the nation's invaders; and that this discrepancy makes it improbable that both passages proceed from the same author. But the authenticity of the prediction of captivity in iv. 6–10 is supported by i. 16 (cf. ii. 4, iii. 12), whilst it is possible to regard iv. 11–v. 9 as relating to events *posterior* to a restoration from such captivity. If so, the passage anticipates ideas which appear in the Apocalyptic predictions of the later prophets (see p. 451). (*b*) The section vii. 7–20 is an utterance of the people who are assumed to be already *in exile* and expecting the re-building of Jerusalem (ver. 11). Micah's authorship is supported by the fact that the scene of the exile is *Assyria*, not Babylon, and by the allusion to Gilead, which was ravaged in Micah's time. There is, however, a general resemblance in thought to *2 Is.*, and it is possible that *Assyria* may represent Babylon (as it represents Persia in *Ez.* vi. 22).

of the nation in general after a period of captivity, did not necessarily blunt the edge of their threats of judgment, for in the former case only a fraction of the community would be preserved, and in the latter the generation that would go into exile was not likely to be that which would return from it. Nor did it imply that the future would be a mere repetition of the past. It is throughout pre-supposed that the punishment inflicted upon Israel would not be vindictive only, but purgatorial (*Is.* i. 25, xxxii. 16–17, xxxiii. 14–16, *Mic.* vii. 9, 19). The pride and arrogance of such as survived would cease, and the trust which they had placed in earthly supporters would be transferred to Jehovah (*Is.* x. 20, *Hos.* xiv. 3); their idolatrous tendencies would be reformed (*Hos.* xiv. 3, 8, *Is.* xxx. 22, xxxi. 7); they would henceforward be called holy, and their city the city of righteousness (*Is.* iv. 3, i. 26); and Jehovah would reign over them (*Mic.* iv. 7). A prominent feature in the picture here contemplated is the reconciliation of the two branches of the house of Jacob. The mutual envy and jealousy of Ephraim and Judah are to be brought to an end (*Is.* xi. 13), and the two nations are once more to be united under one head (*Hos.* i. 11). Upon the cessation of internal wickedness there will ensue the cessation of external fears (*Is.* i. 19–20); and the desolation caused by foreign oppressors will be repaired (*Is.* iv. 2, xxx. 23). In describing the security and happiness that awaits the restored community the prophets represent nature itself as being transformed (*Is.* xxx. 26); and revert to the traditions of mount Sinai and the Mosaic age to find expressions for the protection and glory which Jehovah will bestow upon His people (*Is.* iv. 5).

(*b*) But the ideal future which the prophets predicted for their people was unlike the past not only in regard to the permanent reformation which Israel itself was to experience, but in regard to its rélations with the heathen world. In earlier times the attitude which Israel was expected to maintain towards nations of another faith was one of aloofness, if not open hostility. Extermination rather than conversion was the rule followed, at least in respect of the Canaanites; and even the prophets of this age, when describing the ultimate triumph of

their nation occasionally depict it as annihilating its adversaries (*Mic.* v. 7–8),[1] as subjugating and despoiling the neighbouring peoples of Philistia, Edom, Moab, and Ammon (*Is.* xi. 14),[1] and as recovering by conquest the territories that were once included in David's kingdom and were called by Jehovah's name (*Am.* ix. 12 marg.).[1] The wealth of the merchant-city of Tyre is represented as destined to be diverted to the use of Jehovah's servants in consequence of a Divine judgment: after being laid waste, according to Jehovah's purpose against her, for seventy years, she is to be visited by Him, and though she will then be left to pursue her former base traffic, her merchandise, instead of being treasured and laid up, will be devoted to the support of those who dwell before Him (*Is.* xxiii.). But in general a different disposition is manifested by the prophets, and they are, for the most part, animated by a generous spirit towards the rest of mankind, and look forward to a future time when other nations will become acquainted with Jehovah and submit to His rule, and thereby share in the blessings hitherto enjoyed exclusively by Israel. They believe that the wonderful deliverance which Israel, after suffering for its sins, is to experience will so impress the nations that they will come with fear to Jehovah, and be afraid because of His people (*Mic.* vii. 16–17).[1]

In some passages the idea of the conversion of the world to Jehovah is expressed in vague and general terms. To Mount Zion, eventually to be exalted to the leading position among the mountains of the earth, all nations are to flow, to seek there the way of Jehovah that they may walk in His paths (*Is.* ii. 2–4 = *Mic.* iv. 1–3). The whole earth is to be filled with the knowledge of Jehovah as the waters cover the sea (*Is.* xi. 9). In other passages, particular nations, including those from whom Israel had suffered most harm, are described as being brought, either through the emotions of awe and wonder, or by the mingled discipline of judgment and mercy, to serve Jehovah. The distant Ethiopians are conceived as paying homage to Him as tributaries, and sending a present to the place of His name, Mount Zion (*Is.* xviii.). Egypt, after being delivered over to a cruel lord and experiencing the extremity of humiliation and

[1] On these sections see p. 428, note.

suffering, shall cry unto Jehovah and He shall send them a saviour; He shall be known to the Egyptians, and the Egyptians shall know Him, and shall worship Him with sacrifice and oblation (*Is.* xix). In this last passage Hebrew prophecy manifests a degree of generous comprehensiveness which has few parallels in the O.T. In it the very titles hitherto conferred upon Israel alone are represented as bestowed upon Israel's most faithless friend and most merciless foe: "In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth; for that Jehovah of Hosts hath blessed them, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel my inheritance" (ver. 24–25).[1]

(*c*) With regard to the means whereby these great results were to be accomplished both for Israel and mankind, the prophetic writers were not always explicit. For the most part they thought of Jehovah as intervening to deliver His people and judge their enemies by some signal event or series of events not further elucidated. But occasionally their hopes of the future took a more precise form, which was determined by those conditions and agencies which had been most influential for good in the nation's past history. Israel's place amongst the peoples of the world had, in the main, been secured by David; and whatever may have been the feeling of the tribes constituting the Northern Kingdom, the attachment of Judah to the Davidic house had by the middle of the 8th century stood the test of nearly 300 years. Nor by a race who saw Jehovah's volition and power behind all human activity could the establishment of David's throne and dynasty be regarded otherwise than as providentially ordered; and the original selection of the son of Jesse and the preservation and prosperity of his family must have seemed specially intended to promote Jehovah's gracious purposes towards Israel. It was natural therefore that the exalted hopes which the prophets of this age entertained for their people in virtue of their trust in Jehovah should become associated with the advent of an illustrious prince of David's house; and that

[1] *Is.* xix. (either wholly or in part) is regarded by certain scholars as non-Isaianic and of very late origin. Cf. *Ps.* lxxxvii. and p. 505.

the restoration and glorification of Israel should be expected at the hands of a personal saviour, who, like David, should be Jehovah's Messiah or Anointed One. And so long as the kingdom lasted the figure of the Messianic King was prominent in the prophetic utterances. It was only when the external circumstances of their country changed, and its independence came to an end, that the figure disappeared for a time from their pictures of the future, and was replaced by others, taking shape from the altered conditions of their race.

In the writings of the prophets of the age now under consideration the principal passages that deserve to be called Messianic are, (1) *Am.* ix. 11; (2) *Hos.* iii. 5; (3) *Is.* vii. 14–16; (4) viii. 5–10; (5) ix. 1–7; (6) xi. 1–10; (7) xxxii. 1–8;[1] (8) *Mic.* v. 2–5. Of these the passage in *Amos*, whose hopes do not extend beyond a return of past glories, and the recovery of the foreign possessions of David (ix. 12), has in view not so much the advent of some particular ruler as the restoration of the Davidic dynasty: "In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that has fallen, and close up the breaches thereof, and I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old." Similarly the passage in Hosea refers to a line of kings rather than to some individual sovereign: "The children of Israel shall abide many days without king and without prince, and without sacrifice and without pillar, and without ephod or *teraphim;* afterward shall the children of Israel return and seek Jehovah their God and David their king; and shall come with fear unto Jehovah and to his goodness in the latter days." But in the Isaianic passages allusion is made to some coming representative of David's house, who is marked out as exceptional either by his name or his attributes. The first three of the prophecies in question were delivered in the time of Ahaz. As has been seen, Ahaz was confronted, soon after his accession, by a confederation formed by Syria and Israel; but at the height of his dismay he was met by Isaiah, who bade him not fear his enemies, but put his trust in Jehovah. To reassure him, the prophet urged him to ask a sign, and on his declining, gave him

[1] The last three passages cited from Isaiah are considered by Cheyne to be post-exilic.

as a sign the prediction of the birth of a child in the near future,[1] whom his mother would name *Immanuel* ("God with us"), and in whose infancy the danger from Israel and Syria would pass away.[2] As a measure of the period within which the threatened peril was to disappear, the infancy of any child whose birth was approaching would have served the prophet's immediate purpose; and as a sign to convince Ahaz that Isaiah was speaking with authority, the bestowal of the name of Immanuel upon one such infant in accordance with the prophet's prediction would have sufficed. But Isaiah's thoughts of the future included more than the deliverance of Judah from Syria and Israel; and his subsequent words betray the fact that he had in his mind a particular Child whose name was suggestive of a high destiny in store both for himself and his country. For the moment, however, he did not enlarge upon this; but proceeded to declare that the deliverance foretold, in consequence of Ahaz's distrust and the policy it led to, would be accompanied by calamity, since an alliance with Assyria, such as Ahaz contemplated, would probably involve war with Egypt, and Judah would become the battlefield of the two combatants. But in viii. 5–10 *Immanuel* is represented as the actual possessor, and by implication the sovereign, of the land, which, as in the previous passage, is described as overrun by the Assyrian soldiery; and the significance of his name is more explicitly declared to be a source of hope in the midst of the distress, and a pledge of ultimate deliverance.[3] The events that followed Ahaz's appeal to Assyria have already been related; but whilst the prophet's anticipation of the calamities in store for Northern Israel was

[1] Cf. *1 Sam.* ii. 34 (where the death of Hophni and Phinehas in one day is a *sign* of the still more complete downfall in store for Eli's house (ver. 31)), and *Is.* xxxvii. 30 (where the occurrence of scarcity in the immediate future is a *sign* of the eventual revival of prosperity (ver. 31)). The occurrence of the earlier event in accordance with the prediction is expected to accredit the prophet's announcement of the more remote; see also *Jer.* xliv. 29.

[2] In *Is.* vii. 8 the period within which Ephraim is to be broken in pieces is stated to be sixty-five years. But the fact that deliverance at so remote a date would yield small comfort to Ahaz, and the position of the words in question (after the reference to Damascus instead of after the reference to Samaria) have led to the rejection of the clause as an interpolation.

[3] So in viii. 18 Isaiah and his children, by reason of their significant names (see for the latter, vii. 3, viii. 3) are represented as *signs*.

verified, the expected encroachment upon Judæan soil did not then occur. It was consequently to the Northern Kingdom that his thoughts subsequently turned. Isaiah, though a Judæan, could not be oblivious of the fact that ties of kinship bound together all the tribes of Jacob; and in ix. 1–7 it is especially for the districts of Zebulun and Naphtali, the "Galilee of the nations," which had been devastated by Tiglath Pileser that he anticipates a retrieval of their misfortunes. The happy change in their condition he predicts will be accomplished by a child about to be born, who is to enjoy a unique relationship to Jehovah, whose name shall be called *Wonderful Counsellor*, *Mighty God*, *Everlasting Father*, *Prince of Peace*, who is to occupy the throne of David, and whose sovereignty is to be righteous, beneficent, and permanent. The child here described is not explicitly identified with the *Immanuel* of vii. 14; but his birth, like that of *Immanuel*, is expected to take place at no remote date, and probably the same person is intended in both passages. Since he is to sit on David's throne, he must be regarded as of royal descent, but scarcely as the offspring of Ahaz (whose son and heir Hezekiah, at least, according to the figures given in *2 Kg.* xvi. 2, xviii. 2, was born before Ahaz himself came to the throne). Of the exalted titles conferred upon him the expression *Mighty God*[1] is intended to designate him as the *representative* of Jehovah (those who discharged royal or judicial functions being generally considered to be the Divine vice-gerents, see *Ps.* xlv. 6, *Ex.* xxi. 6 and marg., *Ps.* lxxxii. 6, and cf. also *Ezek.* xxxi. 11, Heb., *1 Sam.* xxviii. 13); whilst the appellation *Everlasting Father*[2] describes the paternal character and long duration of his sway.

But if Isaiah thus anticipated that the advent of an age of peace and happiness would follow upon the close of the Syro-Israelite war, it is manifest that the issue did not correspond to his expectations. The prophets, however, did not think that the Divine power and goodness were exhausted by a single turn of good fortune, nor felt that their hopes were finally wrecked

[1] Used as an epithet of Jehovah in x. 21.

[2] It is possible that this is not the meaning intended, and that the original should be rendered *father of spoil*, alluding to a career of conquest.

because they had outrun the actual movement of events. Accordingly, at a later period, after Ahaz had been succeeded by Hezekiah, when the formidable Assyrian power was threatening the land from without, and the condition of both religion and morals was far from satisfactory within, Isaiah renewed his prediction of a deliverer, and was followed by his contemporary Micah, the three passages *Is.* xi. 1–10, xxxii. 1–8, and *Mic.* v. 2–5 belonging to this reign. Isaiah declared that there should come forth a scion from the stock of Jesse, who, invested with the Divine attributes of wisdom and might, should inaugurate a golden age, in which righteousness and equity should prevail amongst men and harmlessness amongst the brute creation: "unto him shall the nations seek, and his resting-place shall be glorious" (xi. 1–10). Under his rule, the princes and nobles would become ministers of justice and bulwarks against oppression, the ignorant masses would grow enlightened, and all shams and hypocrisies would be revealed in their true colours (xxxii. 1–8). In this last passage less stress is laid upon the individuality of the king or his active exercise of authority than upon the condition of the society of which he is the head. But in Micah the Messianic hope assumed a form more akin to Isaiah's earlier descriptions. The prophet, comparing the daughter of Zion to a woman in travail (iv. 10), declared that Jehovah would give the nation up "until the time that she which travaileth hath brought forth (possibly alluding to *Is.* vii. 14); but that ultimately "out of Bethlehem Ephrathah (David's birthplace) shall one come forth . . . who is to be ruler in Israel, whose goings forth are from of old, from everlasting." The prophet proceeds to describe him as the shepherd and protector of his people (v. 4); but the individual reference is then dropped; and for the defence of the country against the Assyrian invader there are to be raised up "seven shepherds and eight principal men." The predicted deliverance from the Assyrians, though not effected in the manner or at the time suggested by the prophet's words, was in a measure fulfilled by the overthrow of Sennacherib.[1] But of the appearance of a descendant of the

[1] According to the view of *Mic.* iv., v. explained on p. 428, the section iv. 11–v. 9 relates to a time posterior to the predicted captivity and subsequent restoration (iv. 6–10).

stock of David, corresponding to the descriptions of both Isaiah and Micah, the history of the time immediately succeeding again affords no indication. With the exception of Josiah, all the kings who followed Hezekiah on the throne of Judah were either weak or worthless. The fall of Assyria, when accomplished, was coincident with the rise of Babylon; and by Babylon the Jewish kingdom was finally extinguished. It was not until Jesus was born of Mary, some seven centuries after Isaiah and his contemporaries wrote, that Messianic prophecy in general received (as Christians believe) its actual fulfilment. And the distance separating the anticipations of Isaiah and others from their realisation in Christ was not measured by time only. The expectations that found expression in the prophecies just considered were confined to this world; the hopes they enshrined were associated with dreams of national glory; to their authors the centre of interest was the community, not individual souls. Nevertheless something of the external circumstances of Our Lord's life, the purpose of His ministry, and the character of His Person was foreshadowed in the writings of Isaiah and Micah. It was from David's tribe and family that Christ drew His lineage after the flesh; Bethlehem was the scene of His birth; and Galilee was His home during a large part of His earthly life, and the witness and recipient of many of His works of mercy. The exaltation of Israel among the nations of the world was asserted by the prophets to be a means to a further end, which embraced the extension of the knowledge of Jehovah over all the earth; and in this they truly divined the very aim of the Incarnation (*S. Jo.* xvii. 1–3). And finally, the titles (such as *Immanuel* and *Mighty God*), applied to the Messiah as invested with a Divine commission, describe with signal appropriateness the real nature of the Eternal Son.

3. The Age of Babylonian Supremacy.

The period of Assyrian predominance just considered extended much beyond the lifetime of the prophets who have been named as contemporary with it; and Assyrian influence again made itself felt in Judah after Hezekiah's death. His successor Manasseh not only worshipped Baal, but introduced into Judah

the planet worship which, as has been noticed, had had votaries in Israel at an earlier date; and even built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the Temple itself. The practice of making children pass through the fire also began to obtain, perhaps in connection with divination. The favour shown to foreign cults seems to have been accompanied by the persecution of the loyal servants of Jehovah who protested against the national apostasy; and Jerusalem is described by the historian as being filled with innocent blood from one end to another. Indeed, the enormities of Manasseh were such that they are regarded as having surpassed the iniquities of the Amorites (*2 Kg.* xxi. 11), and as having provoked in Jehovah wrath against Judah which could not be quenched (*2 Kg.* xxii. 17). Even after the misdeeds of Jehoiakim it was still the sins of Manasseh that the writer of *Kings* considered to have been the determining cause of the final catastrophe which Jehovah brought upon His people (*2 Kg.* xxiv. 3).

Assyria (to whose approaching doom Nahum's short book devotes exclusive attention) did not fall before Babylon until 607 B.C.; but a new epoch in the religious history of the Hebrew people is marked by the reign of Josiah. The reformation which Josiah instituted, indeed, was, in its external aspect, only the accomplishment of a scheme related to have been contemplated and in part executed by Hezekiah, viz. the abolition of the "high places" and the restriction of the national worship of Jehovah to the central sanctuary at Jerusalem; but it was rendered remarkable by the circumstances attending it. It was conducted in accordance with the directions of the Law-book discovered in the Temple, in which the centralisation of worship was represented as being expressly enjoined by Moses. The book, as has been said, is generally identified with *Deuteronomy* (in whole or in part), which purports to be a record of Moses' parting discourse to his countrymen, wherein he reminded them of their past history, and exhorted them to a faithful observance of Jehovah's ordinances. As already observed in the *Introduction*, it reproduces much of the substance of the "Book of the Covenant"; and consequently has a certain claim to represent the mind and desires of Moses, even if it does not rest upon

some written memorials or traditional memories of the occasion it professes to describe. On the other hand, the requirement that all feasts should be held, and all sacrifices be offered, at a single sanctuary, though it may be regarded, perhaps, as an application of Mosaic principles to a special emergency, still does not appear to be consistent with the actual legislation of the great law-giver as exhibited in the Book of the Covenant. That code seems to contemplate the existence of a plurality of altars, or places of worship; and the prevailing practice in historical times previous to Hezekiah accords with this assumption. There is a similar difference between *Deuteronomy* and the usage reflected in the books of *Judges* and *Kings* in respect of the persons qualified to perform sacrificial functions. In *Deuteronomy* the priests are uniformly described as *Levites* (xvii. 9, xxi. 5), the tribe of Levi is related to have been separated from the others for the purpose of ministering to Jehovah (x. 8), and it is directed that its members are to be maintained from the offerings made to Jehovah, and to share with the poor and needy the tithe of the third year (xviii. 1–5, xxvi. 12). But it has been shown that there are numerous instances in the historical books of sacrifice being offered by persons belonging to other tribes than Levi, and that there is nothing to indicate that there was anything irregular or illegitimate in such proceedings, though at the same time it is clear that in connection with priestly duties a preference was entertained for Levites over other persons, whether the name describes members of a tribe or a sacerdotal body. Again, *Deuteronomy* prohibits the erection of pillars in connection with the worship of Jehovah (xvi. 22); whereas Moses appears to have set up pillars beside the altar which he constructed at the foot of Sinai (*Ex.* xxiv. 4), and the Book of the Covenant only directs the destruction of pillars dedicated to the gods of the Canaanites (*Ex.* xxiii. 24, xxxiv. 13). Thus *Deuteronomy* in regard to its most distinctive ceremonial laws appears to depart from the customs not only of Mosaic, but even later times, and to be the production of an age long subsequent to that of Moses. And if the continuous disregard of the regulation respecting the centralisation of worship by law-abiding kings can be taken to

indicate its non-existence, the earliest date to which *Deuteronomy* can be assigned is the reign of Hezekiah, if not the opening years of Josiah.

But if on this ground *Deuteronomy* must be regarded, in respect of its characteristic features, as the product of the age now under consideration, its ethical and religious conceptions may be drawn upon to illustrate the spirit of the age as embodied in one of its noblest compositions. Naturally many of the thoughts respecting Jehovah which first found explicit expression in the prophets of the preceding age recur in *Deuteronomy;* and in it particular prominence is given to His supremacy and incomparableness, and to His exclusive claim upon the devotion of Israel (x. 17, vi. 4). Thus Jehovah's solitary and unique godhead is asserted: He alone is God and there is none else (iv. 35, 39, xxxii. 39). The sun, moon, and stars, which are worshipped by other nations, have been allotted to them by Him (iv. 19, cf. xxix. 26, xxxii. 8 (LXX.)); but Israel He has chosen to be a peculiar people unto Himself (vii. 6), and for them He feels a deep love (vii. 8, x. 15). Hence the worship of other gods by Israel is ingratitude as well as folly. Jehovah has done great and terrible things for them (x. 21–22) and given them righteous statutes beyond any that other nations possess (iv. 8); whereas the gods for whom they may be tempted to forsake Him are the work of men's hands, wood and stone, destitute of sense (iv. 28) and no gods (xxxii. 21). Accordingly the strongest possible protests are entered against apostasy and idolatry (iv. 15–19, xii. 29–31); the severest retribution is affirmed to be in store for such wickedness (vi. 14–15, viii. 19–20, xi. 16–17); and death is directed to be inflicted upon anyone who is guilty of it or incites the people to it (xiii. 5, xvii. 2–7).

But the most noteworthy features of the religious and moral teaching of *Deuteronomy* are its humanity and its spirituality. (1) The principles of social kindliness laid down in the Book of the Covenant (*Ex.* xx.–xxiii.) are both expanded and enforced. Benevolence and generosity are enjoined towards those classes in the community which especially need such, like the poor and the stranger (xv. 7–8, 11, x. 19, xxiv. 19–22). Kindness is to be shown to servants (v. 14), who, when manumitted in the

Sabbatical year, are to be furnished liberally by their masters (xv. 13–14). Neighbourliness is to be shown in restoring strayed cattle, or lost possessions, to their owners (xxii. 1–4). Consideration is to be displayed in commercial dealings; payments to hired labourers are to be prompt (xxiv. 14–15); pledges for money lent are to be exacted with due regard to the feelings of the borrower; usury is not to be required from a fellow-countryman; and a garment needed for the night, if taken as security, is to be restored at sunset (xxiv. 10–13). Similar considerateness is directed to be observed towards the newly-married, and persons recently possessed of a house or an estate (who are to be exempted from military service for a time (xx. 5–7, cf. xxiv. 5)), as well as towards a female captive taken in war (who is to be allowed to mourn her parents for a full month before she becomes the wife of her captor (xxi. 10–14)). A convicted malefactor is not to be subjected to a measure of punishment calculated to degrade him; and the number of stripes that may be inflicted is limited to forty (xxv. 1–3). Though the population of the Canaanite cities is to be exterminated, yet hostile towns of other nations are to be summoned to surrender before they are assaulted, and if they submit their citizens are to be spared (xx. 10–18). Even animals are to be kindly treated: the ox that treads out the corn is not to be muzzled (xxv. 4); and it is forbidden to take from a nest the mother bird and its young ones together (xxii. 6–7). Many of these commands are enforced by reference to Jehovah's goodness towards His people: the Israelites are expected to be kind and thoughtful towards servants and bondmen because they themselves were once bond-servants in Egypt, whence Jehovah had so graciously delivered them (v. 15, xv. 15, xxiv. 18, 22). And (2) not only are prevalent conceptions of outward duties enlarged and purified, but the greatest importance is attached to the inward springs of conduct. It is realised that the only security for thorough obedience to Jehovah's laws is to be found in a heartfelt desire to serve Him; and the writer of the book never tires of insisting upon the need of *love* towards God (vi. 5, x. 12, xi. 1, 13, 22, xix. 9). This "inwardness" so conspicuous in *Deuteronomy* manifests itself likewise in the command

to extend to the heart the circumcision legally imposed on the flesh (x. 16, cf. *Jer.* iv. 4). By such an injunction everything that obstructed Israel's receptiveness towards Jehovah's commands was required to be discarded, that obedience to them might be both prompt and sincere.

The prophets who lived during this period, and whose writings throw further light upon the stage in religious and moral development which had by this been attained are **Nahum** (previously alluded to), **Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, Obadiah,** and **Ezekiel.** Ezekiel's prophetic career was continued far into the Exile, so that he belongs to the following age as well as this. But as parts of his book (xxix. 17–21, xl.–xlviii.) were composed at least fifteen years later than the rest, these portions of his work may be detached from the remainder and reserved for consideration among the Exilic writings, whilst the residue (i.–xxxix. (om. xxix. 17–21)) may be treated as belonging to the age now under review. For the better understanding of the additions which the prophets named above made to the religious ideas of their race, it will be best to follow the order previously observed, and to consider in turn what they contributed to the problems raised respecting (1) the character and requirements of Jehovah, (2) the aim and purpose of His relations with Israel.

1. (*a*) In the prophets of the 8th century the predominant demand put forward in Jehovah's name had been civil justice and social humanity. Sensuous modes of worship, indeed, received severe condemnation, but the national fault that most called for condemnation was the union of ceremonial scrupulousness with moral licence. But the 7th century witnessed in Judah a violent reaction from such religious reforms as were attempted by Hezekiah, and in consequence the complaints of contemporary prophets were directed increasingly against not merely the formalism (see *Jer.* vi. 19–20, vii. 22–24) but the actual apostasy of their countrymen. As in *Deuteronomy* it is against the worship of other gods than Jehovah that the nation is most impressively warned, so in *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel* it is for this that the people are most frequently condemned (see *Jer.* i. 16, v. 7, xi. 13, xix. 4–5, xliv. 3, *Ezek.* vi. 13, xiv. 3–4, xxii. 4). That in their

polemic against such worship these prophets had the cause of morality as well as of religion at heart is clear from their explicit denunciation of social wrongs (*Jer.* ix. 2–6, xxii. 13–17, *Ezek.* xviii. 5–9, xxii. 6–12). But they were led to emphasise the *exclusiveness* of the service exacted by Jehovah rather than its moral nature partly in consequence of the outburst of idolatry in Manasseh's reign, and partly from the fuller consciousness of Jehovah's unique dignity which they had inherited from their predecessors. In rebuking their countrymen for abandoning the worship of Jehovah for that of other deities the prophets enlarged upon the folly displayed, for such gods were no gods (*Jer.* ii. 11, xvi. 20), who could not profit them, nor deliver them from trouble (xi. 12, *Hab.* ii. 18). And the ingratitude involved called for equal animadversion. Idolatry more than any other sin appeared to outrage the *personal* ties existing between Jehovah and His people; and accordingly by Jeremiah as by Hosea the love and affection of Jehovah for Israel is contrasted with the disloyalty of the latter to its God (ii. 4 foll.). Nevertheless the prophets' sense of the Divine tenderness was sometimes almost overpowered and obliterated as they realised the Divine majesty and holiness; and by Ezekiel, at least, Jehovah's conduct towards the chosen race was conceived as dictated by a different motive than His loving-kindness. His past mercies towards offending Israel were explained as due to His desire that His name should not be profaned among the nations, who, if His people had not been delivered from their oppressors, might have attributed it to His lack of power (*Ezek.* xx. 9, 14, 22). And the promotion of the Divine glory (it is declared) will similarly govern and direct God's dealings in the time to come (xxxvi. 22 foll.). It is in order that Israel may know Him to be Jehovah that He will both punish and preserve it (vi. 7, vii. 4, xx. 44). So superlative and transcendent is His dignity that His actions cannot be accounted for by any motive external to Himself.

(*b*) The prophets of the preceding age had affirmed Jehovah to be the moral Judge of all nations indifferently, not of Israel alone; but the group of prophets now under consideration asserted the equally weighty truth that He is the Judge not of nationalities only, but of *individual* men. Amongst

the early Israelites, as amongst primitive peoples generally, the sense of individuality was defective; and the independent value of each separate soul was merged and lost in the importance of the family and the community. Consequently children were often involved in the fate of their parents (see *Josh.* vii. 24, *2 Sam.* xxi. 5–6, cf. *2 Kg.* ix. 26) without any consciousness of violated justice making itself felt; and the same inability to discriminate between individual and tribal guiltiness was at the root of the exterminating wars practised by both the Hebrews and their neighbours. Similarly, the Divine covenant with Israel was contracted with the *nation*, the individual units of which the nation was constituted sharing in it in virtue of their common descent and their common dwelling-place. The prosperity produced by bountiful seasons and plenteous harvests benefited the evil few as well as the many good; whilst the agents of the Divine judgments, whether human foes or physical calamities, overwhelmed not only the wicked but the righteous minority in their midst. The solidarity uniting the several members of a people or race was expressly recognised in the assertions put forward by lawgiver and prophet concerning God's government of mankind (*Ex.* xx. 5, *1 Sam.* iii. 13); and appeal was made to the interest that one generation had in the fortunes of another (*Ex.* xx. 12). But in the course of time there gradually grew up, in connection with the judicial punishments imposed by human authority, a sense of the rights of every individual to be accountable for no more than his own sins: and by the time of king Amaziah of Judah it ceased to be the custom to put to death children for the offence of their fathers (see *2 Kg.* xiv. 6, cf. *Deut.* xxiv. 16). And in consequence, dissatisfaction began to be manifested with the principles hitherto asserted to rule God's dealings with men, and it was complained that in the Divine visitations the law of justice, as now understood, was not observed: "the fathers had eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth were set on edge." It was in answer to this plea that Jeremiah and Ezekiel affirmed that thenceforward there should be no more occasion for the proverb; everyone should die for his own iniquity; every man that should eat the sour grapes, his teeth should be set on edge (*Jer.* xxxi. 29–30, *Ezek.* xviii. 2–4).

They asserted that God entered into relations with each person, independently of the nation as a whole, and would hold every man responsible for his own individual conduct. Put in this unqualified way, the statement is, no doubt, one-sided and exaggerated. But it may be assumed that the prophets did not actually mean that the collective responsibility of a community for the conduct of part of its members would altogether cease: Ezekiel, indeed, expressly contemplates the opposite (xxi. 3). Their language was really intended to meet the special needs of their contemporaries, and counterbalanced one extreme by another. In addition to their desire to reformulate the principles of the Divine government of the world in accordance with the advance in ethical sentiment, they made it their immediate object to raise the spirits of the people, and to promote their reform by freeing them from an extravagant sense of the consequences of past transgressions, and the hopeless feeling that they were permanently under the Divine wrath (see *Ezek.* xxxiii. 10–11). Ezekiel, in particular, passed from a denial that the father's iniquity involved the death of the son (xviii. 14–17) to a denial that a man's own past offences need bring upon him irrevocable punishment (*ib.* 21–22). Amendment was in his power; and in turning from his misdeeds he could save his soul alive (*ib.* 27–28, 30–32). The same conviction was, of course, the unexpressed assumption underlying all previous prophetic calls to repentance; and to this extent was no novelty. What was fresh in the teaching of the prophets of this period was the explicitness with which they declared the truth that God's attitude to a man was not wholly determined by the family or society of which he was by birth or domicile a member, but that He stood in a personal and individual relation to him. The reconciliation of such a truth with the facts of man's corporate life and their consequences only came into view later.

(*c*) In regard to the moral reformation which it was the main object of the prophets to promote, it had been generally held and taught that the act of turning from evil to righteousness, from sin to God, was within the power of the sinful themselves to achieve. A belief in the possibility of human self-determination in matters of conduct is implied in every hortatory appeal

and every measure of discipline; and such finds expression in various prophetic writings of all periods (*Hos.* xii. 6, xiv. 1, *Jer.* iii. 12, 14, xxv. 5, *Ezek.* xiv. 6, xviii. 30–32 etc.). But in the prophets of this age there appears by the side of this confidence in the capability of men to reform themselves a conviction that the overthrow of evil in collective Israel could only be effected by the immediate agency of God Himself. For the extinction of the corrupt habits that had so long prevailed there was required the direct influence of Divine grace upon the hearts of the people. By Jeremiah the nation is represented as crying to Jehovah "Turn *thou* me, and I shall be turned" (*Jer.* xxxi. 18, cf. *Lam.* v. 21), and Jehovah is described as declaring that He would *give* to them a heart to know Him (*Jer.* xxiv. 7). The days were to come when Jehovah would make a new covenant with His people and would put His law in their inward parts, and in their heart would write it, so that they should no more teach every man his brother, saying, 'Know Jehovah,' for they should all know Him (*Jer.* xxxi. 33–34, cf. xxxii. 39–40). Ezekiel asserts the same fact in slightly different language. "A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you; and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes" (*Ezek.* xxxvi. 26–7; cf. xi. 19–20, xxxvii. 14, xxxix. 29). This conception was a distinct advance upon anything that had gone before it. There had been earlier prophets who had given expression to Jehovah's graciousness, and had voiced not the Divine laws only but the Divine love in its pleadings with an unworthy people. But in the passages quoted above Jeremiah and Ezekiel anticipate that God will not be content to wait the uncertain issue of His prophets' pleas, but that He will actively dispose His people to respond to His commands and obey His precepts. What idea the prophets entertained of the process and operation of Divine grace or how they reconciled it with human responsibility is not apparent. Their description of an internal change produced in men's hearts by the immediate influence of the Divine Spirit did not, it may be presumed, exclude the lessons of experience, the

exhortations of preachers, or the conclusions of reflection. What they were chiefly concerned to assert was the belief that a reformation which the instruction and discipline of several centuries had failed to effect would be fully consummated in the near future. And this belief was, in one respect, surprisingly verified. During the relatively brief period of the Babylonian captivity, the Jewish people passed through a change of thought and feeling in regard to idolatry which almost extinguished their inclination towards it, and left them with quite other tendencies than those which they had displayed in preceding times. Their earlier fickleness in adopting alien modes of worship yielded place gradually to a rigidness in interpreting Jehovah's law, and a tenacity in maintaining it, which rendered their subsequent history a remarkable contrast to their past.

2. (*a*) The belief entertained by previous prophets that Jehovah's interest in Israel was not only consistent with His punishing their offences but actually demanded it, was shared by their successors; and their expectation that a Divine judgment awaited their countrymen became in the minds of the prophets of this age a still more confident assurance. To Jeremiah and his contemporaries the state of the nation appeared beyond remedy; the time for intercession had gone by (*Jer.* vii. 16, xi. 14), and they were convinced that the punishment which had so long been threatening it was now certain and immediate. Zephaniah, indeed (who wrote before the fall of Nineveh and the Assyrian power), seems to have thought that a remnant of the people, humbled and purified, would survive the coming judgment and be left in possession of their own soil (see ii. 3, iii. 11–13). But Jeremiah, a little later, anticipated and predicted a more complete overthrow (see xv. 13–14, xvi. 13, xvi. 11–13). Jerusalem, which Isaiah had rightly maintained to be impregnable when assailed by Assyria, was no more to be exempted from the general ruin which was to overtake the country: it was to be captured and depopulated by the Babylonians (*Jer.* xx. 4–6). And whereas Isaiah had exhausted all the resources of his eloquence to fortify the hearts of his fellow-citizens when the army of Sennacherib was before

the walls, Jeremiah was so assured that a different issue would attend the siege of the city by Nebuchadrezzar that (as has been seen) he urged all who could to fall away to the besiegers (xxi. 8–10); and in consequence was charged with unnerving those who were responsible for the city's defence. The language of Ezekiel in Babylon, which, though addressed to the exiles who were taken thither with Jehoiachin, had as its object those still remaining in Jerusalem, and was doubtless communicated to them, was of similar tenor (see c. xii., xiv. 22, xv. 6–8). But the prophets of this period, though predicting that the inhabitants of the capital as well as of the country were to be carried forth into a foreign land, yet believed, like their predecessors, in the recovery of a remnant of Jehovah's people. They contemplated a spiritual reformation in Israel, and as the consequence of this, the nation's return to its own soil (*Jer.* xvi. 14–21, xxiii. 3–4, xxiv. 6–7, *Zeph.* ii. 7, iii. 19–20;[1] cf. *Deut.* xxx. 1–10). And in proportion to the greater positiveness of their predictions of the city's fall and its people's captivity, more definite assertions are made respecting the limits of the Exile, the eventual overthrow of the conquering power, and the release of those whom it held in thrall (*Jer.* xxv. 11–12, xxix. 10, xxvii. 7, 22, *Ezek.* xxviii. 25–26, xxxiv. 11–16, xxxvi. 24, xxxix. 25–29). The term fixed for the duration of the captivity by Jeremiah is seventy years (*Jer.* xxv. 11), and the term named by Ezekiel is forty years (*Ezek.* iv. 6), both being conventional numbers for a considerable but limited period. As a matter of fact the Exile lasted sixty years after the first deportation of prisoners, and only fifty after the final sack of the city. It was in those who endured this period of discipline and correction that the prophets placed their hopes for the future of their nation (*Jer.* xxiv. 2–10), though, as has been said, the reformation effected in them is ascribed less to the purifying influence of adversity than to the immediate act of God upon their hearts

[1] *Zeph.* iii. 14–20 is by some separated from the rest of the book and assigned to the period of the Exile, on the ground of its dissimilarity of tone, inasmuch as the early part of the prophecy foretells that a few righteous will *in their own land* escape the coming judgment (ii. 3, iii. 11–13), whereas this section is a triumphant announcement (like *2 Is.*) of the recovery of the nation from *exile*. Yet a return from captivity seems predicted in ii. 7.

(*Jer.* xxiv. 7, xxxi. 33, xxxii. 40). In their predictions of the return of the exiles to their home, the prophets reiterated the belief of their predecessors regarding the future reunion of the two sections of the house of Jacob (*Jer.* iii. 18, *Ezek.* xxxvii. 15–22). As Judæans, they naturally viewed Zion as the sanctuary of the reconciled tribes; and thither Jeremiah contemplated that the children of Ephraim would gather to seek Jehovah (xxxi. 6).

(*b*) But though the thoughts of these prophets were directed principally towards the destiny of their own people, they likewise included within their range the future of the world at large. The anticipations formed respecting this partly took place under pressure of certain moral difficulties arising from the deeper consciousness, now prevailing, that Jehovah was the Judge of all mankind. In the light of the more comprehensive views about Jehovah's relation to the Gentile world which were initiated by the prophets of the 8th century, it was no longer possible to rest content with the belief that God used them as agents for the discipline of Israel, independently of their own conduct. It was seen that justice and mercy were demanded from them as well as from the chosen people. Reflection, however, failed to discover any moral superiority in the ministers of Divine vengeance over the nation whom they chastised, so that Habakkuk, when the Chaldeans were raised up to punish Judah for its sins, could enquire of the Almighty why He held His peace when the wicked swallowed up the man that was more righteous than he (*Hab.* i. 13).[1] Hence the prophets began to take refuge from their perplexity in the thought that God's holiness would be vindicated by a judgment of the heathen even more signal than that which had overtaken Israel. But a noteworthy difference of attitude towards heathen nations is observable among the various prophets who belong to this

[1] In *Hab.* i. it is most natural to take the *wicked* in ver. 4 to be the unrighteous Israelites, and in ver. 13 to be the Chaldeans (Babylonians). But some scholars regard the word in both verses as describing a power (Assyria, or more probably Egypt, after the defeat and death of Josiah at Megiddo) that was oppressing Israel (the righteous), to avenge whom Jehovah was raising up the Chaldeans; though this renders it necessary to transfer i. 5–11 from its present position and to place it after ii. 4.

period. On the one hand, some, whilst announcing a judgment to be in store for the peoples that distressed Israel, anticipated the admission of the Gentile world generally to the knowledge and favour of Jehovah. Jeremiah, for instance, whilst predicting woe for the various peoples of Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt, of which Babylon was to be the author and eventually the sharer (xxv. 15–31, xxvii. 1–11), and whilst delivering separate oracles of sinister import against Egypt, Philistia, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar, and Elam (xlvi.–xlix.),[1] yet declared that all nations should be gathered unto Jerusalem in the name of Jehovah (iii. 17); that they should bless themselves in Him, and in Him should glory (iv. 2); that to Him they should come from the ends of the earth and say, "Our fathers have inherited naught but lies, even vanity and things wherein there is no profit" (xvi. 19); and that if the evil neighbours of Israel should learn the ways of Jehovah's chosen, and to swear by His name, even as they had taught Israel to swear by Baal, they should be built up in the midst of His people (xii. 14–16). Zephaniah, too, did not regard the judgment, which he predicted would overtake certain foreign nations, as one of vengeance only. Though the wrongs and insults endured by Israel at the hands of its adversaries in Philistia, Moab, Ammon, Ethiopia (= Egypt), and Assyria were to be avenged (ii. 7–15), the punishment inflicted would reclaim the nations from their idolatry, for Jehovah would famish all the gods of the earth, and men should worship Him, every one from his place (ver. 11). It was His determination to assemble the kingdoms, and to pour upon them His indignation; then would He turn to the peoples a pure language, that they might all call upon the name of Jehovah to serve Him with one consent (iii. 8–9). On the other hand, Obadiah, in describing the punishment which was ultimately to overtake Edom for its unbrotherly triumph over the downfall of Judah, confined his forecast solely to the vindictive aspect of the approaching doom, to the exclusion of any thoughts of correction and reformation.

[1] To the oracles against Moab, Ammon, and Elam there is attached a promise of restoration from the captivity with which they are threatened, but in the case of the first two it is omitted by the LXX.

"The house of Jacob (he declares) shall be a fire, and the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau for stubble, and they shall burn among them and devour them and there shall not be any remaining to the house of Esau." Judah is to be the agent of its own revenge, and is to recompense itself for its humiliation and calamities by possessing the lands of its jealous neighbours. Similarly Ezekiel (xxv.–xxxii., xxxv.) predicts that Jehovah will take vengeance upon Edom by the hand of His people for having vented its spite against Judah; that punishment is to befall the Philistines, Moab, Ammon, and Tyre, either for taking advantage of, or rejoicing over, Judah's misfortunes; and that Jehovah's wrath is likewise awaiting Egypt for its pride and insincerity, though a promise is added that after forty years, it will be restored, humbled and diminished. But Ezekiel also has a description of a great overthrow of heathen (predicted by former prophets, cf. *Zeph.* iii. 8, *Mic.* iv. 11), which is to happen in the distant future, and which, whilst on a much more colossal scale than anything depicted previously, breathes a still harsher spirit. In *the latter days*, after the Jews have returned from exile and are dwelling in quiet and security, a vast horde of peoples from the north and south (Persia, Cush, Put, Gomer, Togarmah), under Gog of the land of Magog, will be moved to gather themselves together against Jehovah's people; and Jehovah will then call for a sword against them, and every man's sword shall be against his brother. And there shall be rained upon Gog and his hordes hailstones and fire and brimstone; and thereby shall Jehovah be magnified and sanctified. And after the overthrow, the people of Israel shall burn the weapons and bury the slain; and they shall make fires of the former seven years; and seven months shall they be burying the dead, that they may cleanse the land (*Ezek.* xxxviii., xxxix.). It will be seen that this predicted judgment has no relation to the conditions of the prophet's own time; the date is remote and indefinite; and the nations concerned lie beyond the usual horizon of Israel. The spirit which animates it is also remarkable for exhibiting, by the side of the more generous views just described, a return of the fierce and exclusive temper of an earlier time, due, it may be presumed, to the painful and igno-

minious experiences which the nation had undergone acting upon the stern disposition of a particular prophet. Predictions of this kind which (i.) have as their subject the contrasted destinies of Israel and of the heathen world in general, and betray towards the latter a bitter and vindictive spirit, (ii.) profess to disclose a comprehensive and final judgment of God in the far-off future, (iii.) represent the impious, whether Jews or heathen, as destroyed in a stupendous catastrophe, accomplished by supernatural agency, have received the name of *Apocalyptic* prophecies. Appearing for the first time in this age (unless *Mic.* iv. 11–13 is an earlier example) they become much more numerous at subsequent periods.

(*c*) Certain of the prophets of the Babylonian age, like their predecessors, associated the era of happiness, which they believed to be awaiting their nation, with the reign of a native ruler—a descendant of the line of David. By the mouth of Jeremiah, Jehovah, when denouncing the shepherds who scattered the flock, declares that when He restores Israel, He will set up shepherds who will feed the flock; and in further explanation promises that He will raise unto David a righteous Scion (literally *shoot* or *sprout*)[1] who shall execute judgment, and save the people; and whose name shall be *Jehovah is our righteousness* (in allusion possibly to the name of Zedekiah, the last king of Judah, whose conduct belied the appellation he bore) (*Jer.* xxiii. 1–8, xxxiii. 14–18). By the same prophet Jehovah announces that in the day that He breaks the yoke of His people, strangers shall no more serve themselves of them, but they shall serve Jehovah their God and David their king, whom He will raise up unto them (*Jer.* xxx. 9). So too Ezekiel, when prophesying against the shepherds of Israel, declares that Jehovah will save His flock by setting over them one shepherd who shall feed them, even His servant David (*Ezek.* xxxiv. 23–24). Ezekiel, again, when speaking of the re-union of the two houses of Jacob, contemplates the time when one king shall be king over them all, and proceeds to add in the name of Jehovah, "My servant David shall be king over them"

[1] The same word occurs in *Is.* iv. 2, but there, as the parallelism shows, the word denotes the produce of the soil.

(xxxvii. 24). In these passages it is a line of sovereigns, represented by, and personified in, its founder, and not a single pre-eminent individual that is in the prophets' thoughts. This is made apparent in *Jer.* xxxiii. 15, where, after the repetition of xxiii. 5 (included in the passage summarised above), it is added, "David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel" (cf. also iii. 15, xvii. 24–25, xxii. 4). The only passage suggestive of a single Personality, to be born at some future time, is *Ezek.* xxi. 27, where the prophet, apostrophising the reigning "prince of Israel," the weak and insincere Zedekiah, bids him, in the name of Jehovah, take off the crown, and declares that "this (*i.e.* the crown) shall be no more until he come whose right it is; and I will give it him." The language resembles the rendering presented by some versions of *Gen.* xlix. 10, "until he come whose it is." But if the reference is to an Individual, it is not further elucidated; though it may be presumed that the prophet's conception of the king who should have (in a moral and ideal sense) a better right to the crown than the last of Judah's sovereigns was, in general, similar to that of his predecessor Isaiah, which has already been explained.

4. The Age of the Exile.

The Exile could scarcely fail to produce upon the Jewish community a great alteration both in the outward conditions of their worship, and in their internal disposition and character. The loss of nationality would naturally lead the more patriotic amongst them to cherish the more highly their distinctive religious faith; and the circumstances under which they were constrained to maintain it, since they did not extinguish it, helped to purify it. Severance from the Holy Land, and from Jerusalem, the sole legitimate sanctuary, brought with it a suspension of the system of sacrifice, so that, failing a wholesale adoption of heathen practices, the religion of Jehovah was not exposed to the subtle dangers of contamination. The public ceremonial which had hitherto constituted so much of the religious life of the people was replaced by private devotions, in which confession of sin was prominent (cf. *2 Is.* lxiv. 6); and general fasts were observed on the anniversaries of the various calamities that had attended the

siege of Jerusalem (see *Zech.* vii. 2 foll.). As a special mark to distinguish Jehovah's people from those amongst whom their lot was cast (cf. *Ezek.* xx. 20), stress was laid by the religious leaders of the nation upon the observance of the Sabbath (*2 Is.* lviii. 13, lvi. 2, 4, 6) (perhaps post-exilic). Moreover, the interruption of the nation's independent life tended to transfer interest from the present to the past and the future, and the narrower sphere within which their activities were confined gave leisure for reflection, for which their new circumstances afforded such ample material. The fall of Jerusalem and the captivity of its inhabitants had strikingly vindicated the warnings of the prophets, and could not fail to invest them with increased authority when they continued to assert a connection between the fortunes of their race and its religious and moral condition, or declared that its prosperity was dependent upon its faithfulness to Jehovah. And when eventually the signs of Babylon's approaching overthrow became evident, the splendour of its religious worship only threw into greater relief the ignorance and impotence of its divinities as contrasted with the power and foreknowledge of Israel's God. Jehovah's supreme and solitary godhead became now the subject not merely of dogmatic affirmation, but of reasoned argument; and the prophets were enabled to expose the futility, whilst denouncing the disloyalty, of idol-worship. In consequence, there was brought about during the comparatively brief interval of the Exile, a conspicuous change in the religious tendencies of the Jewish people, who, whatever the errors into which they subsequently fell, never again manifested the same pronounced inclination towards alien forms of worship which had distinguished their forefathers.

Of the prophetic writers of this era one, namely **Ezekiel**, has previously come, in part, under consideration in connection with the preceding age; and it has already been remarked that in certain respects a considerable difference of spirit exists between him and Jeremiah. An equally wide divergence in another direction is observable between those sections of his book which now call for notice and the writings of his younger contemporary who has been styled the **Second Isaiah**, and who, in many ways, is the most eminent of the prophets of the Exile. Though certain

ideas are common to both (especially such as are developments of thoughts current in the previous age) they are expressed very differently by each; and the actual additions made at this time to Hebrew religious beliefs are individual and not common contributions. In examining the teaching of the prophets referred to and others, it will be convenient to view it as it bears upon the two subjects previously indicated—the character and attributes of Jehovah, and His relations to Israel and the peoples outside it.

1. (*a*) It was pointed out in an earlier chapter that even in the ages when the existence of other gods than Jehovah was generally accepted, the superiority of Israel's God over the gods of the surrounding peoples was affirmed in the national songs (see *Ex.* xv. 11, and cf. *1 Sam.* ii. 2, *Ps.* xviii. 31), whilst His power without as well as within the limits of His own land and nation was attested by many stories of wonder. By the time of the Assyrian supremacy, the religious faith of the prophets of the period had become, to all intents and purposes, monotheistic. But by the prophets of the Exile, and especially by the Second Isaiah, monotheism was expounded and enforced with unprecedented explicitness and directness. Jehovah (it was declared) is the Creator of the world and the supreme Ruler of the elements ("*Jer.*" x. 12 foll., *2 Is.* xl. 26, xlii. 5). He has made the earth and created man upon it (*2 Is.* xlv. 12, 18); He is the Author of all things (*2 Is.* xliv. 24), the Incomparable, the Unsearchable (*2 Is.* xl. 18, 25, 28, xlvi. 5). He is the High and Lofty One that inhabiteth eternity (lvii. 15); the God of the whole earth is He to be called (liv. 5). He knows the future, and alone can predict unerringly things to come (xlii. 9, xlviii. 3, 5); He declares the end from the beginning (xlvi. 10); He speaks things that are right (*i.e.* correct) (xlv. 19, cf. xli. 26). He directs the fortunes of men, raising up Cyrus to fulfil His purposes, and crowning him with success (xli. 2, xlv. 1). He is the only Saviour (xliii. 11), to whom all the ends of the earth are bidden to look (xlv. 22). Finally, He is the only God; beside Him there is none other (xliv. 6, 8, xlv. 5–6). And consequent upon this profounder sense of Jehovah's sole godhead, there is displayed a vehement scorn for idols and their

worshippers. Idols are nothing; they are invited in vain to do good or to do evil; if one cries to them, yet they cannot answer him, nor save him out of his trouble (xli. 24, xlvi. 7). They that fashion a graven image are all of them vanity; they have no knowledge, who pray unto a god that cannot save (xliv. 9, xlv. 20). Mockery and derision are heaped upon the folly of those who from the same timber fashion a god for worship and procure fuel for preparing their food (xliv. 10–20, cf. "*Jer.*" x. 8–9). And further to expose the senselessness of idolatry, Jehovah is represented as throwing down a challenge to the idol-gods of Babylon, and defying them to show any power of prediction equal to that which He has already displayed (*2 Is.* xli. 22, xliii. 9, xlv. 21, xlvii. 13).

(*b*) But if this fuller apprehension of Jehovah's unique greatness deepened the contempt with which the prophets viewed the idol-worshippers around them, it was not without its effect upon their estimate of their own countrymen. Israel appeared too unworthy for regard for it to be the mainspring of the Divine dealings with it; the controlling motive of Jehovah's actions (as Ezekiel had already implied, see xx. 14, 44 and p. 442) could be no external consideration, but had to be sought solely in His purpose of self-revelation. God's tenderness towards Israel obtains frequent expression (see *2 Is.* xl. 11), but it was in the Divine glory rather than in the Divine graciousness that the explanation was found of His treatment of His people. It was impossible that Jehovah's intentions should be rendered of none effect by Israel's disobedience and sin; so that whilst His justice had required their temporary punishment, His faithfulness demanded that they should be saved from annihilation. God had created Israel for His praise (*2 Is.* xliii. 7, 21), and His honour was concerned in their vindication (xlviii. 11). Pity for His holy name, which Israel's exile had brought into contempt (lii. 5, cf. *Ezek.* xxxvi. 20, 23), leads Him to restore them: He refrains His anger, blots out their trangressions, and recalls them to favour, not for their sakes but His own (*2 Is.* xliii. 25, xlviii. 9, 11; cf. *Ezek.* xxxvi. 21, 32). As a consequence of this way of contemplating the Divine motives, the balance of thought was shifted from what Jehovah required *from* His people to what

He proposed to do *for* them. Hence *righteousness*, which in the pre-exilic Isaiah signifies the civil justice and uprightness which God demands of His people (v. 7), is, in the Second Isaiah, generally synonymous with *salvation*, *i.e.* the deliverance which Jehovah is pledged to bestow upon His people in virtue of His fidelity to His promises (*2 Is.* xlv. 8, xlvi. 13, li. 5, 6, lvi. 1, lix. 17).

(*c*) A kindred feeling of the vast distance between the sanctity of Jehovah and the imperfection of even a redeemed people is exhibited by Ezekiel; but in him it takes a peculiar form. He was a priest (i. 3), to whom the religious institutions of the nation were of importance no less than the conversion of individuals (see pp. 443–4); and in a vision which he had of Israel's re-establishment in its own land, the restoration of the Temple has a prominent place. But his conception of Jehovah's sanctuary is an ideal one; and the situation and arrangements of the new structure are specially intended to contrast Jehovah's holiness with the nation's impurity, and to guard the former against profanation. The territory of Israel, which is assumed to extend from the border of Hamath to Tamar (? Engedi) and Kadesh, and from the Jordan to the Mediterranean (the district E. of the Jordan being excluded), is divided into a number of parallel sections stretching in succession from the river to the sea, which are assigned to the several tribes. In the middle is the domain of the priests, which includes the sanctuary; and separating this from the tribal divisions, there is on one side the domain of the Levites, and on the other that of the citizens of Jerusalem; whilst E. and W. of it is the portion of the prince and his successors. Into the Temple, which is the abode of Jehovah and is filled with His glory, no alien or uncircumcised is allowed to pass; the bulk of the Levites are restricted to the lower offices of service in it, as having defiled themselves with idolatry at the local "high places"; and only the sons of Zadok, attendants at the purer worship at the Temple before its destruction, are to act as priests (*Ezek.* xl.–xlviii.). In this description of Ezekiel's, there re-appears something of the physical notion of purity which prevailed in earlier times. Jehovah's holy name is represented as having been desecrated in

the past not only by the nation's whoredoms (*i.e.* the worship of other gods), but by the nearness to His earthly dwelling-place (the Temple) of the dead bodies of its kings; and both sources of pollution must be avoided for the future (xliii. 7–9). Profanation had been caused not alone by murder and oppression, but by the priests' failure to put any difference between the holy and the common; and in the restored community it is especially directed that the people are to be taught to discern between the clean and the unclean (xxii. 26, xliv. 23). This insistence upon ceremonial holiness (see further xliii. 18–27, xliv. 17–27, etc.), though not really incompatible with the protests of Amos (v. 21–24), Jeremiah (vi. 20, vii. 21–26), and the Second Isaiah (lviii. 2–11) against formalism, nevertheless contrasts rather strikingly with them, and betrays in him a different spirit from that which animated the prophets who immediately preceded and followed him. Yet even in *Jer.* and *2 Is.* there is a significant stress laid upon the duty of hallowing the Sabbath (*Jer.* xvii. 21, 22, 27, *2 Is.* lvi. 4, 6, lviii. 13)[1] as well as in *Ezekiel* (xliv. 24), where it is represented as being the Divinely appointed symbol of the bond between Jehovah and His people (xx. 12, 20). The conditions of the Exile naturally brought this aspect of the Sabbath into prominence, turning it from a day of repose for man into a day to be kept holy unto Jehovah.

2. (*a*) As has been seen, the ultimate restoration of Israel was predicted even by the prophets who laboured before its ruin, and whose minds were mainly occupied with the thought of the intervening calamity. But during the Exile, the contemplation of Israel's future was no longer darkened by the shadow of a chastening judgment. The judgment had fallen, and the expectation of an impending disaster for Jerusalem was consequently replaced by the anticipation of an approaching discomfiture for its oppressor Babylon and for the nations that had rejoiced in Judah's overthrow. The indignation at Israel's transgressions which had filled the older prophets, was, in their successors, converted into sympathy with its sufferings and joy

[1] *Jer.* xvii. 19–27 by some scholars is considered to be a late interpolation of the time of Nehemiah (cf. *Neh.* xiii. 15–19); whilst the last eleven chapters of *2 Is.* are likewise regarded by many as post-exilic (see *Introd.* p. 22).

at the prospect of its restoration. The city to which Jehovah, in His anger, had committed the task of chastising His people had shown itself merciless and arrogant in its treatment of them (*2 Is.* xlvii. 6), and Israel had received double for its sins (xl. 2). Its calamities now called for redress, whilst vengeance awaited its persecutor. The doom coming upon Babylon is painted with all the lavishness of an imagination stimulated by the memories of the most poignant of national injuries. Those who are within her are bidden to flee out of her, lest they be cut off in her iniquity ("*Jer.*" li. 6, 45; cf. l. 8). Her assailants are Jehovah's "mighty men," whom He Himself musters for battle ("*Is.*" xiii. 3–4). The agents who are to give effect to the Divine retribution are clearly indicated. The Medes are the appointed instruments of Babylon's downfall ("*Is.*" xiii. 17, "*Jer.*" li. 11, 28); and the restorer of the Jews to their own land is Cyrus, Jehovah's "Anointed" (*2 Is.* xli. 25 foll., xlv. 1–4). The site of the tyrant city is to become a wilderness, and its desolation is to be for ever ("*Is.*" xiii. 20–22). The same fate is to overtake all who, like the Edomites, had triumphed in Judah's affliction ("*Is.*" xxxiv. 5 foll., *2 Is.* lxiii. 1–6); and their overthrow is to be accompanied by convulsions and portents in earth and heaven ("*Is.*" xiii. 10, xxxiv. 4). Contrasted with this is the deliverance of Jehovah's people. The face of nature will be transformed to further the return of the exiles, and to contribute to their happiness ("*Is.*" xxxv. 1 foll., *2 Is.* xli. 18, xliii. 19, li. 3). Into the Holy City there shall henceforth no more come the uncircumcised and unclean (lii. 1); but her people shall be all righteous, and shall inherit the land for ever (lx. 21, cf. *Ezek.* xxxvii. 25).

(*b*) The attitude of the prophets of this age towards foreign peoples fluctuates and varies. In certain highly-wrought passages which describe the redemption of Israel, it is represented that Jehovah has indignation against all the nations, and that His day of vengeance is near at hand ("*Is.*" xxxiv. 2, *2 Is.* lxi. 2, lxiii. 4). He will contend with those that contend with Israel; and by the destruction of the oppressors He will make Himself known to all flesh as the Saviour and Mighty One of Jacob (*2 Is.* xlix. 26). Meanwhile, Jehovah's people are to possess

the nations (*2 Is.* liv. 3), who are to become the servants and thralls of Israel (xiv. 2, xlv. 14, xlix. 23); they are to bring to the redeemed community their choicest products (lx. 5 foll.), and the kingdom that will not serve them shall perish (*id.* 12). In general, however, the relations of Jehovah to the nations at large are regarded by the writers of this time in a different light. The idea that Israel is invested with a mission to the Gentiles, and that its original election by God had this purpose in view, is now extensively developed (*2 Is.* xlii. 1, 4–6). The conversion of the world to a knowledge of Jehovah is represented as the result not only of fear but of attraction. Israel, after her restoration, which will exhibit so signally Jehovah's character and power, will become a centre to which the peoples will resort. Those that know her not will run unto her because of Jehovah who has glorified her (lv. 5). Nations shall come to her light, and kings to the brightness of her rising (lx. 3); and they shall see her righteousness and her glory (lxii. 2). Strangers shall cleave to the house of Jacob (xiv. 1): one shall say, "I am Jehovah's," and another shall call himself by the name of Jacob, and another shall write on his hand, "Jehovah's," and surname himself by the name of Israel (xliv. 5). Jehovah shall judge the peoples, the isles shall wait for Him, and on His arm shall they trust (li. 5). There shall arrive a time when to Jehovah every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear; when His house shall be called the house of prayer for all peoples; when He shall gather to Israel others beside its own outcasts, and will bring them to His holy mountain and make them joyful in His house of prayer, and their burnt offerings and their sacrifices shall be accepted; and when even eunuchs will have a place within Jehovah's house and walls and be given a memorial better than sons and daughters (xlv. 23, lvi. 3–8; contrast *Deut.* xxiii. 1).[1] The language of many of these passages is rhetorical, and not to be understood literally: but it affords sufficient evidence of the extreme breadth of view and the comprehensive and catholic spirit which characterised the chief prophets of the Exile; and Ezekiel, whose attitude to the heathen world

[1] References to *2 Is.* lxvi. have purposely been excluded, since that chapter is probably post-exilic; see p. 22.

is least generous, in his scheme for the regulation of the restored exiles, gives a place in it to the strangers sojourning among them, who should be unto them as the home-born among the children of Israel (*Ezek.* xlvii. 22–23).

This idea that Israel's destiny embraced the good of the world at large, now that it was fully realised, was seen to throw light upon a problem that had perplexed previous prophets. Habakkuk, in consequence of Babylon's destruction of Israel, a nation which was righteous by comparison with its oppressor, had been led to complain of God's government of the world (see *Hab.* i. 13). But the moral difficulty thus presented found a solution when it was once perceived that the trials of the righteous nation filled a place in a Divine scheme of purposes that included all mankind. The afflictions of Israel appeared to be agencies for conveying to those who witnessed or even inflicted them instruction and enlightenment respecting Jehovah, whilst the patient endurance of ill on the part of God's people could not go without recompense. And a similar problem to that which troubled Habakkuk in regard to the fate of the collective Hebrew nation at the hands of its foes had exercised Jeremiah in regard to the unworthy treatment of righteous individuals within it by their godless fellow-countrymen (*Jer.* xii. 1), and admitted the same solution. The unmerited tribulations of the upright did not imply injustice or unconcern in God, but were, if freely submitted to, conducive to the redemption even of the wicked who occasioned them. In virtue of the fellowship which an innocent man, by his willing sufferings with and for the guilty, established between himself and them, his afflictions availed to make intercession for them. The older sense of solidarity based on blood-relationship which had rendered the guiltless involuntary partakers in the punishment of the guilty had in the previous age given place to the assertion of individual rights and a demand that everyone should suffer for his own offences only. This was now qualified by a sense of solidarity resting on sympathy, and leading to voluntary self-sacrifice, which, in the long-run, was bound to promote, under a righteous God, the welfare both of him who made the sacrifice and (under certain conditions) of those for whom it was made. This solution of the problems which confronted the prophets of an earlier

generation was worked out by the Second Isaiah in a series of passages which describe the mission and career of *Jehovah's Servant*, a figure which sometimes represents the collective nation, and sometimes (xlii. 1–7, xlix. 1–9, l. 4–9, lii. 13–liii. 12) an individual or group of individuals within it.

The application of the term *Jehovah's Servant* to the people of Israel generally is perfectly clear in places like 2 *Is.* xli. 8, xlii. 19–25, xliv. 1, 21, xlv. 4, xlviii. 20 (cf. *Jer.* xxx. 10, xlvi. 27, *Ezek.* xxxvii. 25). But in xlii. 1–7 the *Servant* is described as designed by Jehovah for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles, to open the blind eyes and to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, whereas in xlii. 19 he is himself described as blind and unobservant; so that the expression is manifestly used in a double sense. This double sense is still more apparent in xlix. 1–9 where the *Servant*, soliloquising, represents himself as being addressed by Jehovah under the title of *Israel* (ver. 3), whilst he is also *distinguished from Israel*, inasmuch as he is intended to raise up the tribes of Jacob as well as to be a light to the Gentiles (ver. 6). In the discharge of this duty there is given to him the tongue of them that are taught, that he should know how to sustain with words him that is weary (l. 4, cf. lxi. 1–3). In the course of his labours he is despised and abhorred by the nation (xlix. 7); he submits to blows and ill-treatment (l. 5–6); his visage is marred more than any man's (lii. 14); and as one from whom men hide their face, he is held in no esteem (liii. 3). Finally, the persecution he endures is ended by an unjust death to which he goes uncomplainingly, and he is buried with the wicked and with such as had acquired ill-gotten gain (liii. 7–9). Yet it is the iniquities of others that he bears, and for the sins of others his life is sacrificed (liii. 5–6). And consequently, as during his lifetime he left his recompense with Jehovah and his judgment with his God (xlix. 4), so his reward follows him after his death. When his soul shall make a guilt-offering for sin, he shall see his seed and prolong his days (presumably in the sense of having a long line of descendants or disciples); he shall see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied, and shall be reckoned amongst great and triumphant conquerors (liii. 10–12).

That the Servant, even when not meant to denote Israel as a

whole, is still a collective expression, designating *a class* of persons rather than a single individual, is suggested by the occurrence of references to a certain number of the exiles whose character and experiences resemble those of the Servant (cf. li. 7 with xlix. 7 and liii. 3). Particular features in the description of the Servant further point to the faithful prophets of Jehovah as being more especially in the writer's mind: for instance, in xliv. 26 *Jehovah's servant* is parallel with *His messengers*, whilst "the tongue of them that are taught" or "of disciples" (l. 4 and marg.), which the Servant receives, recalls "the disciples of the prophets" (*Is.* viii. 16), who doubtless themselves became prophets in course of time. And alike in the afflictions of the Servant and the reflections which support him under them there are some striking resemblances to those related of the prophet Jeremiah (cf. liii. 7 with *Jer.* xi. 19, liii. 3, 8 with *Jer.* xx. 10–11). And on the supposition that the corporate body of the prophets are primarily indicated, the double sense in which the figure of *the Servant* is employed becomes fairly intelligible. The prophets may justly be regarded as performing the functions and enacting the rôle which the nation collectively (as was now perceived) was intended to discharge amongst mankind. As their people's representatives they may be considered to have toiled and suffered vicariously for their countrymen, who persecuted and rejected them, but who nevertheless owed to them the grace which they received from the hands of God. They may even be viewed as the authors of their country's redemption and restoration (xlix. 6, 8) inasmuch as the destiny of Israel was dependent upon its realising its vocation, of which the prophets were the chief exponents and illustrators.[1]

But though the *Servant* would seem to be a personification of the prophetic order generally, united in a single figure, the description in point of fact goes beyond anything which, up till then, had appeared in history. Among the prophets whose labours and sufferings are most nearly reproduced in the passages considered above is (as has been said) Jeremiah. Yet noble and self-sacrificing and steadfast as Jeremiah was, there sometimes broke from him (in spite of what he says of himself

[1] Cf. Skinner, *Is. xl.–lxvi.* p. xxxiv.

in xi. 19) imprecations against his persecutors (see *Jer.* xvii. 18, xviii. 19–23, xx. 11–12), which contrast glaringly with what is recorded of the *Servant* in *2 Is.* liii. 7. And a review of human history in general and of Hebrew history in particular leads to the conclusion that the character of *the Servant* long remained an ideal one. More than 500 years passed before it was realised, and the creation of the prophet's inspired genius obtained concrete embodiment in the life and death of Jesus of Nazareth.

(*c*) It has been seen that Ezekiel in the earlier portion of his prophetic ministry contemplated, like his contemporary Jeremiah, the restoration of the two branches of the house of Jacob under a descendant of the family of David (p. 448). But in the scheme drawn up at a later date for the reconstitution of the Jewish nation as soon as their predicted return to their own land should be an accomplished fact, the representative of Judah's royal line occupies a less conspicuous position. It is assumed, indeed, that the people will be organised under a prince, who is, no doubt, to be identified with the descendant of David mentioned previously; but the prince is no longer regarded as the active dispenser of the blessings promised by Jehovah (as is the case in xxxiv. 23–24). On the contrary, care is taken to guard against possible *exactions* on the part of him and his successors by assigning for their maintenance a certain domain in the neighbourhood of the sanctuary, that they may no more oppress Jehovah's people (xlv. 7–9, xlvi. 18). The principal function of the prince is to provide the materials for the Temple sacrifices; the cost of which is to be met by oblations given to him by the nation. The comparatively humble rôle here specifically assigned to the sovereign is partly to be explained by the fact that the prophet's arrangements concern the religious rather than the secular life of the community. But it is also in part due to the physical and local conceptions entertained of the Divine presence by Ezekiel, who represents the Almighty as entering with His chariot into the Temple, and making it the place of His Throne (xliii. 1–7). The immediate and direct rule of Jehovah in the midst of His people inevitably dwarfs all human authority beside Him, and renders the figure of the king insignificant and sub-

ordinate. In *2 Is.* the Messianic king has no place. The title "Anointed" (Heb. *Messiah*), indeed, is applied to Cyrus (xlv. 1), who is regarded as raised up by Jehovah to accomplish the Divine purposes. But this can scarcely be considered a continuation of the earlier line of thought; and elsewhere Jehovah is represented as intervening in His own Person for the purpose of saving or avenging His people. On the other hand, if the passage "*Zech.*" ix. 9–12 has been incorporated, as the language suggests, from an exilic prophecy by a later writer, the conception of the Messianic king had not wholly disappeared in this period. It differed, however, materially from that which prevailed during the Assyrian age, for whereas the rule of the king described by Isaiah, though productive of peace, rested upon the active exercise of authority by him in the interests of justice (*Is.* ix. 7, cf. xi. 1–9), the peace, whereof the entry into Zion of her king riding upon an ass was a symbol, was the creation of Jehovah; whilst the king himself was lowly and the recipient of justice and salvation, not the bestower of them ("*Zech.*" ix. 9).

CHAPTER XIV

THE RETURN FROM THE EXILE

Sources—*Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Esther*, *Daniel*, *Haggai*, *Zechariah* i.–viii., "*Zech.*" ix.–xiv., *Malachi*, *Joel*, *Jonah*.

IT was only two years after the fall of Babylon that the Jewish people, whose liberty she had destroyed, found in her conqueror their long-desired vindicator. **Cyrus**, as he advanced upon Babylon, had been hailed with prophetic prescience by the Second Isaiah as *Jehovah's anointed* (*2 Is.* xlv. 1); and in 536 he fulfilled the hopes entertained of him by giving, partly, indeed, in accordance with a general policy pursued towards several subject states,[1] but partly, perhaps, in response to personal appeals, such as were made to one of his successors (see *Ez.* vii. 6, *Neh.* ii. 4), permission to all Jews to return to Jerusalem and there restore the Temple of Jehovah. Those who took advantage of the offer are represented as amounting to 42,360, together with men-servants and maid-servants (to the number of 7,337) and 200[2] professional singers; but as the total is largely in excess of the items that constitute it,[3] there must either be an error in the text, or else the figure is that to which the population had increased by a later date.[4] The bulk of the people doubtless belonged to the tribes

[1] See Sayce, *H. C. M.*, p. 507.

[2] So in *Ez.* ii. 65; in *Neh.* vii. 67 the number is 245.

[3] Some of the constituent figures are given differently in *Neh.* vii. 8 foll.

[4] The total sum stated is doubtless greater than the reality (contrast the 1,754 *men* brought by Ezra at a later date, see p. 474), and some scholars have believed that the exiles who came back from Babylon in 536 were "few and unimportant" (see Kent, *History of the Jewish People*, p. 130), whilst others have maintained that there was no return at all until after 520 and that the Temple built in 520 was the work of the population that still remained in Judæa after the capture of Jerusalem (*2 Kg.* xxv. 12). This latter conclusion

of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi; but it is not improbable that some members of the other tribes were included.[1] The Priests were 4,289, the Levites 74, the Singers[2] and Porters 267, and certain inferior Temple-ministers styled *Nethinim* and "the children of Solomon's servants"[3] 392. The head of the returning community is variously called Sheshbazzar[4] and Zerubbabel. It seems probable that the two names denote the same individual;[5] but it is possible that Sheshbazzar is to be identified with Shenazzar, one of the sons of king Jehoiachin (*1 Ch.* iii. 18) and uncle of Zerubbabel. If so, he must have been succeeded almost immediately by his nephew, who was the son of another of Jehoiachin's children, Shealtiel or Pedaiah.[6] The leader in any case was a descendant of the royal family of Judah. He was invested with the authority of governor (his Persian title being *Tirshatha*, *Ez.* ii. 63), and he had associated with him the priest

is based on (1) the terms *remnant* and *people of the land* applied by Haggai and Zechariah to those whom they addressed in 520 (see *Hag.* i. 12, 14, ii. 4, *Zech.* viii. 6, 11, vii. 5), (2) the fact that Zechariah seems to refer to a return of exiles in the future (ii. 6–7, viii. 7, 8). But that the people to whom the prophets just named appealed were Jews lately restored from Babylon is probable from the absence of any charges of idolatry against them; and the fact of such a restoration in 536 is not only positively asserted in *Ez.* i., iii., but is implied in the decree alluded to in *Ez.* v. 13–17, for the erection of the Temple therein commanded by Cyrus is not likely to have been projected except for a body of Babylonian Jews in whom the Persian king had become interested (see G. A. Smith, *The XII. Prophets*, ii. p. 204 foll.). And if a return was really effected with the encouragement of Cyrus, it can scarcely have been as insignificant in numbers and character as is sometimes represented, though it was undoubtedly not exhaustive (see *Zech.* vi. 9 and *Ez.* vii., viii.), and was followed by others, which the passages in *Zech.* ii. 6–7, viii. 7, 8, cited above, have in view.

[1] In *1 Ch.* ix. 3 Ephraim and Manasseh are mentioned in addition to Judah and Benjamin.

[2] These were attached to the Temple-service, and were distinct from the 200 ordinary minstrels mentioned above.

[3] The name perhaps alludes to what is related in *1 Kg.* ix. 20–21.

[4] LXX. B, Σαβανασάρ.

[5] In favour of their identity is the fact that the foundation of the Temple is ascribed to both (*Ez.* v. 16, iii. 8); and the double name may be paralleled by the instances of Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, who were respectively called Belteshazzar, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. On the other hand, some scholars regard Sheshbazzar not only as distinct from Zerubbabel, but as a Persian commissioner (cf. *Ez.* v. 14 (LXX.), *1 Esd.* vi. 18).

[6] He is called the son of Shealtiel in *Ez.* iii. 8 etc., but the son of Pedaiah in *1 Ch.* iii. 19, being presumably the natural son of the one and the legal son (by a Levirate marriage) of the other.

Jeshua or Joshua, whose grandfather, the high priest Seraiah, had been put to death by Nebuchadrezzar at the destruction of Jerusalem (*2 Kg.* xxv. 18 foll.), and whose father Jehozadak had been carried into captivity (*1 Ch.* vi. 15). To furnish the Temple that was to be re-built Cyrus gave to him the vessels[1] which had been taken from the first Temple; and whilst exhorting all who could to forward the return of the exiles by their contributions charged himself with the expenses (*Ez.* vi. 4). The king's mandates were carried out, the journey across the Syrian desert (perhaps by Carchemish, Hamath, and the valley of the Orontes) was safely accomplished, and after a captivity of fifty years the Jews were once more established in their native land.

In *Ezra* i. 2 Cyrus is made to use the language of a worshipper of Jehovah, asserting that Jehovah had given him all the kingdoms of the earth, and had charged him with the duty of building Him a house in Jerusalem. But Cyrus in his own inscriptions[2] expressly ascribes his success to Merodach the god of Babylon, and styles himself his worshipper; and though he may have done this for political reasons, he can scarcely have been a monotheist.

The seventy years which the Exile is repeatedly represented as having lasted is a round number, and is given in connection with different periods. Thus Jeremiah (xxix. 10) uses it when writing to those who were carried into captivity with Jehoiachin in 596, between which date and the Return in 536 sixty years elapsed. It is employed by Zechariah (i. 12) in 520 to describe the period that had passed between the beginning of the captivity in 596 or 586 and his own day, which consequently covered either seventy-six or sixty-six years. And it is again used by Zechariah (vii. 5) in 518 to denote a period of either seventy-eight or sixty-eight years. On the other hand Ezekiel (iv. 6) reckons the Exile at the conventional figure of forty years (cf. p. 416, note).

Those who returned with Zerubbabel and Jeshua did not include by any means all the exiles or even the wealthiest and most prosperous; but they were numerous enough to occupy, if not at once, at any rate eventually, a number of towns in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, such as Gibeon,[3] Bethlehem, Netophah, Anathoth, Kiriath Jearim, Chephirah, Beeroth, Ramah, Geba, Michmash, Bethel, Ai, Nebo (or Nob), and Jericho. Some kind of scrutiny seems to have been made into the Hebrew descent of those who desired to share fully in the restored community; and those of the priests who failed to establish their Israelite origin were forbidden to perform any sacerdotal function until the

[1] The total (5,400) in i. 11 is largely in excess of the sum of the items (2,499) enumerated in ver. 9, 10. [2] See Sayce, *H. C. M.*, p. 505.

[3] In *Ez.* c. ii. the list of towns probably begins with ver. 20 (where *Gibeon* should be read for *Gibbar*) and ends with ver. 35; cf. *Neh.* vii. 25–38.

authoritative pronouncement of a priest with *Urim* and *Thummim* could supply the defect of documentary evidence. When the people were once more settled on their native soil, a united gathering was held at Jerusalem in the seventh month of the year, the altar of Jehovah was built, the Feast of Tabernacles kept and the observance of the daily sacrifice and of the system of festivals established. The Temple, however, was not yet begun; and it was to the task of its re-construction that the energies of the people were next devoted. Towards the building and its equipment offerings of gold and silver and priestly garments were contributed by Zerubbabel the Tirshatha, and some others of the principal men. As in the time of Solomon, recourse was had to Zidon and Tyre for materials and workmen, payment being made in kind; and the cedar-wood required was brought by sea to Joppa. To three Levitical families was entrusted the oversight of the work; and in the second month of the second year after the Return the foundation of the Temple was laid to the accompaniment of music and singing. It was justly an occasion for enthusiastic rejoicing; but to the old men who could remember the first Temple the contrast between Solomon's stately fane and the structure in process of erection before them could not fail to bring tears[1] (*Ez.* c. iii.).

The work was not destined to advance without interruption. The news of what was being done at Jerusalem soon reached the ears of the inhabitants of the Persian province of Samaria. These were in part the descendants of the immigrants introduced after the fall of the city of Samaria by the Assyrian kings Sargon (*2 Kg.* xvii. 24), Esar-haddon (*Ez.* iv. 2), and Asshurbanipal (*Ez.* iv. 10) to replace the Israelites who were deported. But they included many of Hebrew stock; and the influence of the latter, aided by the reforms of Josiah (*2 Kg.* xxiii. 15–20), had been sufficiently great to maintain among them the worship of Jehovah, though doubtless in a corrupt form (cf. *2 Kg.* xvii. 33–41).[2] They now approached the settlers at Jerusalem with the

[1] Yet if the incomplete dimensions given in *Ez.* vi. 3 are any clue, the size of the Second Temple exceeded that of the First.

[2] In *Ez.* iv. 2 there are two readings, one affirming and the other denying the practice of sacrifice to Jehovah amongst the Samaritans, but the weight of the evidence seems decidedly in favour of the first; cf. Ryle *ad loc.*

request to be allowed to take part in the re-building of the Temple. But the Judæans refused the advances of those whom they regarded not as Hebrews but as Cuthæans (cf. *Ecclus.* l. 25, and see *2 Kg.* xvii. 24); and laying stress upon the decree granted to themselves alone, declined to permit the applicants, as a community, to have any share in the work, though eventually those Israelites who separated themselves from their heathen associates were admitted to participation (*Ez.* vi. 21). In consequence of this, a bitter feud arose; and the people of Samaria now did all they could, by active interference or by misrepresentation to the authorities, to hinder the further operations of the builders. In this they were successful; and the erection of the Temple was left uncompleted through the remainder of the reign of Cyrus, and the reigns of his successors **Cambyses** (529–522) and the **Pseudo-Smerdis** (522–521), until the accession of **Darius I.**, the son of Hystaspes, in 521 (*Ez.* iv. 5, 24).[1]

If *Ez.* iv. 6–23 is connected with the context immediately preceding, and refers to the representations made to the Persian authorities by the adversaries of the Jews in the time of Zerubbabel, the names of the Persian kings *Ahashverosh* and *Artahshashta* (ver. 6, 7, marg.) must stand for Cambyses and the Pseudo-Smerdis, the predecessors of Darius Hystaspis. But not only is the difference in the names too great to render this probable, but *Ahashverosh* regularly represents *Xerxes* in *Esth.* i. 1, etc., and *Artahshashta* is clearly *Artaxerxes*, one of the successors of Darius, in *Ez.* vi. 14; whilst as a matter of fact the passage in question (iv. 6–23) relates to the construction of the walls of Jerusalem (see ver. 12, 16), not to the re-building of the Temple. It is therefore misplaced in its present position and will come under notice later on.

After the re-construction of the Temple had once been interrupted by the machinations of the Samaritans, the Jews themselves began to lose their interest in it, and were more concerned with building houses for themselves than with restoring the House of Jehovah. They were roused from their supineness by the preaching of two prophets, **Haggai** and **Zechariah**,[2] whose rebukes of both their religious and moral failings seemed to them to be enforced by the simultaneous occurrence of a

[1] At the beginning of Darius' reign (521), and again in 514, Babylon revolted, and its overthrow is by some thought to be the occasion referred to in "*Is.*" xxiv.–xxvii.

[2] Zechariah, who in *Ez.* v. 1 is called the son of Iddo, was really son of Berechiah and grandson of Iddo (see *Zech.* i. 1). He may be the Zechariah mentioned in *Neh.* xii. 16 as accompanying Zerubbabel.

disastrous season (*Hag.* i. 9–11). In consequence of their exhortations, helped by the arrival of envoys with presents from the Jewish community in Babylon (*Zech.* vi. 9 foll.), the task of re-building the Temple was resumed[1] after an interval of fifteen or sixteen years, in the second year of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 520). The resumption of operations at first excited suspicion; and enquiries were made of the elders of the Jews by the Persian Tattenai (governor of all the country W. of the Euphrates,[2] and Zerubbabel's official superior) and by his colleague Shetharbozenai, as to their right to prosecute the work. The elders referred to the decree of Cyrus, and a letter reporting their answer was sent to Darius, with a request that search might be made for the decree alluded to, the work meanwhile being allowed to continue. The decree was found at Achmetha (Ecbatana); and the king thereupon confirmed it,[3] and directed that aid both in money and kind should be given to the Jews, alike for the building of the Temple fabric and for the maintenance of the daily sacrifices, requiring at the same time that prayer should be offered for himself and his house. Thus encouraged the Jews made rapid progress, and in Adar, the twelfth month of the sixth year of Darius, B.C. 516, the Temple was completed and dedicated. The thoughts of all present could not fail to be carried back to the dedication of the earlier Temple nearly 500 years before; and as that was the creation of a united Israel, so by an effort of the imagination the twelve tribes were regarded as having part in the present structure, and twelve he-goats were sacrificed as a sin-offering (*Ez.* vi. 17). The dedication festival was followed on the first month of the next year by a celebration of the Passover, at which those Israelites who had not shared the Exile but had become mingled with the population of the land were allowed to be present on separating themselves from their corrupt surroundings.

[1] In *Ez.* v. 2 the words *began to build* used of Zerubbabel at the date must not be pressed; cf. ver. 16 (end).

[2] In *Ez.* v. 3 the expression *governor beyond the river* is probably a Persian official title, and refers to the W. and not the E. of the Euphrates.

[3] In *Ez.* vi. 14 the mention of Artaxerxes, one of the successors of Darius, is out of place in connection with a decree for building the Temple. It doubtless anticipates what is related subsequently in c. vii.

By some scholars it has been thought that the foundations of the Temple were first laid not in 535 but in 520, since Haggai seems to imply that when he prophesied the building was not yet begun (see *Hag.* i. 2, 4, ii. 15). But it seems most reasonable to treat his expressions as rhetorical, and to conclude that the Temple was really commenced in 535 (as stated in *Ez.* iii. 8–10, v. 16), though progress was soon suspended (cf. p. 465, note).

No description is furnished in the book of *Ezra* of Zerubbabel's Temple. Even its dimensions are imperfectly given, the height and breadth alone being stated (each extending to sixty cubits) whilst the length is not indicated (*Ez.* vi. 3). If the later temple of Herod (described by Josephus) be any guide, it may be inferred[1] that it consisted of three courts: (1) an outer court called the *Court of the Gentiles*, to which alone foreigners were admitted; (2) a second within the former and raised above it called the *Court of the Women*, which alone females might enter; (3) a third within and above the second, known as the *Inner* or *Upper Court*. This last was divided into two parts, to only one of which laymen had access, the other being confined to the Priests. Within the *Court of the Priests* the Temple itself stood, consisting of a *Holy Place* and a *Holy of Holies*, the latter now destitute of the Ark. The fabric of it, together with the furniture belonging to it, was probably designed on the plan of the earlier building and its contents, but was necessarily of less costly materials and less artistic workmanship. Its construction was an event of immense importance in the history of the Jewish race. In it the Hebrew religion once more obtained a local sanctuary which by its services afforded indulgence, and by its associations added strength, to the emotions of natural piety. It served, too, as a centre for popular instruction, and for the preservation of the religious traditions of the nation. But under the circumstances of the time, the restoration of the Temple could scarcely fail to give renewed vitality to that tendency in the people towards religious formalism of which so many of the prophets had in the past complained; whilst it offered favourable ground for the growth of an exclusive spirit which eventually developed into intolerance.

From this point for more than fifty years the history of the Jewish community in Palestine is almost a blank, nothing being

[1] See Hunter, *After the Exile*, i. p. 202 foll.

known even of the end of Zerubbabel. Darius Hystaspis died in 485 and was succeeded by **Xerxes**. During his reign it is probable that an attempt was made to surround Jerusalem with walls; for this, after the completion of the Temple, seems to be the proceeding most calculated to afford ground for a complaint against the Jews on the part of their enemies the Samaritans. An accusation of some kind, at any rate, was made against them to Xerxes at the beginning of his rule; but all particulars about it are wanting (*Ez.* iv. 6).[1] To this period the prophetic activity of **Malachi** should probably be assigned;[2] and if so, some light is thrown upon the moral and religious condition of the Jewish community. The hopes raised by the optimist predictions of *2 Isaiah* had been disappointed. The people were in the enjoyment of neither the social superiority nor the material abundance which had been promised them; for their neighbours had been able to inflict mortifications upon them, and the products of their soil suffered from blight (*Mal.* ii. 2). These calamities had an unhappy effect upon the temper and conduct of the nation. Perjury, adultery, and oppression began to prevail (iii. 5), unions were formed with the heathen or half-heathen population around them (Jewish wives in some cases being divorced with a view to marriage with foreign women, ii. 10–16); the Temple service was neglected and dishonoured (i. 6–14); and the priesthood was robbed of its dues (iii. 7–10). Even those who kept themselves pure from such guilt grew despondent and complaining (ii. 17, iii. 14). It was to rebuke these sins and to still these murmurs that

[1] On this passage see p. 469.

[2] The precise date of *Malachi* may fall (*a*) before Ezra's visit to Jerusalem in 458, (*b*) after 458 but before Nehemiah's first visit in 445, (*c*) between Nehemiah's departure in 433 and his second visit, (*d*) after this last visit. But (*c*) and (*d*) are improbable in view of Malachi's description of the priests as *the sons of Levi* (iii. 3, cf. ii. 4) (after the manner of *Deuteronomy*), whereas in the law promulgated in 444 (*Neh.* x.) *the priests the sons of Aaron* were distinguished from the rest of the Levites; whilst the prophet's language in certain passages resembles that of *Deuteronomy* rather than that of the Priestly code, *e.g.* iii. 5 (cf. *Deut.* xxiv. 17), iii. 17 (cf. *Deut.* vii. 6, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18), iv. 4 (cf. *Deut.* iv. 5). On the other hand, the injunction requiring the tithes to be brought into the Temple (iii. 10) is not that of *Deuteronomy* (see xiv. 22–29), but of *Num.* xviii. 21–24 (P); so though the Law-book with which Malachi was acquainted was most likely *Deut.*, certain usages were in force which were afterwards codified in the legislative enactments of P.

Malachi laboured, asserting that the scarcity that pinched them was due to the profanation of Jehovah's sanctuary, and predicting a day of judgment in which both the righteous and the wicked would receive their deserts (iii. 17–iv. 3).

It was in Xerxes' reign that the incidents recorded in the book of *Esther* in connection with certain Jews dwelling in Shushan (Susa) occurred, so far as they have any basis in fact. According to the narrative, Xerxes had taken into his harem, and made his queen, a beautiful Jewess named Esther, the cousin of a certain Mordecai, a descendant of those Jews who had been taken captive with Jehoiachin. A minister of the king's, called Haman, to revenge himself upon Mordecai, who did not show him due reverence, procured from the king, by the prospect of spoil to be obtained, a decree for a general massacre and pillage of the Jews on a certain day, as being a people of alien laws and unruly character. But before the decree was carried out, a record of service done to the king by Mordecai was brought to the notice of Xerxes, who directed Haman to see that his benefactor was rewarded with the distinctions which Haman himself had suggested should be bestowed on the man whom the king delighted to honour; whilst Esther procured another decree which permitted the Jews to stand on their defence against their enemies. Haman, in mortification, hanged himself on the gallows he had prepared for Mordecai, whilst the Jews avenged themselves on their intending murderers. Their deliverance from the danger that threatened them was thenceforward celebrated by an annual feast called *Purim*, which was observed for two days.

There is a manifest straining after effect in the narrative of the book of *Esther;* no confirmation of the incidents recorded is forthcoming from other sources; and the description of Esther as Xerxes' queen is inconsistent with Herodotus' uniform practice of styling *Amestris* Xerxes' wife (vii. 61, 114, ix. 109). But the feast of *Purim* was a widely observed festival, and in *2 Mac.* xv. 36 reference is made to an anniversary called *the day of Mordecai;* so that it seems most reasonable to assume that the book is an embellished and exaggerated account of an actual occurrence.

Xerxes died in 464 and was succeeded by **Artaxerxes I.** (Longimanus). He seems to have been favourably disposed towards the Jews, and in the seventh year of his reign (458 B.C.) another body of exiles left Babylonia for Jerusalem. This was

organised and directed by **Ezra**, a learned priest and scribe[1] and a descendant, like Zerubbabel's colleague Jeshua, of Seraiah.[2] His special object in proceeding to Palestine was to diffuse among his countrymen a better knowledge of the Law of Moses, to the study of which he was himself devoted, and the observance of which was at this time probably stricter at Babylon than at Jerusalem. To aid him in his purpose he obtained from Artaxerxes a letter allowing him to take into Judæa as many Jews as of their own free will desired to accompany him, and empowering him to appoint magistrates and judges to enforce under penalties the maintenance of the Law. He was further instructed to convey to the Temple at Jerusalem on the king's behalf vessels for its service, and such offerings as the Law enjoined, and commissioned to draw additional supplies from the royal treasuries in the provinces W. of the Euphrates; whilst, as a further favour, all priests and Levites, and even the inferior ministers of the Temple, were exempted from taxation. A body of men[3] to the number of 1,496, including members of many of the families represented in the expedition of Zerubbabel, assembled to accompany him. But amongst them no Levites were included (their backwardness in joining both Zerubbabel and Ezra being probably due to their recent exclusion from the priesthood as directed by Ezekiel)[4]; and he had to procure some by appealing to a certain Iddo, under whom a number of *Nethinim* were settled at a place called Casiphia. Of these 220 attached themselves to Ezra; and his company having increased to 1,754, together with women and children, he assembled his followers at the river of Ahava,[5] where he proclaimed a fast and entreated Divine assistance. He then started on his journey, which from the lack of an escort (which he felt ashamed to ask

[1] The term in the O.T. is used of three distinct, though allied, classes or functionaries: (1) the royal Secretaries at the courts of the Hebrew kings (*2 Sam.* viii. 17, etc.), or the state officials attending foreign governors (*Ez.* iv. 8), (2) the amanuenses employed by some of the prophets (*Jer.* xxxvi. 32), (3) copyists and students of the Law (*Ez.* vii. 6).

[2] But probably through a younger branch. Ezra's genealogy in *Ez.* vii. 1–5 is an abbreviated one.

[3] The figures of Ezra's expedition differ from those given in connection with Zerubbabel's in representing males only.

[4] See p. 456.

[5] Conjectured to be the name of an artificial canal near Babylon.

for) was not without danger (*Ez.* viii. 22, 31), and occupied four months; and eventually arrived safely at his destination. The gifts[1] entrusted to him he placed in the hands of a certain Meremoth, son of Uriah the priest, with whom three others were associated; and after offering sacrifice for all Israel, he proceeded to deliver to the satraps and governors the king's commissions.

Ezra, as has been said, left Babylon for Jerusalem with the purpose of instructing the Palestinian Jews in the Law of Moses, as he understood it. The feature in the social life of the people which seemed to him to be in most urgent need of reform was the practice of intermarriage with foreign women, in which many of the "princes" had taken the lead (*Ez.* ix. 2). Such alliances were, no doubt, calculated to diminish the hostility with which the restored community was generally regarded by their immediate neighbours; and plausible reasons might be urged for their toleration. But the evil results which they had often produced upon the national religion had been made visible in the history of the Monarchy; and it was Ezra's desire to safeguard his countrymen from incurring again the Divine judgments which had punished them so severely. In *Deuteronomy*, however, the Law-book with which the people were familiar, it was only marriage alliances with the Canaanites that were altogether forbidden (vii. 1–3); in the case of Moabites and Ammonites exclusion from the assembly of Jehovah was enforced until the tenth generation;[2] but in the case of Egyptians, children of the third generation might enter the assembly (xxiii. 3–8).[3] The comprehensive prohibition, therefore, of intermarriage with any foreigners, which Ezra sought to enforce was, in strictness, an extension of the Deuteronomic law, the principle laid down in certain instances being applied to cover others originally regarded

[1] The value of the gifts, as implied in *Ez.* viii. 26, has been estimated at nearly a million sterling, and exaggeration has reasonably been suspected.

[2] Interpreted in *Neh.* xiii. 1 to mean "for ever."

[3] Historic instances of unions between Israelites and women of the surrounding nations to which no exception is taken by the O.T. writers are those of Boaz with Ruth the Moabitess, of David with the daughter of the king of Geshur (*2 Sam.* iii. 3), and of Solomon with the daughter of the king of Egypt (*1 Kg.* iii. 1).

as distinct. In a formal[1] complaint made to him by some of the princes that their fellow-countrymen had not separated themselves from the peoples of the lands, but had contracted marriages with them, Ammonites, Moabites and Egyptians were placed in the same category with Canaanites, Hittites, Perizzites, Jebusites and Amorites. Ezra, on publicly learning the fact, displayed the utmost distress and indignation. After sitting long in silence, he fell on his knees and made to God a passionate confession of sin on the part of his countrymen; and during his prayer the people gathered round him, and began to share his strong emotion. On this, Shecaniah, perhaps one of the Jews who had returned from Elam, rose and proposed that the nation, acknowledging the sin of which they had been guilty in marrying strange women, should make a covenant with God to put away such wives and the children born to them, and so render obedience to the Law. Ezra then induced the people to swear to do this; and in order to give public sanction to the measure proposed, an assembly was proclaimed which all members of the community were required to attend on pain of excommunication and the confiscation of their property. At this assembly a general consent was given to Ezra's demands; but the inclemency of the weather rendered it necessary to leave the examination of individual offenders to a special commission, assisted by the elders and judges of their several cities. The only protest raised (if the translation of *Ez.* x. 15 be correct) came from Jonathan and Jahzeiah, who were supported by Meshullam, and Shabbethai the Levite; but it was of no avail. The commission sat for two months, those recorded to have contracted the forbidden unions amounting to 113, among whom were certain priests, including members of the family of Jeshua. These admitted their transgression; and on promising to put away their wives and to offer a guilt-offering, were seemingly allowed to retain their priesthood.

Ezra's conduct illustrates the spirit of exclusiveness and

[1] That Ezra had become acquainted with the condition of things at Jerusalem before the princes presented their complaint may be inferred from the fact that some four months elapsed between his arrival at the city and the enquiry made respecting the prohibited marriages, comp. vii. 8 with x. 9, and see Ryle *ad loc.*, Hunter, *op. cit.* ii. 8 foll.

aversion towards the Gentiles which has already been noticed as exhibiting itself among a certain section of the Jews in the course of the Exile. The particular measure to which it led on this occasion was peculiarly harsh, affecting, as it did, the closest family ties. Yet to a Jewish leader who believed sincerely in his race's vocation and the pre-eminent value of its religious faith, the danger to which the latter was exposed, now that its confessors were a small and feeble community, deprived of national independence, and encompassed on all sides by heathen influences, might seem to justify the sternest measures necessary for preserving its purity unimpaired.

Artaxerxes, as has been related, had empowered Ezra to take such steps as he might think expedient for enforcing observance of the Law; but the authority he had conferred upon him was ecclesiastical, not territorial; and he had given him no commission to surround Jerusalem with a wall. It would seem, however, that an attempt to rebuild the walls of the city was made after the arrival of a body of Jews from Babylon (*Ez.* iv. 12),[1] and it is natural to identify this body with Ezra's company. The favour with which he had been treated by Artaxerxes might readily encourage the bolder spirits of his party to renew the endeavour which, it is probable, had been made once before (see p. 472), to put the city into a state of defence, without waiting for authorisation from Persia. Whether the scheme was initiated, or even approved, by Ezra himself there is no means of knowing. It was, in any case, frustrated. The hostility of the Samaritans, provoked in the time of Zerubbabel, had not been extinguished; and it was no doubt certain of these, Bishlam, Mithredath, and Tabeel, who wrote a letter to the king exposing the designs of the Jews. This letter was supported by another from Rehum the chancellor and Shimshai the scribe (who were probably Persian officials), in which they related that the Jews who had come up from the king were building the city which had been so rebellious in the past and were finishing its walls, and they enlarged on the danger to the royal authority in that region if the fortifications were allowed to be completed. The appeal thus made was well calculated

[1] On the section iv. 7–23 see p. 469.

to alarm the king's fears. The reference to the previous history of the city was verified; and though it had, since its capture by Nebuchadrezzar, peaceably submitted to its successive Babylonian and Persian rulers, there were records to show that its subjugation had been a task of much difficulty. Accordingly, the letter of the Persian officers was answered in the terms desired. Directions were given that the construction of the city and its walls should cease until a decree authorising it should be issued, and the officials named above were charged to see that the royal rescript was instantly obeyed. These lost no time in carrying the king's orders into effect, and the work upon which the Jews were engaged was at once stopped by force (*Ez.* iv. 7–23). The wall already erected was then dismantled; and the gates were burnt with fire (cf. *Neh.* i. 3). But more than material structures were destroyed. Ezra was no doubt held, rightly or wrongly, responsible for the attempt to raise the fortifications; and when these fell, his authority and influence must have fallen with them. The mandate from the Persian king could scarcely fail to intimidate the party among the Jews who had been foremost in isolating themselves from contact with the Gentiles; whilst those who had protested against Ezra's measures were encouraged to further opposition. The practice of marrying foreign women once more began to prevail; and Ezra himself, defeated and disgraced, withdrew into obscurity.

That Ezra's reform ended in failure, and that he himself fell into disgrace are not statements made in the book that bears his name, but are inferences drawn from the need of a similar reformation which was experienced subsequently by Nehemiah (xiii. 23 foll.), and by the subordinate position which Ezra occupied on the occasion of Nehemiah's presence in 445 (*Neh.* viii. 2 foll.). On the other hand some scholars[1] have explained the inferior position of Ezra in 445 by supposing that his attendance upon Nehemiah at Jerusalem then was his *first* appearance there, and that his visit to the city in the higher capacity implied in *Ez.* vii.–x. took place in the seventh year of Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon) in 398. This view pre-supposes that Jerusalem when Ezra proceeded thither was already walled through the exertions of Nehemiah (see below), and appeal is made to *Ez.* ix. 9; and it finds support in the statement that Ezra in the course of the visit alluded to entered the chamber of Jehohanan the son of Eliashib (x. 6), which most naturally suggests that Jehohanan was a contemporary of Ezra's; in which case Ezra

[1] See Van Hoonacker, *Nehémie et Esdras;* cf. Kent, *History of the Jewish People*, p. 196 foll.

must have been posterior in date to Nehemiah, who was contemporary with Eliashib (*Neh.* iii. 1, xiii. 4), Jehohanan's grandfather (*Neh.* xii. 22).[1] But the ordinary view that Ezra visited Jerusalem before Nehemiah best explains the reference in *Ez.* iv. 12 to arrivals from Babylon who had built the walls which Nehemiah heard had been broken down (*Neh.* i. 3); and is more consistent than the alternative hypothesis with Ezra's age. Between a first visit in 458 and a second visit with Nehemiah in 445 there is only an interval of thirteen years; but between a first visit in 445 and a second in 398 there is an interval of forty-seven; and if Ezra in 445 is assumed to have been thirty, he must have been seventy-seven in 398,[2] which seems too advanced an age for an expedition to Jerusalem. On the ordinary view, the description of the chamber which Ezra entered as Jehohanan's may be explained as attaching to it at the time when the compiler wrote, and applied to it carelessly in connection with Ezra.

If the view adopted in the text be correct, the unfortunate attempt to restore the walls of Jerusalem was not made until several years after Ezra's arrival there in 458; for it was not until 446[3] that information of its failure reached the ears of one of the most highly placed of the Jewish attendants at the Persian court. This was **Nehemiah**, one of Artaxerxes' cup-bearers, who heard of the destruction of the walls of Jerusalem, and the distress in which its people were plunged, from his kinsman Hanani, who with others returned thence to Babylon. The news occasioned Nehemiah profound sorrow; and after confessing to God his nation's sins, and praying for aid, he determined to make an effort to remedy the disaster. The ill-tidings had been brought to him by Hanani in the ninth month (Chislev) of 446, and four months later, in Nisan the

[1] Cf. xii. 11 where *Jonathan* seems to be a mistake for *Johanan* (who in ver. 23, *Ez.* x. 6 is termed son, instead of grandson, of Eliashib).

[2] The same difficulty (it has been urged) is presented by the mention of Malchijah the son of Harim, and Maremoth, the son of Uriah the son of Hakkoz, as prominent personages in the time both of Nehemiah's visit and that of Ezra (*Neh.* iii. 4, 21, *Ez.* x. 31, viii. 33), who, if Ezra's visit was later than Nehemiah's, must then have been very old men. On the other hand, it has been argued that the description of Meremoth in Ezra's time as *son of Uriah the priest* (viii. 33), whereas in Zerubbabel's time the children of Hakkoz could not prove their priestly ancestry (*Ez.* ii. 61–62), and in Nehemiah's days Uriah's priestly character was still (apparently) unrecognised, is in favour of Ezra being subsequent to Nehemiah (it being supposed that by the latter's alleged visit in 398 the descendants of Hakkoz had established their priestly descent, cf. *1 Ch.* xxiv. 10). See Van Hoonacker, *Nehémie en l'an 20 d'Artaxerxes I., Esdras en l'an 7 d'Artaxerxes II.*, pp. 67–68.

[3] In Artaxerxes' nineteenth year, which should be read for the *twentieth* in *Neh.* i. 1. Nehemiah made his appeal to the king in *Nisan*, the first month of Artaxerxes' twentieth year (ii. 1), and therefore the previous *Chislev*, the ninth month, must have belonged to the year before.

first month of 445 it fell to be his turn to wait on the king[1] in the palace at Shushan.[2] Artaxerxes observed that his servant was sadder than his wont, and on enquiring the cause heard from Nehemiah of the calamitous condition of Jerusalem, and encouraged him to ask a favour. This Nehemiah proceeded to do, and requested leave of absence and permission to re-build the city. The goodwill which the king manifestly entertained for his cup-bearer led him to grant the petition, and reverse the orders previously sent to Rehum and Shimshai. Leave of absence for a specified period was given him; he was furnished both with passports through the intervening provinces, and with an escort of horse; he was empowered to draw upon the royal forest for timber; and was invested like Zerubbabel with the authority of governor (or *Tirshatha*) in the land of Judah (*Neh.* v. 14, viii. 9).

Thus equipped Nehemiah at once set out for Jerusalem. On his arrival he surveyed the ruined walls[3] by night, and then

[1] In *Neh.* ii. 1 in place of the words *wine was before him* (the king), the LXX. reads *καὶ ἦν οἶνος ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ*, implying that it fell to Nehemiah's turn to act as cup-bearer. This reading accounts for the fact that the king had not observed his servant's sadness during the previous four months.

[2] The former capital of Elam, on the Choaspes.

[3] The *valley gate* from which Nehemiah issued on his survey (ii. 13) was probably in the western wall, the *dung gate* to which he passed next, being at its S.W. corner. Thence he turned eastward to the *fountain gate* which looked towards En-rogel (the modern *Bir Eyub* or Job's well, in the ravine S. of the city), and the *king's pool* (Siloam); and then proceeded along the eastern wall, bordering the gorge of the Kidron (*the brook* of ver. 15). The mention of the *fountain gate*, both here and in iii. 14–15 as next in succession to the *dung gate*, though they were situated at the opposite extremities of the southern wall, suggests that this wall was short, and so supports the view that the western wall flanked the Tyropœon valley and that the city at this time did not include the western hill. The *gate Harsith*, or gate of the potsherds (*Jer.* xix. 2), was evidently, like the *dung gate*, one by which refuse was removed, and is probably to be identified with the latter. If the *dung gate* opened into the Tyropœon, as suggested, the Tyropœon will be *the valley of Hinnom*, since this ran past the *gate Harsith* (*Jer. l. c.*). Of the remaining gates named in *Neh.* iii. and elsewhere, the *water gate* (presumably near the spring of Gihon), and the *horse gate* were in the eastern wall (iii. 26, 28, *Jer.* xxxi. 40), the *sheep gate*, the *gate of the guard*, and the *gate of Benjamin* were near the Temple (*Neh.* xii. 39–40, *Jer.* xx. 2), the *fish gate*, the *old gate*, and the *gate of Ephraim* (*Neh.* xii. 39) were probably in the northern wall (traced from E. to W.), whilst the *corner gate* was presumably at the angle between this and the western wall (*2 Kg.* xiv. 13). The *gate of Hammiphkad* (*Neh.* iii. 31–32) was close to the *sheep gate* and perhaps identical with one of the gates already named as near the Temple.

suddenly drawing the attention of the chief men to their condition, he placed before them the proposal to rebuild them, and informed them of the means with which he had been provided for the purpose. His appeal, thus fortified, could not fail to influence his hearers; and the work of re-construction was resolved upon. News of it reached the ears of the Samaritans who had brought about the failure of the effort made under Ezra; and their present leaders, Sanballat the Horonite, Tobiah the Ammonite, and Gashmu the Arabian, at first contented themselves with mocking the Jews. But their taunts did not discourage the builders, who numbered amongst them members of all ranks, and residents in each of the neighbouring towns. To take advantage of class and local pride, various sections of the work were assigned to different families, to the inhabitants of different places, or to different trading guilds. The work in consequence progressed rapidly; and to the dismay of Sanballat and his companions, the circumvallation of the city was soon completed, and the walls raised to half their required height. On discovering how ineffectual their taunts had been, the adversaries of the Jews (Arabians, Ammonites, Ashdodites) planned a combined attack, hoping to be able to overwhelm their victims before assistance could be given by the Persian authorities. The position of Nehemiah was rendered precarious by the exhaustion of his labourers, and the appeals made to him for protection by the outlying towns which had been denuded of their able-bodied citizens engaged at Jerusalem, and which were growing fearful for their own safety. But he proved equal to the situation. On learning the designs of the enemy, he armed all his labourers, and arranged that whilst one half were occupied with the work of construction, the other half should keep watch; and he further required all to remain at night within the city, instead of dispersing to their homes that were situated outside. The zealous co-operation of his poorer fellow-countrymen in his undertaking he secured by the efforts he made to relieve them of the grievances under which they laboured, and which the duties he had imposed upon them must have intensified. The ordinary hardships of their lot had been aggravated by a famine; and in order to procure the necessaries of life and to pay the Persian tribute,

they had been compelled to borrow of their richer neighbours. These had exacted usury for the loans they provided, and the needier debtors had been compelled to sell not only their fields but even their families. Their condition excited the commiseration of Nehemiah, who, counting himself as one who had taken the usury complained of, proposed that the practice should be universally abandoned, and induced the nobles and rulers to consent. Accordingly both the property taken in pledge was restored, and the claim to interest[1] on loans was remitted. Nehemiah's influence was further increased by his declining to receive the supplies customarily due from the people to their governor (a rule which he observed during the twelve years that he held the office), in spite of the fact that the calls upon him in the way of entertaining officials and Jewish immigrants were very heavy. Under these circumstances he found himself heartily seconded in the arrangements he made for pushing forward the work; and the safety of the city was speedily ensured. The walls were finished and raised to their full height within the brief period of fifty-two days (possibly because the previous structure had only been breached and not demolished); but the gates had not yet been set up when Sanballat and his supporters, relinquishing their intentions of open war, renewed their antagonism in a different form. They made repeated endeavours to allure Nehemiah to a conference, perhaps with the object of assassinating him, using as their final pretext the prevalence of a report to the effect that he was about to make himself king, and the expediency of their taking counsel together to contradict it. When these attempts at getting him into their power failed, they suborned one Shemaiah, a prophet or seer, to feign that the Jewish governor was in danger of his life, and that his only resource was to take refuge in the Temple, the conspirators (with whom many of the nobles of Judah were in correspondence) hoping by this means to bring odium upon their enemy. All dangers, however, were successfully avoided, and the fortifications were completed on the twenty-fifth of the sixth month (*Elul*), in the year (444) following that of Nehemiah's arrival. The duty

[1] In *Neh.* v. 11 *the hundredth part* probably means 1 *per cent.* a month, or 12 *per cent.* a year.

of guarding the city was then entrusted to Nehemiah's relative Hanani and an officer called Hananiah;[1] and strict precautions were taken for the security of the gates.

As soon as Nehemiah had rendered Jerusalem defensible against external aggression, he seized the first opportunity of familiarising the people with the Mosaic Law. The work of collecting and unifying the mass of legislation which had gradually accumulated since the days of the great lawgiver had occupied the attention of scribes like Ezra during the period of the captivity; and it was Ezra himself, emerging from the obscurity into which circumstances had driven him, whom the governor employed to make its requirements known to the community. Before a vast assemblage gathered near one of the gates of the city on the first day of the seventh month (*Tishri*),[2] Ezra, at the instance of the people, began to read the book of the Law, which he had doubtless done much to compile, whilst a body of Levites expounded various sections of it. As it was read, the people, realising how its injunctions had been unfulfilled, broke out into weeping; but were checked by Nehemiah, who bade them not mar with demonstrations of grief a day that was holy, and then dismissed them. On the second day, only the priests, the Levites, and the heads of the people were assembled to hear the Law, and in the course of Ezra's reading, the passage (*Lev.* xxiii. 33–36, 39–42) was reached, which directed the Feast of Tabernacles in the seventh month to be kept in booths made of palms and willows. Accordingly, on the fifteenth day, the enactment was carried out (apparently for the first time, *Neh.* viii. 17), the whole population dwelling in booths for the specified seven days, and holding a solemn assembly on the eighth. During this period the Law was continuously read; and at the conclusion of the festival, on the twenty-fourth day of the month a solemn covenant was made by the people to keep it, representatives of the various classes of the community sealing or signing it on behalf of the rest. Among the duties to which the nation

[1] The *castle* of which it is stated that Hananiah was governor was on the N. of the Temple, and when re-built by Herod, was known as *Antonia*.

[2] This, according to the Priestly code, was the Feast of Trumpets (*Lev.* xxiii. 24). The year in question was probably 444.

particularly pledged themselves were (1) abstention from intermarriage with the people of the land, (2) abstention from traffic on the Sabbath, (3) the suspension of tillage, and the release of debts during the Sabbatical year, (4) provision for the sacrifices of the sanctuary by the yearly contribution of one-third of a shekel, (5) payment to the priests of their dues of first-fruits and firstlings, and to the Levites of their tithes.

It was after this (if the order of the narrative in the book of *Nehemiah* follows the chronological succession of events) that measures were taken to supplement the deficiency of population in the newly-fortified city which endangered its security. The Jewish community was settled chiefly in the provincial towns, which had considerably increased since the time of Zerubbabel;[1] and the capital had not attracted inhabitants to it in any large numbers. In order therefore to provide it with citizens, it was resolved that one-tenth (determined by lot) of the whole Jewish population of the country should dwell within it, a certain proportion offering themselves voluntarily. When this was done, the walls of the city were solemnly dedicated, each of two processions compassing respectively half the circuit of the ramparts, and meeting, seemingly, in the neighbourhood of the Temple.

In 433 Nehemiah left Jerusalem and went back to the Persian court. The length of his stay there is described in very vague terms (*Neh.* xiii. 6); but it seems to have been long enough to allow a number of abuses to reappear in Jerusalem. He eventually obtained leave to return thither once more; and again renewed the work of reform. He found, in the first place, that the Temple had been desecrated, and the provisions made for the support of its ministers ignored. Eliashib the priest, who had become a friend of Nehemiah's adversary Tobiah, had prepared for the use of the latter one of the chambers attached to the Temple, where the provisions for the Levites should have been stored, the Levites, in consequence, having to relinquish their

[1] Even if the list of towns given in *Neh.* xi. 25–36 as occupied at this time be suspected to refer to a later period (see Ryle *ad loc.*), on the ground that it so greatly exceeds the number of those whose inhabitants took part in the building of the walls, yet many of these latter (*e.g.* Tekoa, Zanoah, Bethhaccerem, Mizpah, Bethzur, Keilah) are not mentioned amongst the towns occupied in the time of Zerubbabel (*Ez.* ii. 20–35).

duties in order to support themselves. Nehemiah ejected the goods of Tobiah and cleansed the chamber; and then made arrangements for the supply and safe-keeping of the tithes due to the Levites, singers, and other ministers. He discovered also that the practice of trading on the Sabbath had become prevalent; and in order to put an end to it, directed that the city-gates should be closed in the evening before the Sabbath and not opened until it was ended, committing the guard of them first to some of his own servants, and then to a body of Levites. He also learnt that intermarriages between Jews and heathens (Moabites, Ammonites, and Ashdodites) had again become common, the offspring of such marriages growing up in ignorance of the Jewish tongue. A conspicuous example of these unions was that of one of the sons of Joiada, son of the high priest Eliashib, who had wedded the daughter of Sanballat. Nehemiah, on arriving at the capital, took immediate steps to suppress the disorders. Upon some of the offenders he inflicted personal violence, smiting them in his anger, and plucking off their hair. The son of Joiada (called by Josephus Manasseh), who refused to put away his wife, he expelled from his office. If Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 8, 2) may be trusted further, though he seems to have misdated the incident,[1] Manasseh was induced by his father-in-law to join him at Samaria by the promise of being appointed high-priest of a temple that was to be built on Gerizim. Nehemiah having thus punished those who had contracted the forbidden alliances, then proceeded to adopt such measures as were required for the better organisation of the Temple-service.

At this point the history of Nehemiah breaks off, and nothing further is known of his career. His success as an administrator, though not, as has just been seen, uninterrupted, was more complete than that achieved by Ezra in virtue of the fact that he was both invested with more regular authority and endowed with more statesmanlike qualities. Unyielding in the face of open opposition and peremptory towards the disloyal, he was able

[1] Josephus makes Manasseh not the grandson but the great-grandson, of Eliashib, and brother of Jaddua (see *Neh.* xii. 22) who was high-priest in the time of Alexander (more than 100 years afterwards).

to inspire confidence and zeal in his subordinates; and in difficult circumstances he showed that he possessed in equal degrees the qualities of caution and decisiveness. Natural gifts of prudence and discretion had, no doubt, been improved during his residence at the Persian court; and the tact with which he acquired and retained the favour of the Persian king was a principal factor in the fortunate issue of his schemes. On the other hand, Ezra, who is said by Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 5, 5) to have died at an advanced age, and to have been buried with great magnificence at Jerusalem, was less a man of action than a student, and in affairs was much better qualified to be a subordinate than to lead. Yet so completely did the Law come to dwarf everything else in the estimate of the later Jews that Ezra the Scribe ultimately filled a larger place in the minds of his countrymen than did Nehemiah the re-builder of Jerusalem; and so eminent did his reputation become that around his name many remarkable legends gathered.

To the history of the Jewish people subsequent to the times of Ezra and Nehemiah references in the O.T. only occur in *Daniel* and (probably) in certain of the Psalms and some small sections of the prophetical books; and it will therefore suffice to describe it very briefly during the period covered by such allusions.

The succession of the Persian kings after Artaxerxes I. (Longimanus), who died in 424, was as follows:—

Xerxes II. . .	424 (2 mo.)
Sogdianus . .	424–423
Darius II. (Nothus) .	423–405
Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon)	405–358
Artaxerxes III. (Ochus).	358–337
Arses . . .	337–335
Darius III. (Codomannus)	335–330

The only noteworthy event connected with the Jewish people during the rule of these kings took place in the reign of Artaxerxes II. or Artaxerxes III. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 7) the then High Priest John (the *Johanan* of *Neh.* xii. 22), grandson of Eliashib, the contemporary of Nehemiah, had a brother Joshua, who, relying on the support of Bagoses the general of Artaxerxes, hoped to supplant John in his office. In the course

of a quarrel between them John slew his brother in the Temple itself; and in consequence Bagoses forced his way into the building, required a tax to be paid for every victim offered in the daily sacrifice, and punished the Jews seven years. By some authorities it has been supposed that this chastisement of the Jews was really the result of their participation in a rebellion raised against Artaxerxes III. (Ochus) by Zidon and some other of the Phœnician states, which was suppressed with great severity. On this occasion many Jews are said to have been made captive and deported to distant regions like Hyrcania. A relief to the sufferings thus endured seemed to be offered by the invasion of Persia in the reign of Darius III. (Codomannus) by the Greek **Alexander**; and the prospect of it is by certain scholars thought to have inspired the prophecy contained in "*Is.*" xxiv.–xxvii.[1] Darius III. is the last of the four Persian kings alluded to in *Dan.* xi. 2. He was defeated successively by Alexander (who is the subject of the description in *Dan.* xi. 3) at the battles of the Granicus (334 B.C.), Issus (333 B.C.) and Arbela (331 B.C.); and with him the Persian empire came to an end (cf. *Dan.* viii. 3–7, 20–21). With the downfall of Persia, its dependent provinces passed under the power of the conqueror; and Alexander, who after the victory at Issus, marched through Phœnicia and Palestine, and captured Tyre and Gaza, is said to have paid a personal visit to Jerusalem.

Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 8, 3–5) who is the authority for the story, relates that during the siege of Tyre Alexander demanded of the high priest Jaddua (*Neh.* xii. 22) that he should relinquish his allegiance to Darius, and on his refusing, advanced, after the capture of Gaza, towards Jerusalem. Jaddua in obedience to a dream, placed himself at the head of a procession of priests to meet the king, who, on seeing the high priest wearing his mitre with the Divine name engraved on it (see *Ex.* xxxix. 30–31), saluted it, and on being asked by one of his courtiers why he should salute the high priest of the Jews, replied that he saluted not the priest, but the God whose minister he was; and that such a figure had once appeared to him in a vision promising him success against the Persians. He subsequently visited the Temple, offered sacrifice there, according to the priest's directions, and was shown the prophecies of Daniel (viii. 20, 21), which he applied to himself; and allowed the Jews, in answer to their requests, to enjoy the laws of their forefathers, and to be exempt from tribute every seventh year.

The truth of this narrative has been questioned on the ground that there is no other evidence that Alexander diverged to Jerusalem, when passing from Gaza to Egypt.

[1] See Cheyne, *Isaiah* (Polychrome Bible) p. 204; but cf. above, p. 469, note.

Alexander died in 323 B.C., and his empire was partitioned between his principal generals (an event described in *Dan.* viii. 22, xi. 4). Of the resultant kingdoms, Syria and Egypt were the two with whose fortunes the further history of the Jewish people became connected. Egypt fell to **Ptolemy I. (Soter)** who became king in 322; whilst ten years afterwards **Seleucus I. (Nicator)** made himself ruler of Syria. The succession of Egyptian and Syrian sovereigns is given in the following table:—

Egypt.	B.C.	Syria.
Ptolemy I. (Soter)	322	
	312	**Seleucus I. (Nicator)**
Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus)	285	
	280	**Antiochus I. (Soter)**
	261	**Antiochus II. (Theos)**
Ptolemy III. (Euergetes)	246	Seleucus II. (Callinicus)
	226	**Seleucus III.**
	224	**Antiochus III. (the Great)**
Ptolemy IV. (Philopator)	221	
Ptolemy V. (Epiphanes)	205	
	187	**Seleucus IV. (Philopator)**
Ptolemy VI. (Philometor)	181	
	175	**Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes)**
Ptolemy VII. (Physcon)	146	

The mutual relations between these two lines of kings are obscurely reflected in *Dan.* xi. Ptolemy I. is *the king of the south* of verse 5, whilst the prince destined *to be strong above him* (see marg.) has been identified with Seleucus I. One of the latter's successors, Antiochus II., is *the king of the north* of verse 6. As is there described, he repudiated his first wife Laodice and married Berenice the daughter of Ptolemy II. The peace thus secured came to an end in the reigns of these princes' successors. Ptolemy III., the brother of Berenice (who had been divorced by Antiochus), attacked Seleucus II., seized Seleucia the port of Antioch (the *fortress* of verse 7), and carried off great booty (ver. 8); whilst the attempt which Seleucus made to avenge this invasion proved abortive (ver. 9). In the subsequent war, which continued through more than one reign, Judæa became involved.

On Alexander's death it had been seized by Ptolemy I., who entered Jerusalem treacherously on the Sabbath-day; but though, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 1), it was treated cruelly by him, it enjoyed tranquillity throughout his reign and those of his two immediate successors, of whom Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus) procured the translation of the books of the Law into Greek. But under Ptolemy IV. (Philopator) its good fortune underwent a change. In the course of the war between Egypt and Syria, it alternately became the prey of both the contending powers, for success wavered from side to side. Eventually, however, Ptolemy defeated Antiochus III. (cf. *Dan.* xi. 11–12 marg.), and became master of Judæa; whilst his son Ptolemy V. sent his general Scopas to reduce Cœle Syria. Scopas, however, was defeated by Antiochus III. with great loss; and the latter, on reaching Jerusalem, was welcomed by the inhabitants. But whatever hopes the success of Antiochus may have inspired in the Jews were disappointed, for the Syrian king proved himself an arbitrary ruler. After futile negotiations with Ptolemy Epiphanes, to whom he proposed to give his daughter Cleopatra (cf. *Dan.* xi. 17 marg.), Judæa being included in her dowry, he became involved in hostilities with Rome, sustaining disaster in the battle of Magnesia, 190 B.C. (cf. *Dan.* xi. 18); and in order to meet the demands imposed upon him, attempted to seize the treasures of the temple of Bel in Elymais (Elam) but lost his life there (cf. *Dan.* xi. 19). His successor Seleucus IV. (Philopator), when pressed, like his father, by the Roman exactions, sought similar means to satisfy them. His chancellor Heliodorus was sent to take possession of the wealth which was reputed to be in the Temple at Jerusalem; but is related to have been encountered by a celestial apparition, a horseman in armour of gold, whose two attendants scourged the intruder and dismissed him to his master (*2 Mac.* c. iii., cf. *Dan.* xi. 20). Seleucus was subsequently murdered by Heliodorus, and was succeeded by his younger brother Antiochus Epiphanes, who had been a hostage at Rome and had not been looked upon as heir to the throne. Between him and Ptolemy Philometor war broke out, and the latter was defeated at Pelusium in 170 B.C. (*1 Mac.* i. 16–19, cf. *Dan.* xi. 25); though, later, Antiochus was compelled by the

Romans to evacuate Egypt and come to terms with Ptolemy. Towards the Jews he acted with great barbarity. An effort was made to Hellenise them, which certain of the Jews themselves from interested motives supported (*1 Mac.* i. 11, *2 Mac.* iv. 7 foll.); and ultimately Antiochus being led to fear a revolt, ordered a massacre which lasted three days (in which 80,000 are said to have perished),[1] and then entering the Temple, pillaged it of its sacred vessels and other treasures (*2 Mac.* v. 11 foll). A second invasion of Egypt was rendered abortive by the intervention of the Romans (*Dan.* xi. 29–30); and this was followed by a renewed persecution of the Jews in 168 B.C. He determined to suppress the Jewish worship, the rite of circumcision, and the observance of the Sabbath; the books of the Law were destroyed; the Temple was desecrated, and called by the name of Zeus Olympius, to whom an altar was erected above the altar of burnt-offering; and a feast of Dionysus was kept, in which the Jews were compelled to participate (*1 Mac.* i. 54 foll., *2 Mac.* vi. 1–11, *Dan.* xi. 31). Many Jews, however, defied the king's orders, and in maintaining the injunctions of the Law faced torture and death with the greatest heroism (cf. *Dan.* xi. 33). And the resistance offered was not passive only. An armed revolt was initiated by Mattathias, a man of priestly family who lived at Modin, a place fifteen miles N.W. of Jerusalem. At his death he appointed his son Judas, surnamed Maccabæus, to head the forces which had gathered round him; and from him the war that ensued obtained the name by which it is generally known. It was marked by several signal successes on the part of the patriot army (cf. *Dan.* xi. 32 and 34); and finally in 165 B.C. Jerusalem was re-entered, the Temple cleansed, and the sacrifices renewed (*1 Mac.* iv. 36 foll., *2 Mac.* x. 1 foll.). Antiochus is related to have died in great agony in Persia, having been previously smitten with remorse for his cruelty towards the Jews (*2 Mac.* c. ix.).

[1] The number is probably much exaggerated.

CHAPTER XV

RELIGION AFTER THE RETURN

THE period of Jewish history subsequent to the Return which is included in the O.T. is a rather protracted one, extending from 536 to the first half of the second century B.C. (if this be the date of the book of *Daniel*). Two foreign powers were successively predominant during it, namely, the Persians and the Greeks; and according to the plan hitherto followed it might seem expedient to subdivide it into two corresponding sections for the purposes of comparison. But the precise date of many of the compositions from which conclusions respecting the religion of the time must be drawn is so uncertain that it appears preferable to compare the period as a whole with those that preceded it, without attempting a more minute chronological study.

One of the principal features which distinguish this age from those that went before it is the increased importance of the Law and the decreasing importance of Prophecy. Prophets, indeed, were not entirely lacking in the restored community; but their numbers were comparatively scanty, their writings inconsiderable, and their intellectual force, on the whole, inferior. The extinction of Jewish national existence by the fall of Jerusalem had closed the sphere within which prophecy had previously been most active; and the life to which the nation, at the Return, was restored, lacking as it was in political independence, was restricted and poor, with the result that the external condition of the people was reflected in the character of the prophetic appeals addressed to it. The claims of religion and morals were enforced as they had ever been, but the duties which now appeared most pressing were not always those which were inculcated in earlier times. In

consequence of the circumscribed range of national interests, ecclesiastical institûtions and arrangements became of much more importance and attracted much greater attention than had been the case before; and though the prophets of this period never failed to set before their countrymen a high standard of social obligation, they also laid an unwonted, though under the circumstances a perfectly natural, stress upon the external ordinances of religion. But their functions in this respect were before long rendered comparatively superfluous by the establishment, as an authoritative standard in religious worship, of the extensive and detailed code of legislation published in 444 B.C., whose official guardians, the Priests and Scribes, succeeded to the influence once exercised in Israel by the prophetic order. The existence of a considerable body of statutes professing to be derived from Moses could scarcely fail further to limit the field within which the spontaneity of prophecy still found scope. A law-book, indeed, had co-existed with Jeremiah and his contemporaries; and even before that time, written documents had been current claiming to go back to the Mosaic age. But the compass of these was small compared with the book of the Law promulgated by Nehemiah and Ezra; and as the very extent and comprehensiveness of this would seem to diminish the necessity of prophetic instruction, so the measures taken to make its contents known would lessen the need of prophetic exhortations.

That Ezra's law-book embraced practically the whole of the Pentateuch is probable for more reasons than one. In the first place, the account of the time occupied in reading it to the people (*Neh.* viii. 18) implies that it was of considerable length, and contrasts strikingly with what is related about the public reading of the book (*Deuteronomy*) found in the Temple in the reign of Josiah (*2 Kg.* xxiii. 2). And, secondly, the articles of the covenant ratified by the community in accordance with the requirements of the book (see *Neh.* x. 29–39) agree with passages in each of the three codes which the Pentateuch contains.[1] For example, the pledges to refrain from intermarriage with the peoples of the land, to forgo the produce of the seventh year, and to remit the exaction of every debt during the same year,

[1] Cf. Hunter, *After the Exile*, ii. p. 225.

accord respectively with *Deut.* vii. 3, *Ex.* xxiii. 10–11 (J E), and *Deut.* xv. 1–2. The mention of the supplies necessary for the continual meal offering and for the continual burnt-offering, and for the regular sacrifices on the Sabbaths, the new moons, and the set feasts, implies the regulations contained in *Num.* xxviii., xxix. (P). The offering of the first-fruits of the ground is enjoined in *Ex.* xxiii. 19 (JE), but the offering of the first-fruits of the dough is specifically required only in *Num.* xv. 20, 21 (P). Finally, the direction to the Levites to bring up to the house of God for the use of the Priests the tithe of the tithes received by themselves from the people occurs in *Num.* xviii. 26–28 (P). On the other hand, a few minor differences between the requirements enumerated in *Neh.* x. and the corresponding ones in the Pentateuch suggest that the latter had not yet assumed its present form in every particular. Thus the yearly charge imposed on everyone for the service of the Temple was fixed by Nehemiah at a third of a shekel, whereas in *Ex.* xxx. 11–16 (P) it is a half-shekel, whilst the tithe for the maintenance of the Levites was taken from the products of the ground only, no mention being made of a tithe from the herd or the flock, as in *Lev.* xxvii. 32 (P). The regulation enjoining a supply of wood for the Temple sacrifices (*Neh.* x. 34) may doubtless be considered to be implied in *Lev.* vi. 12; and the prohibition against buying and selling on the Sabbath and holy days (ver. 31) is virtually covered by the laws forbidding labour on the Sabbath; but the actual commands themselves do not occur in the existing Pentateuch.

The Priestly code which now for the first time seems to have been formulated and enforced, and the principal contents of which have been given in a previous chapter (see c.V.) is characterised by (1) an elaborate sacrificial system, in which piacular offerings fill a large space, (2) an extensive series of festivals and holy-days, the observance of the three principal feasts being appointed for certain fixed periods instead of being left to depend upon the operations of the agricultural year (as seems to have been the case in the Book of the Covenant), (3) the restriction of the priesthood to the sons of Aaron, (4) a great extension of the dues to be paid to the priestly order. The limitation of the sacerdotal office to the descendants of Aaron seems to have

originated in an injunction of the prophet Ezekiel. Up to his time the whole body of Levites had been invested with a priestly character. But many of them had taken part in the idolatry which had been so prevalent during the closing years of the Monarchy (chiefly, no doubt, at the provincial "high places"); and in consequence the prophet directed their exclusion from the priestly office, confining them to the discharge of the inferior duties of the sanctuary. The higher services were entrusted to the sons of Zadok alone (descended from Eleazar, the third son of Aaron) since they had remained faithful when their brethren went astray. It seems reasonable to assume that these had been attached to the Temple at Jerusalem, where the worship of Jehovah was probably less contaminated by foreign elements than elsewhere. In the Pentateuchal code the priesthood is in appearance less circumscribed than in *Ezekiel*, and is shared by all the descendants of Aaron. But of Aaron's four children, Nadab and Abihu are related to have perished before their father, and by the time of Ezekiel the line of Ithamar had possibly become insignificant, if not altogether extinct (cf. *1 Sam.* ii. 33).

The primary motive which led to the imposition upon the people of so rigid a legal system as that of the Priestly code was the same which produced the scheme of ecclesiastical polity outlined by Ezekiel (see p. 456), namely, an exalted conception of the Divine holiness, and the necessity of guarding against any profanation of it. The study among the exiles in Babylon of the traditional and historical memorials of their race had helped to deepen the fear of impiety instilled in them by the actual experience of half a century of chastisement; and the nation's leaders now made it their first object to prevent the errors of the past from being repeated. In the collective legislation which was intended to secure this, moral precepts were by no means lacking; for it incorporated the earlier codes, which dealt mainly with social life, whilst many of the enactments contained in these were renewed and expanded in the later laws. But notwithstanding the spiritual ideas developed by the pre-exilic and exilic prophets concerning the attributes and requirements of Jehovah, it was inevitable that local and material notions of sanctity should persist in regard to Him, and find expression in

ceremonial regulations, so long as His presence was pre-eminently associated with Jerusalem and its Temple; and prophetic teaching had not discountenanced such a belief. And the belief had this justification, that the people and institutions of Israel were still at this epoch, as they had been in the past, the principal channel of God's revelation. That the hour ultimately came when it ceased to be true, though the Jews continued to hold it so, only illustrates the progressive character of the Divine self-manifestation and the slowness of men's minds to comprehend it. But at the time now under consideration, that hour had not yet arrived; and for the conservation of Israel as the depository of true religion, as then disclosed, a strict ecclesiastical organisation, in the absence of political independence, was really essential. The adoption by the Jewish people of so burdensome a system was not, indeed, calculated to promote that early conversion of the Gentile nations to the worship of Jehovah, which certain of the prophets had predicted. But the dreams of the future had to be subordinated to the exigencies of the present; and the legislators of the re-established community were more concerned to maintain the faith of Jehovah in Israel itself than to extend it amongst aliens. At the same time, the admission into Israel of proselytes from heathendom was recognised in the Law; and by it like privileges and responsibilities were bestowed upon both native Israelites and the strangers who attached themselves to them (*Lev.* xvii. 8, 10, 13, *Num.* ix. 14, *Ex.* xii. 48–49; cf. *Ezek.* xlvii. 22, "*Is.*" lxvi. 20–21).

The religious worship conducted in the restored Temple was accompanied by music and song; and the period following the Return from the Exile probably witnessed a great development of psalmody. There seems no reason, indeed, for disbelieving that many of the psalms in the existing collection go back to the time of the Monarchy and the first Temple; and several of them seem to be peculiarly appropriate to various occasions in the earlier history.[1] But other psalms are manifestly the product of the time immediately succeeding the Restoration, amongst such being lxxxv. and cxxvi. The psalms of a liturgical character with which the Psalter concludes (cxlvi.–cl.) are likewise, in all probability, part of the hymn-book of the Second Temple.

[1] See p. 17.

It is doubtless post-exilic usage which the writer of *Chronicles* has reproduced in his description of the singing which accompanied the removal of the Ark from the house of Obed-edom to the tent pitched for it by David (*1 Ch.* c. xvi.), transferring to the time of that king arrangements which prevailed in his own age; indeed, one of the psalms quoted as sung on that occasion bears on its face evidence of its exilic origin (*1 Ch.* xvi. 35–36 = *Ps.* cvi. 47–48). The depth of feeling which so many of the psalms of this period express serves to correct the superficial impression produced by the Priestly legislation that post-exilic religion was altogether formal and joyless, and makes it evident that the ceremonialism of the Law could excite and sustain earnest faith and impassioned devotion.

Of the prophets of this period, the two whose date is accurately known, namely **Haggai** and **Zechariah** (c. i.–viii.), lived before the promulgation of the Law by Ezra; whilst **Malachi** was probably contemporary with the last-named, and prophesied either shortly before or shortly after 458.[1] In the writings of the latter prophet the change passing over the spirit of Hebrew prophecy is easily discernible. The prophets of earlier days, though claiming to recall their countrymen to their ancestral faith, had addressed them authoritatively, and the Divine "law" to which they challenged their hearers' attention was that of which they themselves were the mediators (see *Is.* viii. 16, cf. marg.). But Malachi explicitly directed the people to the Law of Moses (iv. 4); and it is the priesthood that he seems to have regarded as the accredited agency for declaring the Divine will (ii. 7),[2] though contending that the existing members of it were unworthy of their office. And of the importance assigned to the priestly order in this age by the prophets generally further illustration is obtained when the prophetic conceptions which now prevailed respecting (1) Jehovah's service and requirements, and (2) the future destiny of His people and the outside world, are compared with those previously entertained on these subjects.

1. The experiences which the Jewish community had under-

[1] Cf. p. 472, note.

[2] At the same time these prophets considered themselves to be "messengers of Jehovah," see *Hag.* i. 13 and the name *Malachi* (*Mal.* i. 1 marg.).

gone in captivity, and the situation in which it was placed after its return from Babylon naturally determined in a great measure the contents and spirit of the prophecies delivered shortly after the close of the Exile. In the first place, as has been already said, a well-organised ecclesiastical system had now become a necessity. To maintain the separateness and individuality of the people after the destruction of their national polity, some visible witness to, and expression of, the national faith was urgently needed. In the second place, the deepened consciousness which had been acquired in the course of the Captivity of the contrast between Jehovah's holiness and Israel's sinfulness inevitably inclined even the most spiritual minds to greater scrupulousness in the outward conduct of religion. Besides the natural reaction towards sacrificial worship which must have been induced in many by the impossibility of offering any sacrifices in Babylon, there must also have prevailed a sense of the expediency of erecting every possible safeguard in the future against the desecration of Jehovah's name which had been so severely punished in the past. The different value placed upon ceremonial by Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, as compared with Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, is largely explicable by the events that had occurred in the interval between them, and the lessons which those events enforced. The first two of the post-exilic prophets named strove earnestly to promote the re-construction of the Temple, rebuking those who were too busy with the adornment of their own dwellings to build the house of God (*Hag.* i. 4), rallying from despondency those who contrasted with the glories of the first Temple the meanness of the second (*id.* ii. 3–9), and encouraging Zerubbabel, who was directing the work, by assuring him of Divine assistance (*Zech.* iv. 6–7). Similarly Malachi, who prophesied after the Temple was completed, sought to elevate the character of its services, and denounced the practice of presenting to Jehovah blemished offerings which none would give to the Persian governor (*Mal.* i. 6 foll.). And the greater respect demanded for the ceremonies of religion inevitably led to increased consideration being shown for its ministers, so that the same prophet represents the withholding of the tithes due to the priests to be one of the counts in Jehovah's indictment

of His people, and implies that such robbery was the cause of the blight upon their fields which prompt restitution would remove (iii. 7–12). In thus insisting upon the duty of restoring the Temple, of performing with reverence the worship conducted in it, and of supporting cheerfully its priesthood, there is no indication that these prophets magnified ritual at the expense of morality. They unsparingly condemned theft and perjury (*Mal.* iii. 5, *Zech.* v. 1–4); they exhorted to truth, justice, and mercy (*Zech.* vii. 9–10, viii. 16–17); one of Zechariah's numerous visions represented symbolically the removal of wickedness from the land (v. 5–11);[1] and the same prophet uttered an explicit warning against religious insincerity and self-deception (viii. 1–7). The importance attached by them to the careful performance of external religious duties was not the consequence of a relapse into primitive ideas of what was acceptable to God, but was owing in part to practical considerations, and in part to the exalted conception which had come to be entertained of Jehovah's majesty and the veneration due to Him (see especially *Mal.* i. 6, 14). They perceived that the indifference of their contemporaries towards the Temple service did not arise from a sense of the comparative worthlessness of sacrificial observances by the side of social integrity, or of their inadequacy as expressions of spiritual realities, but sprang from baser motives; and they doubtless grasped the fact that though ceremonial was liable to degenerate into formalism, it was nevertheless capable of serving both as a vehicle for truth and a handmaid to devotion.

Moreover that the recognition of the representative and symbolic element in religion was quite compatible with a highly spiritual view of the relations between God and individual men is shown in this age by **Joel** as it was in a previous age by Ezekiel (see p. 445). On the occasion of a grievous plague of locusts and a severe drought, among the results of which the intermission of the daily meal-offering was regarded as one of the most distressing, the prophet directed the priests to sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly, and make an appeal for deliverance to the Almighty through the medium of the formal ordinances of religion. But he then proceeded to promise in God's name not

[1] The *ephah* probably typified commercial dishonesty; cf. *Am.* viii. 5.

only that the scourge would be stayed and the scarcity produced by it replaced by plenty, but that afterwards there would be a diffusion of the Divine spirit over the whole community. "It shall come to pass afterward that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions; and also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit" (ii. 28–29; cf. *Is.* xxxii. 15, *Jer.* xxxi. 33–34, *Ezek.* xi. 19, xxxvi. 26–27, *2 Is.* xxxix. 29). A similar promise of spiritual grace is affirmed in "*Zech.*" xii. 10, though there it has particular reference to the spirit of penitence, whereas in *Joel* the allusion is rather to prophetic insight and fervour. In regard to the last, however, it is noteworthy that in the writings of this time there appears a consciousness of the decay in Israel of true prophetic inspiration. Not only is disparagement of contemporary prophets expressed in "*Zech.*" xiii. 1–6 (where it is declared that in the blissful age that is to be the prophets will disown their office, and if any shall continue to prophesy, his own parents shall thrust him through), but *Malachi* in foretelling the approach of *the day of Jehovah* asserts that it will be heralded by the conversion of the sinful not through the rise of a fresh line of prophets but by the return to earth of one of a bygone time, namely Elijah. The announcement seems to betray a feeling that Israel's capacity to produce great personalities was exhausted, and that henceforward for the continuance of prophetic work the spirits of the mighty dead would have to be revived.

2. Amongst the prophets of this age the diversity of view regarding the Divine purposes towards Israel and the heathen world respectively which had manifested itself in the prophets of an earlier period became more pronounced. Of the three prophets already named, *Malachi*, though he does not expressly take into consideration the destiny of the Gentiles, exhibits no signs of the hostile spirit conspicuous in *Ezekiel* and others; and he even describes them as comparing favourably with the Jews in respect of the honour they pay to Jehovah (*Mal.* i. 11). In *Haggai* and *Zechariah* the Gentiles appear as the adversaries of Israel; and these prophets anticipate for them an overwhelm-

ing overthrow. The character of the judgment is apocalyptic, the destruction of the guilty nations being attributed to the direct interposition of Jehovah, who causes them to destroy each other (*Hag.* ii. 22), or sends His ministers to discomfit them, and make them the spoil of those who served them (*Zech.* i. 18–21, ii. 9). But in the case of these prophets some allowance must be made for the fact that the bitterness produced by the Exile was still acute, and in *Zechariah* at least (who like *2 Is.* ascribes Jehovah's resentment against the Gentiles to the fact that, in acting as His agents in chastising His people, they had exceeded their mandate (*Zech.* i. 15; cf. *2 Is.* xlvii. 6)), the conversion of many nations to Jehovah is expressly contemplated. "In those days it shall come to pass that ten men shall take hold, out of all the languages of the nations, shall even take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you" (see ii. 11, viii. 20–23). In another prophecy which may possibly belong to this date, "*Is.*" xxiv.–xxvii. (see p. 469, but cf. p. 487), an even more generous and catholic spirit is displayed. The writer describes a universal judgment upon the world at large, though the overthrow of a particular city engrosses most attention (xxv. 2, xxvi. 5); and the judgment, which is wrought by Jehovah alone, results in the deliverance of His people (xxvi. 20–21). It produces fear and awe among the terrible of the earth, and is followed by a feast made by Jehovah on Mount Zion for all peoples. There He will destroy the veil that is spread over all nations, will swallow up death for ever, and wipe away tears from off all faces. The reproach of His people will be removed, and their scanty numbers enlarged by the resurrection of those Israelites who have died before their nation's redemption. Moab alone of the heathen world is singled out by name for destruction and ignominy. On the other hand, in *Joel* and the writer or writers of "*Zech.*" ix.–xiv.,[1] whilst the future judgment predicted is similarly catastrophic in character, the animosity manifested

[1] It must be borne in mind that the assignment of these writings to this age turns largely upon their sentiment and spirit (see p. 16); so that the illustrations here drawn from them only show their contents to be in harmony with the character of exilic thought as it is inferred from compositions of known date, and do not serve as an independent proof of it.

towards the Gentiles is unqualified. The first-mentioned prophet (c. iii.), after affirming that Judah shall sell into slavery the children of the Philistines and Phœnicians, who had made slaves of them, proceeds to declare that Jehovah will gather together all nations and bring them down to a decisive struggle in the valley of Jehoshaphat,[1] where He will sit to judge them, and where (seemingly) supernatural agencies are bidden to destroy them, whilst Jehovah protects His chosen. Israel will then know that He is their God; and thenceforward Jerusalem shall be holy, and no strangers shall pass through her any more. The land will be endowed with wondrous productiveness, being fertilised by a fountain issuing forth from the Temple, whilst the neighbouring countries of Egypt and Edom will become desolate wildernesses for the violence that they have done to Judah. In "*Zech.*" ix.–xiv. there are three representations of a contest between Jehovah's Chosen and their adversaries. (i.) In ix. 13–17 the conflict is between the sons of Zion and the sons of Greece, in which Jehovah defends His people, who glut themselves with the blood of their enemies as with wine, and are then blessed with the fruit of the field and the vineyard. (ii.) In "*Zech.*" xii. 1–xiii. 6 (to which xiv. 13–14 seems to belong), Jehovah affirms that He will make Jerusalem a cup of reeling unto all the peoples round about, and that all the nations of the earth (Judah included) shall be gathered together against it; that in that day He will make Jerusalem a burdensome stone for all who burden themselves with it, and they shall be sorely wounded. He will smite them with madness, and will cause Judah to recognise its error, so that its chieftains will devour the assailants of Jerusalem, whose inhabitants will do mightily. In that day a fountain shall be opened for sin and uncleanness; idols will be abolished; and prophets, who are regarded as deceivers, will be destroyed. (iii.) In c. xiv. Jehovah again declares that He will gather all nations to battle against Jerusalem, which is to be taken and rifled, and half of its

[1] It is uncertain whether the name is to be taken symbolically ("Jehovah judges"), or alludes to the victory gained by Jehoshaphat over the Edomites and their allies as related in *2 Ch.* xx (see ver. 26), or describes a particular locality. The name has long been applied to the valley separating Jerusalem from the mount of Olives (see Hastings' *Dict. Bib. sub voce*).

people are to go into captivity. But then Jehovah will go forth and fight against those nations: the mount of Olives shall be cleft in the midst; there shall go forth living waters from Jerusalem, eastward and westward; and Jehovah shall be king over all the earth. Jerusalem shall dwell safely, but those who warred against it shall be smitten with a plague, and the survivors are to go up thither to worship Jehovah and to keep the Feast of Tabernacles. Such service is not so much the spontaneous adhesion of converts (as in *Zech.* viii. 22–23) as the enforced homage of conquered subjects, for upon all who go not up to Jerusalem to worship there is to be no rain. Finally, even the very trappings of the horses are to be consecrated to Jehovah, together with every pot in Jerusalem and Judah, this latter being seemingly due to the number of worshippers who come to take part in the sacrifices of the Temple.

In striking contrast to the spirit of these last passages, in which the Jewish people and the rest of the world are placed in mutual opposition, is the temper manifested by the book of **Jonah**,[1] in which a malevolent attitude towards the Gentile world is represented as rebuked by Jehovah. The lesson is conveyed through the medium of an imaginary history or allegory, in which Jonah, the prophet who lived in the reign of Jeroboam II. (*2 Kg.* xiv. 25) is the principal figure. Jonah, who is probably to be regarded as representative of the Israelite nation, is commissioned by Jehovah to warn the heathen city of Nineveh (typifying the heathen world) of its approaching destruction; but seeks to evade the Divine command by taking ship to Tarshish. Arrested in his purpose by a storm, to allay which the sailors throw him overboard, he is saved from drowning by a great fish, which first swallows, and then disgorges him on to dry land.[2] He then proceeds to carry out his mission, and declares to the Ninevites their imminent

[1] A late origin for *Jonah* is favoured by the character of the Hebrew.

[2] The incident of the fish has been variously explained. Some scholars, elaborating the allegory in detail, regard the fish as representing the Babylonian empire, which first swallowed up (cf. "*Jer.*" li. 34), and then restored, Israel (which is personified, as explained above, by the prophet). The great Oriental powers (Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, or their successors) are similarly compared to monstrous dragons in "*Is.*" xxvii. 1, li. 9, and probably *Ps.* lxxiv. 14, the source of the imagery being the mythological representation of the elements, particularly the sea, under such figures (cf. *Job* xxvi. 12, 13, *Ps.* lxxxix. 9–10,

doom; whereupon they repent, and Jehovah spares them. Jonah is so displeased at this that he prays to die; and his displeasure is increased because a gourd under which he has rested is destroyed by a worm: whereupon the Almighty, remonstrating, asks why, if the prophet has pity on the gourd, He Himself should not have compassion on a great city, whose very children number six score thousand souls. The story is thus designed to emphasise the Divine interest in, and the Divine mercy towards, the heathen, and to protest against the exclusiveness and intolerance of the Jewish people, which tended to make them arrogate to themselves the sole claim upon God's humanity.

In the book of **Daniel**, which was probably written during the persecution sustained by the Jews in 168 B.C.,[1] it is only natural that the fiercer spirit of Judaism should recur, and that the future destinies of the chosen people and of the Gentile powers should again be impressively contrasted. In a series of visions related to have been witnessed in part by the Babylonian sovereign Nebuchadrezzar and in part by Daniel, the successive rise of the Babylonian, Median, Persian, and Grecian[2] empires is symbolically represented, the last, in its antagonism to the Jewish people, coming to a climax in an individual ruler (Antiochus Epiphanes), who is sometimes indicated figuratively (vii. 8, 20), and sometimes more directly (viii. 24, xi. 21), though his actual name is nowhere given. This ruler is described both as making war upon *the saints of the Most High* (by whom the Jews are doubtless intended) (vii. 21), and as exalting himself against the Almighty and magnifying himself above all (xi. 36–37,

Am. ix. 3, and see p. 43). But it is possible that the fish is nothing more than a *deus ex machina* introduced by the writer of the story to save the prophet from the destruction he had incurred, and so enable him to accomplish his errand (cf. the function of the dolphin in the story of Arion, Hdt. i. 24).

[1] See *Introd.* pp. 24–6.

[2] The visions in question are described in c. ii., vii., viii. In c. viii., where it is stated that the vision "belongeth to the time of the end" (ver. 17), the three kingdoms of Media, Persia, and Greece are expressly said to be indicated by the symbols seen in the vision; and it has consequently been concluded that where four unnamed kingdoms are symbolised, as in c. ii., vii., the first of these is the Babylonian (the predecessor of the Median, see v. 30, 31). In ii. 38, indeed, one of the symbols is explicitly identified with the king of Babylon. But some scholars make the four kingdoms to be the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman.

cf. vii. 25). Among the enormities which he commits is the interruption of the continual burnt-offering and the desecration of the sanctuary by the *abomination that maketh desolate* (xi. 31, viii. 11–12), this last being a heathen altar built, probably in honour of Zeus Olympius or Jupiter Capitolinus, upon the altar of Jehovah (cf. xi. 38, *1 Mac.* i. 54, *2 Mac.* vi. 2 foll.). The sacrilege is accompanied by efforts to seduce the Jews to break their covenant with Jehovah (cf. vii. 25, viii. 24) but those who know their God will be strong and do exploits (xi. 32). This term of trial is to continue for a period which various expressions combine to define as about three and a half years.[1] At its close the tyrant is to be destroyed by Divine agency (viii. 25), and his kingdom brought to an end and given to the saints of the Most High, who shall possess universal and everlasting dominion, and whom all peoples, nations, and languages shall serve (vii. 13–14, 26–27).[2] The death of the oppressor, however, is not immediately succeeded by an age of happiness, but by a time of trouble "such as never was seen since there was a nation." Deliverance from this is bestowed on such as are deemed worthy of it, whilst the sifting process is extended to many of the dead, of whom some awake to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt (xii. 1–3). This sequel of endless glory for the righteous is regarded as following closely upon the tribulation suffered under Antiochus, the writer's view of the future, like that of many earlier prophets, being foreshortened as well as idealised.

[1] The interval during which the oppression of the Saints and the profanation of the sanctuary is to last is described in vii. 25, xii. 7 as *a time, times, and a half*, in viii. 14 as *two thousand three hundred evenings and mornings*, in xii. 11 as *a thousand two hundred and ninety days*, in ix. 27 as *half a week* (of years). The several numbers are not quite consistent, but they all agree in denoting a period of something over three years, which may be reckoned from the desecration of the altar on the fifteenth day of Chisley (Nov.–Dec.) 168 B.C. (*1 Mac.* i. 54) to the death of Antiochus in the middle of 164.

[2] In *Dan.* vii. 13 the import of the figure described as *one like unto a son of man* seems determined by the account in ver. 14 of what is bestowed upon him, which is the same with what in ver. 18, 22, 27 is given to the *Saints of the Most High*. It seems probable therefore that the figure in question is intended to symbolise the people of Israel, who, as forming a spiritual kingdom, are contrasted with the empires of brute force typified by the preceding animal shapes. That it is represented as *coming with the clouds of heaven* probably only "denotes exaltation and majesty" (Driver, *Dan.*, p. 105).

It will be seen from what has been said, how marked in this age was the cleavage in prophetic views respecting the future relations of the Jews and Gentiles which first became visible in the time of Ezekiel. On the whole, the harsher and more exclusive attitude tended to predominate among the prophetic writers assigned to this period, though not without notable exceptions. And the more generous temper displayed, for instance, by the writer of *Jonah* pervades certain of the psalms which may with some plausibility be regarded as post-exilic. The most conspicuous is *Ps.* lxxxvii., which breathes a spirit of comprehensiveness which is unsurpassed anywhere in the O.T. In it Jehovah is represented as reckoning among those who know Him the very nations who previously had been the greatest enemies of His people, Egypt and Babylon; and as counting as born in Zion, the city He loves, the inhabitants of Philistia, Tyre and Ethiopia. Other psalms of more doubtful date which likewise share the universalism of Jeremiah and the Second Isaiah are xxii. (ver. 27), lxv. (ver. 2), lxvi. (ver. 4), lxvii., and lxxxvi. (ver. 9), (cf. *Jer.* xvi. 19, *2 Is.* xlv. 22–23, lxvi. 23).

In this age, the Messianic expectations which filled so prominent a place in certain of the prophecies of the 8th century but which disappeared during the Exile, were to some extent revived.[1] They attached themselves to Zerubbabel, the leader of the first body of returning Jews, who was a descendant of the royal house of David; and the contemporary prophet Zechariah used language which implied that he saw in Zerubbabel the fulfilment of earlier Messianic predictions. A comparison of *Zech.* iv. 9 with vi. 12–13 (see also iii. 8) suggests that the prophet identified Zerubbabel with the *righteous scion* (or *shoot*) which Jeremiah (xxiii. 5, see p. 451) had foretold should be raised up unto David; and that great hopes were entertained of him by Haggai likewise is manifest from the latter's declaration that Jehovah would take and make him as a signet (cf. *Jer.* xxii. 24), for He had chosen him (*Hag.* ii. 20–23). Yet it is rather difficult to believe that Zechariah regarded the Messianic promises

[1] In *Hag.* ii. 7 the Vulgate makes the prophet refer to the Messiah by rendering *veniet Desideratus cunctis gentibus*, but the use of the plural verb (Heb.) and the tenor of the context are decisive for the translation of the R.V.; cf. also the LXX. ἥξει τὰ ἐκλεκτὰ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν.

of an earlier generation as likely to be satisfied and exhausted by the achievements of Zerubbabel himself; and it is perhaps more probable that he had in view his future line, in the course of which the destiny predicted would be consummated. But however this may be, a significant change was introduced into the conception of the Messiah by this prophet, who in his predictions united with Zerubbabel on terms of equality the high priest Joshua. On the occasion of certain offerings arriving from Babylon (possibly at a moment when Zerubbabel chanced to be absent from Jerusalem) the prophet directed crowns to be made and placed on the head of Joshua, and bade those who conveyed them say: "Thus speaketh Jehovah of Hosts, saying, Behold the man whose name is the Scion; and he shall grow up out of his place, and he shall build the temple of Jehovah . . . and he shall bear the glory and shall sit and rule upon his throne; and there shall be a priest upon (*or* by) his throne[1] and the counsel of peace shall be between them both" (*Zech.* vi. 12–13). The precise meaning of the passage is obscure; but it seems probable that Joshua was crowned both vicariously for Zerubbabel and also on his own account.[2] If so, the high priest is for the first time placed by the side of the royal prince on an equal footing.[3] In earlier days the king, whose authority and functions the Messiah was to inherit, had often performed priestly duties, and to that extent had partaken of the priestly character. But since the suppression of the Jewish sovereignty, the two offices had become dissociated; and though a representative of the royal line was once more possessed of authority at Jerusalem, it was no longer possible to regard him as again combining both capacities in his single person. The kingly and sacerdotal functions of the Messiah had now to be separately discharged by Zerubbabel and Joshua respectively. But though dissevered, they were to be exercised in unison, the two individuals invested with them

[1] See marg. and cf. the LXX. καὶ ἔσται ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ.

Some scholars have held that both Zerubbabel and Joshua were crowned, and that after the words *Joshua the son of Jehosadak the high priest* should be inserted *and on the head of Zerubbabel.* Others think that only *Zerubbabel* was crowned, and propose to substitute his name for the name and description of Joshua. It is uncertain whether there was really more than one crown.

[3] It is supposed by many that Zerubbabel and Joshua are indicated by the two olive trees described in *Zech.* iv. 11–14.

being joined together upon one throne in peace and harmony. The dignity here extended to the high priest seems reflected in the expression *the anointed one, the prince*, occurring in *Dan.* ix. 25–26,[1] if that passage (the only one in the book which alludes to the Messiah[2]) is rightly referred to Joshua.

This age (it is probable) produced, in addition to the prophetic writings just considered, two compositions of a philosophical character, *Job* and *Ecclesiastes*, which discuss in various ways the workings of Divine Providence and the existence in the world of a moral order. The current belief in early Israel had been that suffering was retributive, and that calamity was the consequence of sin. Such a view maintained itself so long as the idea of individual responsibility was undeveloped; for a man's misfortunes could be satisfactorily explained as due to the offences of his forefathers, if they could not be accounted for by his own. But when a sense of individual rights asserted itself, the sufferings of the innocent, in a world ruled by a just God, required another explanation. In the poem of *Job* the old solution of the problem is decisively rejected, for Job, though subjected to severe trials, remains conscious of integrity; but an alternative is not explicitly stated. The conclusion, however, to which the book points is that one of the purposes which the occurrence of unmerited evil serves is the manifestation of disinterested goodness. If goodness invariably brought prosperity and wickedness adversity, it would be possible to ask Do the righteous serve God for naught? (cf. *Job* i. 9), whereas the pressure of undeserved calamity enables the good man to prove that his virtue is not mercenary (cf. *Job* xvii. 6–9). At the same time the claims of justice to the individual are satisfied by Job's ultimate restoration to health and prosperity, the compensation made to him for his losses being twofold (see xlii. 10). Such an ending, indeed, goes far to stultify the solution (such as it is) of the original problem, if not to deny

[1] Between *the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem* (*Dan.* ix. 25), which Jeremiah delivered about 587 (*Jer.* xxx. 1–3, 18), and the Return under Zerubbabel and Joshua in 536 there was really an interval of fifty-one years; but the description of it as *seven weeks* (of years) is close enough. Others, by supposing that the *anointed one, a prince* indicates not Joshua, but Cyrus who conquered Babylon in 538, make the description exact.

[2] On *Dan.* vii. 13 see p. 504, note.

that there is any problem to be solved ; but it was the easiest, if not the only, way open to the poet of vindicating the characters both of the Almighty and of Job. From the writer of *Ecclesiastes* the moral difficulties which he sees to be presented by a universe wherein righteous men fare according to the work of the wicked, and wicked men according to the work of the righteous, and where one final event happens to all, receive no speculative solution. But his inability to discover one does not lead him to relinquish belief in God ; and his practical counsel to men to enjoy such good things as life affords is tempered by the reminder to them of a judgment to come. The moral confusion he perceives to prevail in the world, and the vanity which he observes to attend on all human effort do not destroy in him the sense of responsibility to the Creator, to fear Whom (he declares) is the whole duty of man (xii. 13).

There remain two subjects upon which reflection, by this age, attained to certain beliefs deserving of brief notice. These are Angels and the Future Life.

1. In the writings of *Ezekiel* and *Zechariah* and in the book of *Daniel* subordinate ministers (not always explicitly styled *angels*) not only figure in the visions witnessed by the prophets, but are represented as interpreting them afterwards,[1] a feature which contrasts strikingly with the directness with which Jehovah makes His communications to the earlier prophets (see, for instance, *Am.* vii. and viii.). It is probably to be accounted for by a fuller consciousness of the distance between the Almighty and His earthly ministers, which demanded an intermediary in the converse between them. Three further developments appear for the first time in *Daniel.* In the first place, two of the angels referred to in the book possess personal appellations, viz. Gabriel and Michael. The only other instance in the O.T. occurs in *1 Ch.* xxi. 1, where the word *Satan* ("the adversary"), which is used (with the article) as a title in *Zech.* iii. 1, *Job* i. 6, is employed as a proper name.[2] In the second place there is some indication that certain angels are regarded as superior in rank to others, Michael being termed

[1] See *Ezek.* xliii. 6 foll., *Zech.* i. 9, *Dan.* vii. 16, viii. 16.

[2] In the Apocrypha the names of others occur, such as Raphael (*Tob.* v. 4), Uriel (*2 Esd.* iv. 1), Jeremiel (*id.* iv. 36).

in x. 13 *one of the chief princes*.[1] Thirdly, individual angels are represented as watching over, and directing, the fortunes of various nations, and as being brought, like the objects of their care, into antagonism with each other (x. 13, 20). The angel believed to preside over the destinies of Israel is Michael (x. 21, xii. 1). To this doctrine of national guardian spirits allusions perhaps occur in "*Is.*" xxiv. 21 and in the LXX. of *Deut.* xxxii. 8.

2. Hebrew speculation respecting a Future life had a double basis and followed a twofold line of development. One line of reflection started from consideration of the community, and issued in a belief in the resurrection of individuals, primarily in order to complete and perfect the destiny of the nation. The other started from the claims of individual souls, to whose merits their earthly fortunes had not been proportionate, and for whom justice demanded a perpetuation of life under happier conditions. The first is found chiefly in the prophets, the second principally in certain psalms and in *Job*.

(*a*) The earliest of the writing prophets use the idea of a resurrection figuratively to describe the revival of their country's *national* existence after a period of captivity and exile, during which their national life was suspended (see *Hos.* vi. 1–2, xiii. 14, *Ezek.* xxxvii. 12; cf. *Ps.* lxxi. 20). In exilic and post-exilic times, however, when the individual, and not the community only, attracted interest, at first the prolongation and subsequently the renewal of *personal* existence became an object of hope, though still in connection with the prospective restoration of the *community*. In *2 Is.* lxv. 20, the writer, in describing the future blessedness of Jerusalem, declares "There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days; for the child shall die a hundred years old, and the sinner, being a hundred years old, shall be accursed"; whilst the author of "*Is.*" xxv. 8 goes beyond this, and asserts that after the judgment predicted has been executed, Jehovah will abolish death for ever. But in "*Is.*" xxvi. 19 the paucity and the impoverished condition of the returned exiles of Israel lead the prophet to anticipate the resurrection to a second life of those members

[1] The prevalent belief in later times was that there were seven or four principal angels (or archangels); cf. *Tob.* xii. 15 and see Driver, *Dan.*, p. 158.

of the nation who had perished before the redemption of Jehovah's people had been accomplished. He affirms a confident belief that God will replenish the scanty numbers of the restored community by raising the dead and so enabling them to consummate its happiness. Probably those whose resurrection is here hoped for are the righteous dead only. But in the book of *Daniel* a more comprehensive resurrection is predicted. After a time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation, Israel is to be delivered, every one that shall be found written in God's book. "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt" (xii. 1–2). Here it will be observed that the resurrection is not confined to the righteous, but includes the wicked also. Nevertheless it is not universal in its scope, but is apparently restricted to Israelites, and even in the case of these it relates only to such as have been exceptionally good or exceptionally bad, the martyrs and apostates of the times of persecution.

(*b*) The future life which in the *Psalms* and elsewhere it is hoped will redress for individuals the shortcomings of the present life is not expressly represented as a resurrection from the dead but as an immortality with God. The writers do not commit themselves to any belief as to the manner in which their hopes will be realised, but entertain a vague though confident faith that God cannot fail them. Thus the author of *Ps.* lxxiii., after expressing the envy he had felt at the prosperity of the wicked as contrasted with his own affliction, asserts his trust in God for security when the wicked perish, in spite of his present weakness and despondency (ver. 24–28). Similarly Job, though tempted to charge God with injustice in plaguing him when innocent (x. 3, 15), yet feels assured that He will eventually vindicate him (xix. 25). It is not, indeed, clear that either the Psalmist or Job consciously extends his hopes beyond the grave. Job, though expressing his longing that the Almighty would hide him in *Sheol* till His wrath be past, and would then call to him and once more receive him into communion with Himself, cannot believe that a man, once dead, will live again (xiv. 7–16); and in *Ps.* xvi 10–11 and xlix. 15 the subject of the writers' con-

fidence is almost certainly their deliverance from immediate, or premature, destruction, not their redemption from the grave after death. But the belief of the Hebrews respecting the relation of God to mankind in general and to their own race in particular contained the germs of a richer faith regarding human destiny than finds actual expression in the O.T. In it were involved the convictions (i.) that man was a personal being, created by the Deity and not an emanation from Him, and that at death his individuality was preserved in the world of *Sheol* and not re-absorbed and lost in the Divine source of life; (ii.) that God entered into fellowship and communion with mankind and especially with His chosen people, such intimacy conferring potential immortality (see *Gen.* v. 24, cf. *S. Mk.* xii. 26–27). Viewed in the light of such pre-suppositions, the passages just quoted are fuller of the hope of eternal life than on the surface they appear to be, and foreshadow the more explicit faith of a later time.

APPENDIX A

ANALYSIS OF THE HEXATEUCH

(See CARPENTER and HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*)

IN the following scheme, sections derived *in the main* from one of the two sources, JE and P, are placed in the appropriate column, small insertions from the other source being neglected; but sections in which the constituent elements are too intricately entangled to be conveniently separated are placed between the columns.

GENESIS.

JE	P
	i. 1–ii. 4*a*
ii. 4*b*–iv. 26	
	v.
vi. 1–8	
	vi. 9–22
vii., viii.	
	ix. 1–17
ix. 18–27	
	ix. 28–x. 7
x. 8–19	
x. 20–32	
xi. 1–9	
	xi. 10–27
xi. 28–32	
xii., xiii.	
xiv.	
xv. xvi.	
	xvii.
xviii.–xxii.	
	xxiii.
xxiv.–xxv. 6	
	xxv. 7–20
xxv. 21–xxvii. 45	
	xxvii. 46–xxviii. 9
xxviii. 10–xxxiii.	
xxxiv., xxxv.	
	xxxvi.

GENESIS.

JE	P
xxvii.–xlvi. 5	
	xlvi. 6–27
xlvi. 28–34	
xlvii.–xlviii.	
xlix. 1–28	
	xlix. 29–33
l.	

EXODUS.

JE	P
	i. 1–7
i. 8–vi. 1	
	vi. 2–vii. 13
vii. 14–ix. 35	
x., xi.	
xii.–xiv.	
xv.	
xvi.	
xvii.–xxiv.	
	xxv.–xxxi.
xxxii.–xxxiv. 28	
	xxxiv. 29–xl.

LEVITICUS.

JE	P
	i.–xxvii.

DEUTERONOMY.

i.–xxxii. 47 from D

JE	P
	xxxii. 48–52
xxxiii.–xxxiv. 6	
	xxxiv. 7–9

NUMBERS.

JE	P
	i. 1–x. 28
x. 29–xii.	
xiii., xiv.	
	xv.
xvi.	
	xvii.–xix.
xx.	
xxi.–xxv. 5	
	xxv. 6–xxxvi.

JOSHUA.

JE	P
i., ii.[1]	
iii.–v.	
vi.–viii.	
ix.	
x.–xii.	
xiii.–xvii.	
xviii. 1–10	
	xviii. 11–xxi. 42
xxi. 43–xxii. 8	
	xxii. 9–34
xxiii., xxiv.	

[1] In *Joshua* the sections assigned to JE have been expanded to a large extent by an editor writing in the spirit and style of *Deuteronomy*. The most important of the passages due to him are i. 3–9, 12–17; x. 28–43; xi. 10–xiii. 14; xiv. 6–15; xxii. 1–8; xxiii.

APPENDIX B

THE MOABITE STONE

The Moabite Stone, a slab $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2$ feet, was found in 1868 amid the ruins of the ancient Dibon, and is now in the Louvre at Paris. The inscription engraved on it by Mesha, the king of Moab, about the middle of the 9th century B.C., is written in the old Phœnician alphabet, and in language closely resembling Hebrew. A transliteration of it into square Hebrew characters is given by Driver (*Sam.* p. lxxxvi.) and Bennett (Hastings, *Dict. Bib.* iii. 404), whose translations have been used in the preparation of the following rendering:—

"I am Mesha, the son of Chemosh-melech, king of Moab, the Dibonite. My father reigned over Moab thirty years, and I reigned after my father. And I made this high place for Chemosh in Korhah (?) . . . of salvation, because he saved me from all the kings, and because he made to see my desire upon all that hated me.[1] Omri was king of Israel, and he afflicted[2] Moab many days because Chemosh was angry with[3] his land. And his son succeeded him, and he too said, I will afflict Moab. In my days he said (thus), but I saw my desire upon him and his house, and Israel perished everlastingly. And Omri possessed[4] the land of Medeba, and dwelt in it during his own days and half the days of his son, even forty years, but Chemosh (restored it) in my days. And I built Baal-meon, and I made in it the reservoir (?), and I built Kiriathaim. And the men of Gad had dwelt in the land of Ataroth from of old. And the king of Israel built for himself Ataroth. And I fought against the city, and took it, and slew all the (people) of the city,[5] a gazing-stock (?)[6] for Chemosh and for Moab. And I carried away captive from thence the altar-hearth[7] of

[1] Cf. *Ps.* lix. 10.
[2] Cf. *Gen.* xv. 13, *Num.* xxiv. 24.
[3] Cf. *2 Kg.* xvii. 18.
[4] Cf. *Jud.* xi. 21, *Num.* xxi. 35.
[5] Cf. *Jud.* ix. 45.
[6] Cf. *Nah.* iii. 6.
[7] Cf. *Ezek.* xliii. 15.

Dodoh, and I dragged it before Chemosh in Kiriath, and I made the men of Sharon (?) and the men of Moharath (?) to dwell in it. And Chemosh said to me, Go and take[1] Nebo against Israel, and I went by night and fought against it from the break of dawn until noon, and I took it, and I slew all of it, 7,000 men . . . and women . . . and damsels, for I had devoted it to Ashtar Chemosh.[2] And I took from thence the (ves)sels of Jehovah, and I dragged them before Chemosh. And the king of Israel built Jahaz, and dwelt in it whilst he fought against me, and Chemosh drove him out before me.[3] And I took of Moab 200 men, all its heads, and I led them against Jahaz, and took it, to add it to Dibon. I built Korhah (?), the wall of the forests and the wall of the Ophel,[4] and I built its gates, and I built its towers, and I built the king's house, and I made sluice-gates for the reservoirs (?) (of water) in the midst of the city. And there was no cistern in the midst of the city, in Korhah (?). And I said to all the people, Make for you every man a cistern in his house. And I digged the ditch (?) for Korhah (?) by means of the prisoners of Israel. I built Aroer, and I made the high-way at the Arnon. I built Beth-bamoth, for it was destroyed. I built Bezer, for it was a heap of ruins . . . Dibon 50, for all Dibon was obedient, and I reigned . . . 100 in the cities which I added to the land. And I built Medeba and Beth-diblathaim and Beth-baal-meon; and I carried there the sheep-masters (?)[5] of the land. And as for Horonaim, there dwelt in it . . . said . . . Chemosh said to me, Go down,[6] fight against Horonaim; and I went down . . . and Chemosh (restored) it in my days. And I went up (?) from thence . . ."

[1] Cf. *1 Sam.* xxiii. 2.
[2] Cf. *Mic.* iv. 13, *Josh.* viii. 26.
[3] Cf. *Josh.* xxiv. 18.
[4] Cf. *2 Ch.* xxvii. 3.
[5] Cf. *2 Kg.* iii. 4.
[6] Cf. *1 Sam.* xxiii. 4.

APPENDIX C

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

(i) Weights (for commodities).

10 gerahs	=	1 beka.
2 bekas	=	1 skekel.[1]
60 shekels	=	1 maneh.
60 manehs	=	1 talent.[2]

(ii) Weights (for gold and silver).

10 gerahs	=	1 beka.
2 bekas	=	1 shekel.
50 shekels	=	1 maneh.
60 manehs	=	1 talent.[3]

(iii) Dry Measures.

6 cabs	=	1 seah.
3 seahs } 10 omers }	=	1 ephah.
5 ephahs	=	1 lethech.
10 ephahs	=	1 homer.[4]

(iv) Liquid Measures.

12 logs	=	1 hin.
6 hins	=	1 bath
10 baths	=	1 cor.[4]

[1] A *shekel* weighed about 224 grains.

[2] This talent weighed a little over 115 lbs., or rather more than 8 stone.

[3] That the talent used for weighing silver contained only 3,000 (not 3,600) shekels appears from the calculation in *Ex.* xxxviii. 25–26. The silver shekel weighed 224 grains, but the gold shekel is said to have weighed 252 grains. According to this reckoning the silver talent weighed about 96 lbs. avoirdupois, and the gold talent about 108 lbs. (Hastings, *Dict. Bib.*, iii. 419).

[4] A *homer* and a *cor* were equal in capacity, and contained about 83 gallons, or 10 bushels, 3 gallons (*Cambridge Comp. to Bib.*, p. 479).

(v) Measures of Length.

4 fingers	= 1 hand breadth.
3 hand breadths . . .	= 1 span.
2 spans	= 1 cubit.[1]

The length of the cubit varied at different periods, for mention is made in *2 Ch.* iii. 3 of a cubit "after the first measure," whilst *Ezek.* xl. 5 refers to one which measured a cubit and a hand breadth. The precise length of the earlier cubit is supposed to have been rather more than 17½ inches.

APPENDIX D

NAMES AND ORDER OF THE MONTHS

In the course of Hebrew history two different seasons were successively regarded as the beginning of the year, and two different series of names were successively employed to denote the months. In early times the year was held to begin in the *autumn* (see *Exodus* xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22), and the first month was called *Ethanim*, the names of only three others being known, namely, *Bul* (the second), *Abib* (the seventh), and *Ziv* (the eighth). But subsequently the year commenced in the *spring*, and the seventh and first months became respectively the first and seventh.[1] New appellations were likewise applied to all (though they were frequently designated by their order only), the full list being as follows :—

Early Names.	*Late Names.*	*Time of Year.*
1. Ethanim	7. Tishri	Sept.—Oct.
2. Bul	8. Markheshvan	Oct. —Nov.
	9. Chislev	Nov. —Dec.
	10. Tebeth	Dec. —Jan.
	11. Shebat	Jan. —Feb.
	12. Adar	Feb. —Mar.
7. Abib	1. Nisan	Mar. —Ap.
8. Ziv	2. Iyyar	Ap. —May
	3. Sivan	May —June
	4. Tammuz	June —July
	5. Ab	July —Aug.
	6. Elul	Aug. —Sept.

[1] Military campaigns, which would naturally be begun in the spring, are described as taking place *at the return of the year* (*2 Sam.* xi. 1, *1 Kg.* xx. 22); and the ninth month fell in the cold season (*Jer.* xxxvi. 22).

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